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— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

The League's Business

Officers 'Frozen' for Duration

The Nominating Committee appointed by the chairman of the Council in accordance with a resolution adopted October 25, 1943, by the League's Executive Committee met in New York on December 8, 1943.

Members were Richard S. Childs (*ex-officio* as chairman of the Council), Frederick L. Bird, James W. Clise, Arnold Frye, John S. Linen, and Carl H. Pforzheimer.

After deciding, pursuant to the resolution adopted by the Executive Committee, that it would be inappropriate in view of wartime travel curtailments to hold a meeting of the Council, the Committee voted, on motion of Mr. Frye, to request all officers and members of the Council to continue to serve until it is possible to hold a meeting of the membership after the war. The Committee decided that this would, in effect, move the calendar forward so that those officers and Council members whose terms would normally expire this year would retire when the next membership meeting is held and that the terms of other Council members would be moved forward proportionately.

Three Nominated for Council

To fill three existing vacancies in the Council, the Committee nominated the following:

Charles Edison, president and director of Thomas A. Edison, Inc., and Governor of New Jersey, who retired from the governorship at the close of 1943 (constitutional restrictions prevent a New Jersey governor from succeeding himself). Former Assistant Secretary and Secretary of the Navy, Governor Edison was a leader of the recent successful campaign to bring about the revision of the New Jersey constitution.

Berry Fleming, author and civic leader of Augusta, Georgia. Author of the best seller, *Colonel Effingham's Raid*, which is based on an effort to end political corruption in a southern city, Mr. Fleming is also founder and president of the Augusta Citizens Union.

Wilson W. Wyatt, Mayor of Louisville, Kentucky, lawyer, teacher, and civic leader. Mayor Wyatt, who last year visited North Africa as special representative of the Board of Economic Warfare, is a member of the Board of Trustees and Chairman of the Postwar Planning Committee of the American Municipal Association, member of the Advisory Board of the United States Conference of Mayors, president and director of the Kentucky Municipal League, and president of the American Society of Planning Officials.

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY,
Executive Secretary

League Chosen for Cincinnati Survey

The Consultant Service of the National Municipal League has been retained by The Stephen H. Wilder Foundation of Cincinnati to make a brief study, starting at once, of the condition of the government of that city. The principal purpose of the survey will be to bring up-to-date the complete survey of 1924 made under the direction of Dr. Lent D. Upson, director of the Detroit Bureau of Municipal Research, which preceded Cincinnati's adoption of the council-manager plan and the proportional representation method of electing its city council.

The survey will provide: (1) a com-

(Continued on Page 6)

National Municipal Review

Fifty Years Ago and Today

FIFTY years ago this month there gathered in Philadelphia a group of leaders of local civic organizations which, for the most part, had sprung up comparatively recently as a result of the low ebb of public affairs in our cities.

The meeting, as the first "National Conference for Good City Government," was called by a group of 97 distinguished civic leaders including Charles Francis Adams, Theodore Roosevelt, Charles J. Bonaparte, Carl Schurz, Charles W. Eliot, Richard T. Ely, Frederick Law Olmstead, Marshall Field, and William J. Gaynor. It was attended by delegates from organizations which bore such names as city club, good government club, reform club, civic club, municipal league, citizens league, public discussion league, and taxpayers association. The variety of names was of no significance; all were united, first, in the conviction that evil city government was making a mockery of self-government and, second, in the determination to work together in a nation-wide movement for better local government.

The group included "the most distinguished business men, educators, lawyers, journalists, and clergymen," according to the introduction to the published proceedings. They "filled to the utmost capacity the gallery of the Art Club" and "received with enthusiasm" the formal papers, addresses, and discussions on the program.

Their enthusiasm was only natural. On the program were many of the prominent citizens and the brilliant minds of the day. And much of what was said on January 25 and 26, 1894, concerning the problems of a self-governing democracy could be said with equal force and significance today.

There was special emphasis on the responsibility of good citizens to participate in local affairs. James C. Carter, a leading member of the New York bar, who presided, sounded the keynote of the meeting when he said:

"I hail the impulse which has brought us together as the sure evidence of a renewal in our minds of the sense and consciousness of our public duties as citizens. It means to me a conviction on our part that, while our patriotism should extend to and embrace the remotest parts of our land, yet it should begin and find its principal source of action at home. It means, I think, a conviction that our city governments and the great interests which are confided to them are everywhere subjected to the mismanagement of ignorance and surrendered to the rapacity of spoil seekers, and this is in large part the consequence of our own apathy. It means, I think, a conviction that if we would have our cities well governed we must give to them something of the same attention we devote to our homes.. It means a conviction that a large part of the evils which beset us in national politics are engendered and aggravated by the corruption of municipal politics, and the time has arrived when we should rescue our city governments and the trusts reposed in them from the domination of those interests which control national politics. I hail this movement as indicative of a rising tide of civic patriotism. Let us hope it may swell to a flood which may reach all the cities of our government, and carry with it a beneficent influence."

* * *

George Burnham, Jr., president of the Municipal League of Philadelphia which was host to the conference, said, in welcoming the delegates: "I do not know, gentlemen, what sovereign remedies you may have brought in your gripsacks for the evils we are here to discuss, but this I do believe, that none of them can succeed that are not based upon such an awakening of the public conscience as shall lead our citizens to give the same serious attention to their political duties that they now grant their business, church, and social obligations."

The "sovereign remedies" were many. Carl Schurz, who was "greeted with great applause and cheers," advocated civil service reform. Mrs. Mary E. Mumford advocated greater influence on municipal affairs by the American woman and, looking a quarter-century into the future, said: ". . .nor am I unaware that the municipal ballot is slowly creeping across the country from the plains of the West, and that it will, for good or evil, soon be in her hands."

W. Harris Roome, who represented "Good Government Club, A" of New York, spoke on "The Separation of Municipal from Other Elections." Rev. Dr. Washington Gladden, of Columbus, Ohio, urged greater influence of public opinion on officials in office, saying, "If every man whose convictions on this subject were sound and clear would speak his mind about it, openly and bravely, to his neighbors, to the newspapers, to the officers of the law, the evil would be swept from sight in a week's time.

Edwin D. Mead of Boston urged specific training for citizenship in schools, public forums, libraries, and churches. Rev. Dr. James E. Ecob of Albany, New York, advocated more "politics in the pulpit" and demanded: "What right have you and I to suffer a generation of citizens to grow up under the powerful object lessons of filthy, ill-kept streets, slipshod, knavish public works, official corruption and malfeasance flaunted in every paper, saloons out-numbering Christian institutions twenty to one, civic office fallen so low that it is spurned by self-respecting men? I tell you the young man who runs that gauntlet and retains his integrity has saved his citizenship 'as by fire,' and with shame I add, no thanks to the church."

Alfred Bishop Mason, of the Civil Service Reform Association, advocated primary elections. Samuel B. Capen, president of the Boston Municipal League, advocated independent voting, discussed the possible application of proportional representation to municipal elections, and said: "We must meet combinations of evil with combinations of good, and we must have some staying qualities in these organizations. . . The machine which controls in so many of the cities of this country is going to be defeated only by an organization which is persistent, fearless, and unselfish. And there is all the difference in the world between such a league and a machine—one has moral convictions, the other has none."

Charles Richardson of Philadelphia advocated municipal parties independent of the national political parties. Other delegates described the governmental and civic condition of their own cities and Dr. Leo S. Rowe of the University of Pennsylvania spoke on the subject, "City Government as It Should Be and May Become."

* * *

Toward the close of the conference, in order to establish a central clearing house of information and guidance and to exercise a cohesive force, the first steps were taken to organize the National Municipal League. The following resolution was adopted:

> *Whereas,* The elements brought together in this Conference should not be allowed to separate without providing some permanent agency for continuing its work, and promoting the comparison of views, the exchange of experiences, the discussion of methods, and that mutual confidence and sympathy which adds so much to the strength and enthusiasm of fellow workers in a great cause; it is therefore
>
> *Resolved,* That the president of this Conference is requested to appoint a representative committee of seven to prepare a plan for the organization of a National Municipal League, which shall be composed of associations formed in American cities and having as an object the improvement of municipal government. Upon the completion of the plan and its approval by such associations, or as many of them as the said committee may deem necessary, the committee shall declare the proposed league to be fully organized and prepared to enter upon its work.

The National Municipal League was formally established by the organizing committee the following May. At least each year since then—until the federal government requested the curtailment of conventions during the present war—it has called other conferences, national and regional, in various cities which have been attended by civic leaders, business men, educators, journalists, clergymen, and serious-minded citizens.

The annual meeting has become known as the "National Conference on Government." Through these conferences, its model laws and administrative systems and other publications including the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, its guides to practical citizen action on the local scene, its stimulation of the teaching of government and citizenship in schools and colleges, and by many other methods, the League has constantly sought to meet the challenge held forth at that original meeting.

Municipal affairs most certainly have improved tremendously during this half century; but to how many cities and to how many good citizens of today would the 50-year-old challenge still apply?

Win or Lose

DISCUSSING the recent defeat of an effort in Beatrice, Nebraska, to adopt the council-manager form of government, the writer of a letter made a significant point.

After mentioning that "we have the commission type of government and each of the three commissioners had his organization working against the plan for all it was worth," and that the campaign was marked by name-calling, attempts to turn "class against class," and by claims that the council-manager plan is a "dictatorship," the correspondent wrote:

"We thank you for your assistance and feel that, although the election failed, it did stimulate civic thinking more than anything that has happened in a good many years. As a matter of fact, it has already improved the government here."

This is an almost unfailing result of campaigns for the adoption of the council-manager plan. Win or lose, they stir people to a clearer understanding of local affairs and to a stronger desire to participate in them. And those are two of this country's greatest needs. People can have as good government as they demand or as bad government as they will tolerate. Indifference and lack of voter participation are almost sure to produce a pretty inferior grade of government.

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from Page 2)

parison of the condition of Cincinnati's government today with that of 1924, (2) an evaluation of change or progress during the twenty years since the Upson report and the principal reasons therefor, and (3) a forecast of Cincinnati's future governmental problems and recommendations in connection with them.

Dr. Thomas H. Reed, former director of the League's Consultant Service and noted authority on municipal affairs, has been chosen to direct the survey.

In a statement announcing the survey, Captain Victor Heintz, chairman of The Stephen H. Wilder Foundation, said:

"How far have we really come since 1924? What weaknesses and abuses disclosed by the Upson report have been corrected and which have not? What are the weaknesses and faults, old and new, which exist today? What should be done about them? Is Cincinnati actually 'the best governed city in America,' as is sometimes claimed; is it 'one of the best governed'; or is it poorly governed in the light of accepted standards?

"Citizens of any community, in order to perform their vital function of voting intelligently in a self-governing society, must have before them facts uncolored by the prejudices or self-interest of competing groups."

Dr. Reed, who is municipal government counsellor for the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, was a member of the staff of the 1924 Cincinnati survey.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

The Mayor Gets Things Done

Louisville's chief executive, Wilson Wyatt, reduces city debt, tackles city-county problems, and launches postwar planning association to prepare for peacetime adjustment.

By **WEBB WALDRON**

WILSON WYATT, youthful mayor of Louisville, is above all a salesman. His commodity is good government instead of real estate or stocks. He has sold the metropolis of Kentucky, population 400,000, such a substantial bill of goods that a prominent old-line Republican —Wyatt is a Democrat — said: "Wyatt is the most brilliant young man ever in public life in this town."

Wyatt is so passionately devoted to good government that at 34 he gave up an income of $30,000 a year as a corporation lawyer to take the mayor's job at $5,000.

When he came into office two years ago he had certain definite things in mind. He saw the absurdity of separate city and county governments. The thing exists all over the U. S. A big city dominates a county; double functions go on side by side. In Louisville there were, for instance, a City Health Department, a County Health Department, and a public TB hospital for both city and county—each with its own staff of doctors and nurses, its separate planning, buying.

People said that city-county consolidation was impossible. Bills authorizing it had to be pushed through the state legislature, and Kentucky is predominantly rural. Besides, the Louisville legislators themselves had never pulled together. Since the city's delegation was divided on its own program, its effort always fumbled. Wyatt's first move was to get the delegation of legislators representing Louisville solidly behind his city-county program.

Wyatt also went on the air. "Wyatt," said Mark Ethridge, publisher of the *Louisville Courier-Journal,* "has the faculty of exciting people about local issues that have always seemed dull. It was something to hear people arguing passionately about a county hospital. Nothing like it had ever happened in this town before." So Wyatt's bill for the consolidation of health services passed despite bitter opposition. Now there is one health officer for city and county—Dr. Hugh Leavell, hero of the '37 Louisville flood, one medical and nursing staff. Dr. Leavell has a new Health Center. Efficiency of all medical work has increased. The TB hospital has just acquired a new wing for Negro patients. Vindicating Wyatt, the American Public Health Association and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce put Louisville on the National Health Honor Roll for the first time.

Louisville, like many other American cities, was grossly under-represented in the state legislature. The state had never been redistricted. Why, Wyatt asked, should 157,000 of the people of Louisville be totally without voice in state affairs? An injustice, true enough, but everybody predicted that Wyatt's redistricting drive would fail as others had, because for Louisville to gain members many rural counties must lose. He sent out 1,000 letters to prominent citizens throughout the state. "We fought the American Revolution over the principle of rightful representation," he said. "Can we afford to go back on that principle in Kentucky?" He went on the air in the same vigorous vein. When the session was called the measure went through. Wyatt had sold democracy to Kentucky. Louisville today has a fairer representation in the state legislature than any other large U. S. city.

Louisville's dynamic young mayor is tall, long-legged, a nifty dresser, but certainly no Apollo. He's blessed with outsize ears and is beginning to lose his hair. He is a man with an engaging rapid-fire voice frequently punctuated by a belly-laugh, a good companion, a bear for work, at his desk till late at night many a day in the week. A local bard pictures Wyatt's lovely and lonely wife, moaning:

> Wilson, dear Wilson, come home to me now,
> The City Hall clock's striking four,
> You were here, I remember, the first of September
> But you don't come around any more.

Early in 1942 Louisville had its first blackout test. The mayor went on the air to explain it. He wanted the talk repeated, so he had an electrical transcription made. That evening, relaxing at home in an armchair, he turned on the transcription. A little later his wife and some friends came into the room. There was the speech rolling out full and clear and there was Wilson Wyatt fast asleep. Next day he told the story on himself. Local newspapers printed it, the AP spread it, it got into *Time* and *The Reader's Digest,* a Boston newspaper cartooned it. The story still follows Wyatt from place to place—even in Algiers, a puzzled Frenchman asked him to explain the joke—"the spellbinder who put himself to sleep," and still Louisville laughs, not *at* Wyatt but *with* him.

Studies Law

Wyatt says that, even as a kid, he wanted to be a lawyer because successful lawyers seemed to play an important rôle in the world. After a year at the University of Louisville he got a job as clerk in the Louisville and Nashville railway offices, studying law at night. He was graduated from the law school at 21 and his rise in the profession was rapid.

In 1937, when he was 31, Democratic leaders first urged him to run for mayor. He declined. "Well, I was sorry afterward," he says. "When they came at me again, early in '41, I jumped to it."

He could have had a prominent appointment in Washington, "but," he said, "I thought that anybody launching out in public life ought to run the gauntlet of an election."

One explanation of Wyatt's success lies in his habit of seeking expert help. War industry swelled Louisville's population by 100,000; nearby Fort Knox with its 60,000 soldiers brought a deluge of camp-followers to Louisville; the Fort Knox venereal rate jumped to double the army-camp average. The Police Department lost 25 per cent of its trained men to the armed forces and the law enforcement situation showed signs of getting out of hand. Wyatt, through the Public Administration Service, got hold of O. W. Wilson, national expert on police affairs. Wilson advised a complete streamlining of the department. One basic recommendation was a vice squad which has cracked down on prostitution. As a direct result of Louisville's vigorous measures the venereal rate at Fort Knox has dropped from 25 per 1,000 men to two per 1,000—a fraction of the national army-camp average.

For chief of police, Wyatt picked the best man he could find in the ranks. He happened to be a Republican. This brought a howl from the Democratic stalwarts. "Aren't you a Democrat?" they demanded. "I am working for the best interests of Louisville," said Wyatt.

Tackles School Problem

The city government and the school board, a nonpartisan body, had always stood aloof from one another. Not enemies, but certainly not coöperative. Wyatt felt that the people should know more about their own schools on which they spent $4,000,000 a year. He proposed a survey of the whole educational system by outside experts. The board agreed. The survey recommended several important changes. One of these, already in effect, is equal salaries for men and women and for white and Negro teachers. Another, to be carried out after the war, is an enlargement of the Negro high school.

Since Negroes form a large segment of the population, contributing to the city in taxes, Wyatt felt they should have a real share in public affairs. So, defying tradition in this semi-southern city, he has appointed Negroes to the mayor's legislative committee, the library board, the defense council, war fund committees.

Recently, Wyatt and his staff discovered that $2,500,000 worth of hotels, garages, and business blocks owned by churches and charitable institutions were not on the tax rolls. The easiest way would have been to let the thing ride as previous administrations had done. Wyatt felt that, since this property competed with other commercial property, it should pay taxes, and told the Tax Department to put the property on the rolls. There was bitter opposition and the matter is now in the courts. Meantime, several of the owners have voluntarily begun to pay taxes.

He set up a priorities committee to screen city and county requests for critical materials. "The whole purpose of the committee," he said, "is to find out not what the community can get but what it can do without." Many other cities have adopted this Louisville priorities plan.

Under Wyatt the city has begun to pay off its debt for the first time in many years. Recently the city burned its City Hall bonds. It had been paying interest on them since 1875!

"Oh, I wanted to get the best box at the Kentucky Derby," Wyatt used to say facetiously when friends asked him why in the world he had taken on a mayor's worries. But last spring for the first time in Louisville history the mayor wasn't at the Derby. News of Wyatt's skill as an administrator had percolated to Washington; the Board of Economic Warfare asked him to take on a special organization and trouble-shooting job in North Africa. He was gone three months—all he could spare from his job.

Leo Crowley, head of Foreign Economic Administration, and the State Department have both asked Wyatt recently to take other overseas assignments. Wyatt said: "I can't. My job is here." OWI asked him to lecture briefly in England this coming spring on American local government. He said: "The idea is terribly tempting. But I'm not at all sure I can go."

In the November 1943 election the Republican candidates for aldermen were swept into office. Immediately they pledged Wyatt their support in carrying out his program for the remaining two years of his term. They are keeping the pledge. "If they didn't," said a prominent Republican, "they'd give our party the biggest black eye it ever had in this town."

That pledge represents the spirit of Louisville. Louisville knows a good thing when it sees it.

In Kentucky an elected officer can't succeed himself. "So," said Wyatt, "I haven't had any temptation to try to build myself up for re-election." But the next two years are going to be busy ones for Wilson Wyatt. Just now he's tackling the biggest job of his career. He believes that bridging the gap between wartime boom and peacetime prosperity should begin right now in practical aggressive action. Communities shouldn't look to federal aid. They should do the job themselves—the local government and the people, working together. "In our cities and towns," says Wyatt, "we shape the destiny of the nation, here we educate our children, provide for health and sanitation, build our homes, worship in our churches, develop our culture. It is here we must plan our way of life following this war."

Looking Ahead

Conversion of wartime plants to peacetime business, getting raw materials for them, markets for the output, conversion of blighted city areas to parks, a new city hall, a municipal stadium, new schools—those are some of the things that Louisville plans for.

To do the job, the Louisville Area Development Association has just been launched. It had been decided that to carry on for two years the Association needed $100,000. The idea was to tackle the banks, factories, business houses, newspapers. "But," asked Wyatt, "Where does labor come in on this? This is the job of the whole community." He went to union headquarters. "We want you," he said to the secretary of the State Federation of Labor, "to be one of the incorporators of the Association and we want union labor to contribute $10,000."

The secretary called in the heads

(Continued on Page 13)

25 Study Georgia Basic Law

Small group chosen by Legislature, Governor, and Courts tackles problem of bringing state's constitution up to date; will submit its report to General Assembly in 1945.

By **ELLIS ARNALL**
Governor of Georgia

FUNDAMENTALS of government do not change. The obligation of democratic government is to protect the lives, liberties, and property of the citizens.

But methods of government change with changed conditions, with the changes in services desired and required by the citizens.

State constitutions, all too frequently, have been written with such minute detail as to administrative procedures that adaptation to new conditions has been difficult. Few state constitutions in the United States possess the flexibility of the federal constitution.

The constitution of Georgia has proved no exception to the rule. It has been amended 296 times since its adoption in 1877. These amendments were made necessary because of the inflexible provisions of the original instrument, especially in those sections dealing with municipalities and other local self-government units.

Probably it is desirable that state constitutions be more rigid than the federal instrument, since state legislatures are in session less frequently than the Congress and since the federal constitution does not have to deal with the varied problems of the counties and municipalities. This rigidity, however, has resulted in frequent rewritings of state constitutions.

In Georgia, for example, the constitution of 1877 is the seventh since the Revolution. Previous constitutions were adopted in 1777, 1789, 1798, 1861, 1865, and 1868.

The Georgia constitution of 1877 was written just after the state was freed from "carpetbag rule" and was affected profoundly by the misfortunes of the Reconstruction era. Restrictions upon local self-government units were written into it to prevent the reckless issuing of bonds that characterized the irresponsible "carpetbag governments."

A majority of the 296 amendments to the Georgia constitution deal with local problems. Twelve of those submitted in 1943 were local in nature, several permitting perfectly normal refinancing of local bonds at lower interest rates.

While local problems have given rise to many amendments, another prominent reason for frequent amending of the constitution has been demand for new or additional services by the state government.

Amendments providing for the public assistance program, public health agencies, and additional educational facilities have been engrafted on the constitution from year to year.

The changes have been so numerous and so frequent that it has been inevitable that the document should become cumbersome and that some sections have not been in harmony with others, so that frequent resort to judicial interpretation has been required.

The Georgia constitution of 1877, however, together with its 296 amendments, represents the type of government that Georgians wish for their state, on the whole. They do not wish or need a radical revision of the constitution, but they do need and wish the instrument revised and rewritten to meet changed conditions and to harmonize its provisions.

Commission Appointed

For that reason, when the General Assembly of 1943 took up this problem, the legislators decided against a constitutional convention to draft a new constitution. They determined upon a policy of revision through a commission, whose findings could be reported to the 1945 Assembly for adoption and submission to the Georgia voters.

The Commission was selected in such a way as to give complete representation to all groups. The presiding officers of the State Senate and House of Representatives named some members. Others were named *ex officio*, as the Governor, the Attorney General, and the State Auditor. The two appellate courts of Georgia each named a member. Finally, the Governor was empowered to name two Superior Court judges and certain lay and legal members. Altogether, the Commission has 25 members.

The Commission, after its organization session, determined upon five committees to study carefully the main subdivisions of the constitution and to submit redrafts to the full body.

As the various committees submit their findings, the full body will consider them, adopting or rejecting the various proposals, and, when the final text is adopted, the complete report will be submitted to the General Assembly of Georgia when it convenes in 1945. If the legislative branch of the state government approves the revised constitution, it will be submitted to the people of the state for ratification.

The advantages of revision of a state constitution by a commission rather than by a constitutional convention are many. More time can be spent upon preliminary work. The various sections can be "dovetailed together" more harmoniously. The members, not being held in continuous session, have greater opportunity to reflect upon the problems.

Of course, if the problem were one of determining upon fundamental policies of government, such as would be involved in the writing of a wholly new instrument, the commission method would be undesirable and, perhaps, impractical. But where the task is one of practical revision, where the problems are technical rather than political in nature, the commission seems to present the best method of obtaining an instrument acceptable to the people.

The Georgia Commission on Constitutional Revision has determined upon one policy, definitely.

The revised constitution will be as short as possible, expressed in language of the greatest clarity, as simple as it can be made, and thoroughly understandable.

Problem of Simplification

One of the greatest problems of American democracy is that of simplifying all our governments, from the sprawling federal establishment to the smallest local unit. Good government cannot exist when its operations are masked in mystery.

Only when the people can understand fully the operations of every agency toward the support of which they pay taxes, only when the rights granted to governmental units and the services required from them are expressed in unmistakable and simple terms, can popular government be effective.

How often state constitutions require revision to maintain this simplicity and clarity depends, of course, upon how often the public served by state governments demands or needs new types of service. Many of the men who wrote the earliest state constitutions in America and who left their imprints indelibly upon the structure of our local and national governments believed that such instruments should be resubmitted to the people every generation, or about every quarter-century.

It is improbable that these men failed to recognize the secondary perils of instability and change in government; it is more probable that they recognized more completely than do we the primary perils of government becoming divorced from the citizens whose creature it is.

THE MAYOR GETS THINGS DONE

(Continued from Page 10)

of the various local labor unions. Wyatt turned loose his salesmanship. He said: "It isn't only a question of insuring steady future employment for labor in this community, but of making Louisville a better place to live in for you and your children."

"My gosh," said one labor man after he had listened for a while, "ten thousand dollars! That seems a small amount! Don't you want us to give more than that?" The head of the building trades spoke up: "Why, we'll contribute the whole ten thousand ourselves! We fellows who build things stand to benefit by this program most of all." Wyatt laughed: "No, ten thousand is all we want from labor just now. If we want more later, we'll come back."

Recently Wyatt told: "If we can get this plan really into action in the next two years of my term, I'll go out of office feeling I have done something vital and lasting for my town."

He'll get it into action, I bet my bottom dollar.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

Constitution by Convention

"Brevity in discourse and discussions, brevity in time, and brevity in the document which shall be submitted to the people," keynote of Missouri constitution delegates.

By TESS LOEB

Special Writer, St. Louis Star-Times

THE constitution of the state of Missouri provides for the submission of the question: "Shall there be a convention to revise and amend the constitution?" every twenty years, but express provision for the placing of it on the ballot is not made mandatory upon the Secretary of State. Anticipating that the political parties might be loath to take responsibility for submission of the question a group of civic-minded individuals laid plans for the organization of a Statewide Committee for Revision of the Constitution. A bill had been introduced in the General Assembly calling for a popular vote on the question but it was not reported out of committee.

During the sessions of the National Municipal League, which were held in St. Louis in November 1941, the Statewide Committee was organized at the final meeting—the emphasis of the program was on the subject of state constitutions and their revision. Former State Senator Allen McReynolds was elected chairman, and Stratford Lee Morton, a member of the council of the National Municipal League, was put in charge of the work to be done in St. Louis City and St. Louis County. For this auspicious start the Missouri Constitutional Convention owes a debt of gratitude to the National Municipal League.

A campaign to organize sentiment in support of the proposition was undertaken immediately upon the announcement by the Secretary of State that the call would be placed on the ballot in the 1942 general election. The proposition carried largely in the urban communities, in which most of the work had been done. At a special election called by the Governor on April 6, 1943, district delegates and delegates-at-large were chosen. The Missouri constitution provides for the nomination by the two major parties of one delegate in each of the 34 senatorial districts, thus making the nominations tantamount to election. Delegates-at-large are nominated by petitions. The Missouri League of Women Voters placed in nomination and made a vigorous campaign for fifteen delegates-at-large, of whom eight were later endorsed by both the Democratic and Republican State Committees. These eight were among those elected.

The Convention met on Tuesday, September 21, 1943, and organized with great dispatch, although no official preliminary program of organization had been effected. Twenty years ago a Missouri Constitutional Convention was held but the voters rejected the 15 most important of the 21 amendments because of the delay in organization, the long period during which it had remained in session, and the great expense incurred. The Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis published and distributed a pamphlet among the new members listing the reasons for the failure of the 1922-23 convention as given by its members. Delegates to the present Convention seem to have used those reasons as guideposts for their conduct; and in the organization of the Convention, as well as in its procedure, they have endeavored to follow the keynote announced by the President in his inaugural address: "Brevity in discourse and discussions, brevity in time, and brevity in the document which shall be submitted to the people."

Speedy Organization

On the first day the Convention passed on credentials of delegates, elected its principal officers, and appointed committees to arrange for rooms, seating, employees, and necessary services. By the fourth convention day all standing committees were appointed and rules were adopted, which enabled the Convention on its fifth day to receive its first proposal for amendment of the Constitution.

An organization manual was prepared by Dr. Martin L. Faust of the University of Missouri, under authorization of the Statewide Committee, for the use of the delegates. This was helpful in organization and in the work of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business. Other manuals on the legislative, executive, and judicial articles, on county government, on the amending process and initiative and referendum, etc., had been prepared by political scientists and experts in the various fields of research; the Committee on Convention Library and Research has distributed these manuals and other pertinent data to the delegates; and to date more than one-third of the Convention members are making regular use of the library facilities.

The Convention was organized into 26 committees. They follow the traditional Missouri pattern, but it is not expected that there will be separate articles on agriculture, highways, labor, etc., in spite of the fact that there are committees on these subjects. There is no separate committee on civil service, but proposals relating to it have been referred to the Committee on the Executive Article.

There has been great interest, especially in the metropolitan press, in the work of the Convention. Revision of the present constitution had been the subject of news stories and editorials for several months preceding the calling of the Convention; and the support of the press was a large factor in the favorable vote. In order to develop and maintain the interest of the rural press, which had been antagonistic to the 1922-23 Convention and had not favored the calling of the present one, a Public Information Service has been set up to furnish weekly releases of "news without editorializing or furthering the personal interests of any delegate."

From the beginning there was a firm determination on the part of Convention officials and leaders among the delegates to eliminate party politics. The only device which could meet this was that of bipartisanship. This meant an equal division of committee chairmanships, as well as of Convention staff, between the Democrats and Republicans. Although there is both a Republican and Democratic vice-president, they do not act as party floor leaders, but serve merely in matters of routine procedure. Nor have there been any occasions as yet when the delegates have voted strictly along party lines. According to one of the St. Louis newspapers "the majority of the delegates are so good it is hard to explain how they got there. At least one-fourth are recognized leaders in their respective parts of the state, persons who represent the best Missouri has to offer in reputation for brains and experience as well as character." Among the delegates are 41 lawyers, seventeen business men, seven farmers, seven newspaper editors, four teachers, two labor executives and two housewives.

A total of 375 proposals have been introduced and referred to committees. The vast majority of them are legislative in character and some of them are utterly capricious, to state the matter mildly.

Public Hearings Held

Before the Christmas holidays all public hearings will have been completed. The sessions of the Convention and meetings of the committees have been characterized by fine decorum and earnestness of purpose. There have been a number of "public interest" groups, as well as some "pressure" groups appearing before committees but only on one occasion did a professional lobbyist appear and then the reaction was not favorable.

The Missouri League of Women Voters has made a valuable contribution to the work of the Convention by its presentation of arguments and memoranda before several of the Convention committees in support of a program which the League has adopted after some years of study. On the desk of every delegate is a copy of the *Model State Constitution* of the National Municipal League, and from the frequency to which it is referred in committee hearings the pamphlet seems to be "required reading."

By January 4, 1944, it is expected that nearly all committees will be ready to report their recommendations or disposition of the file. This will be difficult for some committees—the legislative, for example, having a total of 53 proposals before it, and local government, 47 measures.

One of the rules, which was adopted by the Convention to avoid a serious pitfall of the 1922-23 Convention, was a modification of the Committee of the Whole. In 1922 the Committee of the Whole received all proposals from committees, which made for considerable duplication. It may be called for now only when thirty delegates support such a motion. It is interesting to know that committee hearings attract many delegates who do not happen to be members of the committee. Few of the delegates have a practical grounding in the specific problems of state and local government, but nearly all of them have an open-minded attitude on the questions which confront them. The Convention has called before it in committee hearings experts in the field of state government and the delegates have been eager to receive advice.

The Convention is now considering the character of the document which it will endeavor to draft, whether it should be a brief instrument of funda-

(Continued on Page 26)

New Task for a Legislature

Citizens of New Jersey direct their 1944 senators and assemblymen to undertake revision of state's century-old constitution for submission to voters in November.

By **JOHN E. BEBOUT**
Executive Vice-President, New Jersey Constitution Foundation

NEW JERSEY is celebrating the hundredth anniversary of its state constitution. In so doing, it is paying the authors of its 1844 basic law the sincerest sort of compliment. In short, it is imitating them by writing a new document to be passed on by the voters in the general election next November.

This form of celebration has been in the making for many years; but it is one which few people who pride themselves on being "realistic" or "practical" expected to live to see. New Jersey's constitution has long been rated by experts as one of the most difficult to change. Experience ever since Governor Joel Parker first proposed a constitutional convention in 1873 bears this out. Amendments, minor ones, have been adopted on only four occasions, and repeated attempts to get the legislature to provide for the calling of a constitutional convention have failed.

The explanation for the failure is to be found in the peculiar composition of the New Jersey Senate. This 21-member body, the fourth smallest in the country, is composed of just one senator from each county. Consequently, one voter in Cape May has 29 times the weight in the Senate of one voter in Essex. The Senate can be controlled by eleven small counties with a total population which is less than one-sixth of the population of the state and smaller than the population of Essex County.

Equal county representation, which is matched in only three other states, stems from the first constitution of 1776. The authors of that document, working in a hurry to enable the members of New Jersey's Provincial Congress to go home and get on with the war, hit upon this as the simplest method of selecting an upper house in place of the old appointed council. This plan was continued by vote of the convention of 1844. Since all the counties were still primarily agricultural in character, the result was not too spectacularly unrepresentative, although one delegate from Essex County, Silas Condit, voted against submission of the document on the sole ground that the perpetuation of equal representation in the Senate was unjust and would prevent future constitutional change.

For almost a hundred years, Mr. Condit's prophecy was practically if not literally borne out by events. And with the passing of time, the New Jersey Senate has come to be recognized as one of the most unrepresentative upper houses in the country. In fact, on the basis of the Senate alone, a writer some years ago put New Jersey near the top of a list of "rotten borough states".[1]

Between 1881 and 1913, the Assembly passed five constitutional convention bills only to see them pigeonholed or defeated in the Senate. The avowed reason was the fear of the Senate that a convention, which could not be legally limited by an act of the legislature, might try to reform the upper house. The last of these bills, sponsored by Governor Woodrow Wilson as a Democratic party measure in a legislature which was decisively Democratic in both houses, was defeated in the Senate by a vote of fourteen to four.

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[1] Orville A. Welsh, "Progressive Hopes and Rotten Boroughs," *Nation,* January 7, 1925.

No Convention Provision

The New Jersey constitution makes no specific provision for the calling of a constitutional convention. This omission has given rise to the development of two interesting and utterly antipathetic constitutional theories. The first, propounded in an opinion by Attorney-General Edmund Wilson in 1913, is that a constitutional convention is unconstitutional and that the only legal method of change is that of piecemeal amendment. The opposite theory, propounded by Ex-Justice William Clark of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, is that the people are entitled to have a constitutional convention and that "the will of the people can be ascertained in any lawful way. The Governor elected by the people could, for instance, ask his people to advise him by mail." Judge Clark, writing in 1934, insisted that the reason for previous failures to obtain a convention lay in the erroneous assumption "that the convention call *must* be made by the existing legislative body and by it alone."

Judge Clark's proposal, denounced as "revolution" by many critics, was given moral and verbal support by a number of lawyers and civic leaders. For example, Arthur T. Vanderbilt, former president of the American Bar Association and now dean of New York University Law School, suggested that if the Senate refused to endorse a convention bill, the members of the Assembly as the only body truly representative of the people might alone or with the aid of the Governor have the right to call a convention.[2]

The proponents of this point of view all rested their case primarily on the second paragraph in the state's Bill of Rights which asserts "that all political power is inherent in the people" and that "government is instituted for the . . . benefit of the people, and they have the right at all times to alter or reform the same whenever the public good may require it."

The opponents of this point of view cited the Dorr Rebellion as proof of the legal and practical unsoundness of the notion that a legal constitution could be written and promulgated without the blessing of the established legislature. These critics made a natural mistake in emphasis shared by many commentators on the failure of the Rhode Island "people's constitution" to gain acceptance as the fundamental law of the state. It was not the lack of legislative blessing but rather the active opposition of the executive and military power which routed the "popular" movement. Had the Governor been on the side of the "people's government" there would have been no appeal to President Tyler for military aid to put down a "rebellion," because there would have been no rebellion.

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[2] For a discussion of these and other constitutional questions connected with the calling of a convention, see Bebout and Kass, "How Can New Jersey Get a New Constitution?", *University of Newark Law Review,* March 1941.

In this connection it should be remembered that Chief Justice Taney,[3] remarking that, "the sovereignty in every state resides in the people of the state, and . . . they may alter and change their form of government at their own pleasure," refused to deal with the Rhode Island episode as a legal question at all, on the ground that whether the people have changed their form of government or not "is a question to be settled by the political power."

Governor Works for Revision

Charles Edison was elected Governor in November 1940 after a campaign in which both he and his Republican opponent, Senator Robert Hendrickson, advocated the calling of a constitutional convention. In his inaugural address, Governor Edison strongly urged that the legislature pass a convention bill, Senator Hendrickson having already anticipated him by introducing a bill during the first week of the session. As the legislature dragged along without any apparent intention of paying serious notice to the convention issue, people speculated on the possibility that Governor Edison might test the theory that the Governor could take the lead in assembling a popular convention without the aid of an act of the whole legislature.

Meanwhile, on February 24, 1941, the New Jersey Committee for Constitutional Convention was formed as a medium through which representatives of the most important statewide civic, business, and labor organizations, together with other leading citizens, promised to coöperate in a drive to bring about the calling of a convention.[4]

No convention bill was moved in 1941; but the public speeches of Governor Edison, the pressure of civic groups, and the agitation of Senator Hendrickson and other convention advocates in the legislature, made the legislators feel they could not completely ignore the matter. Consequently, in November 1941, the legislature created a seven-man Commission on Revision of the New Jersey Constitution.

Senator Hendrickson became chairman of the Commission which worked hard throughout the winter. It held no public hearings, but it invited and received suggestions from citizens and civic organizations and had the technical assistance of the Princeton Government Surveys. Although the majority of its members started out with the conviction that all the constitution required to bring it up to date was the adoption of a few specific amendments, the outcome was a unanimous report, presented in May 1942, in the form of a sample draft of a thoroughly revised constitution.

The Commission, mindful of the senatorial barrier, proposed a novel method for getting a revised constitution before the public. It suggested that the people be asked at a referendum whether or not they wished to direct the legislature, acting as a constitutional convention, to submit a revised constitution for adoption or rejection at the following general election. The legislature, not to be rushed, proceeded to appoint a Joint Committee to hold public hearings on the proposals of the Revision Commission. There was no substantial opposition to revision expressed at the hearings. But in September the majority of the Joint Committee, looking for a convenient "out," grasped at a straw lugged into the last hearing by a well regimented troop of veterans and gold star mothers who denounced the proposal to revise the constitution during the war as a dastardly injustice to the brave and voteless men on foreign battlefronts. The majority of the Committee gladly accepted the argument and reported to the legislature that although there was considerable sentiment for constitutional change, the whole matter should be deferred until after the war.

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[3] *Luther* vs. *Borden,* 7 Howard 1.

[4] See July 1941 NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, p. 442. Also issues for January 1942, June 1942, November 1942, June 1943, and December 1943.

This view was vigorously attacked by minority members of the Committee, by the Governor, and by the revision forces; and was at last completely exploded by the four-to-one soldier vote for revision at the 1943 election.

Educating the Voter

The realization of the need for popular education led to the formation in November 1942 of the New Jersey Constitution Foundation. This body, with a small research, publicity and field staff, proceeded to flood the state with factual information and nonpartisan discussions on the constitution and the current proposals for changing it. Coöperation was obtained from the newspapers, local radio stations, public and private educational institutions, and state and local civic organizations. A corps of volunteer speakers, prepared to discuss the constitution from different points of view, was trained in some 52 training conferences held throughout the state. Fifteen regional speakers' bureaus and extension committees were set up.

In the meantime, the Committee on Constitutional Convention, which later changed its name to the Committee for Constitutional Revision, continued to plug for action, and despite the war the people of the state gradually became more and more conscious of their state constitution and what it means in their lives. Assemblyman Milton Feller of Union County introduced the bill to enable the people at the 1943 general election to authorize the 1944 legislature to act as a convention. As a result of excellent legislative footwork by Mr. Feller, majority leader Dominic Cavicchia of Essex County, and speaker Manfield Amlicke, the bill passed the Assembly on April 2. An immediate drive was launched by the Citizens' Committee and the press to secure action by the Senate, but it is certain that the Senate would not have acted except for the urgent intervention of the then Republican nominee-apparent, now Governor-elect Walter E. Edge. As a result of Mr. Edge's good offices, the Feller bill was adopted on May 10 with Senate amendments forbidding any change in the Bill of Rights or the system of legislative representation.

After a rather slow start, the Committee for Constitutional Revision conducted an intensive campaign for a "yes" vote, the New Jersey Constitution Foundation continuing with its background work of public education. The decisive victory of the revision forces by a majority of 154,000 was a surprise to everybody. The professional politicians and the political dopesters were practically unanimous in agreeing with a journalistic friend of revision who sadly reported the Sunday before election that revision was a "dead duck." The workers in the Committee were generally unwilling to make predictions; but they were inclined to feel the chances were about even. This view seemed to be justified by the Gallup polls which indicated that a substantial majority of those with opinions were for revision, but that a majority of the people still entertained no opinions whatever. Actually revision carried all but two counties, Hudson and Ocean.

The fact that only 54 per cent of the people who voted at the election voted on the question indicated, however, the need for a continued and intensive campaign of education in order to insure a sound vote when the revised constitution is submitted to the people in November. One problem which must be faced is the fact that the voting machines obviously presented a more serious obstacle to voting on the question than did paper ballots. Four counties have voting machines, including the three large counties of Essex, Bergen, and Union which were politically and otherwise most favorable to revision. Only 45 per cent of the people who went to the polls in these counties succeeded in voting on the revision question, as against 59 per cent in the paper ballot counties.

Even if Hudson County, where 77 per cent voted on the question, is excluded as "unfair competition" from the list of paper ballot counties, the figures show that 51 per cent of the paper ballot voters in the rest of the state expressed themselves on the question as against the 45 per cent in the voting machine counties. The obvious moral of this story is that a special drive is necessary to educate the voters to find public questions on the voting machines. This is particularly true in Bergen County where the machines are so set up that the question appears not at the top, but way off on the right hand side. As a result only 42 per cent of the Bergen voters found the question.

It is too early to say that next year New Jersey will be under a new constitution; but if the legislature comes near to the mark set by the Revision Commission and if civic groups stick together as well as they have in the past, the signs are good. Governor-elect Edge has already moved to start revision by appointing three unofficial Republican legislative committees to prepare specific proposals. It is, of course, a more ticklish problem to get agreement on the merits of a new constitution than on the demerits of the old one. There is such general agreement, however, on the major issues that it is reasonable to hope that democracy in New Jersey will soon be operating with the aid of a more flexible constitution, a more responsible legislature, a more effective executive, and a more expeditious and efficient court system than at any time in its history.

An Educated Electorate In Yonkers

Editorial from The Mount Vernon (N. Y.) Daily Argus

Returns from the proportional representation election of councilmen in Yonkers give a clear, graphic picture of what a large municipality—Yonkers is the fifth largest city in this state and the sixty-first in the nation—can do when a determined reform element of its citizenry starts out to fight for better government.

Long a shuttlecock between Republican and Democratic administrations, with little difference apparent between rival regimes, Yonkers' city administration went into independent hands gradually as the city manager form of government was adopted, as proportional representation election of councilmen was effected, and most of all as an educated electorate joined to effect economies and to insure their retention through selection of officeholders largely without regard to political lines.

What have been the results?

For one thing, Yonkers has paid off more than $6,000,000 of its debt since the first of 1941, cutting it from nearly $37,000,000 at that time to around $28,500,000 at the end of this year. For another, city purchases have been reduced from more than $800,000 in 1939 to slightly more than $350,000 this year.

Total budgeted department expenditures in the last year under the old partisan system were nearly $10,000,000 in 1939. For next year the total is under $7,400,000. And remember, too, that this has been done in the face of sharply declining municipal revenues, rising state and county taxes, and a deep cut in assessed valuations of taxable properties.

Yet, in this economy drive, the administrations have not been pinchpenny in character, as noted by the fact that recognition of increased living costs has led to a wartime emergency bonus to municipal employes, as has been found advisable for other municipalities and the county itself.

Finally, the tax rate in Yonkers is going down as a result of these economies and of increased efficiencies. It is now down 70 and one-half cents per $1,000 valuation from the high point in 1940 and the city has ceased that questionable practice of refunding—borrowing this year to meet last year's deficit—which has snowballed so many other cities into heavy, burdensome debts. Refunding, it is admitted, keeps down a tax rate—but only temporarily—and Yonkers is turning away from this principle, a policy which in effect means you are passing on to your children the debts you have acquired.

In general, it should be highly gratifying to other cities and towns and villages in Westchester, as well as to the county itself, to note what Yonkers has done in this drive for better government, a success now capped by re-election of the independent, City Manager League councilmen who helped to achieve this result.

Gratifying, we say, because what has been done in Yonkers can be accomplished also wherever weak, inefficient, wasteful administration of government now exists. For it came in Yonkers almost wholly through persistent, determined education of the voters to their plight and possible paths toward relief. And that too can be done elsewhere.

Researcher's Digest: January

All about Kalamazoo; how to write an employee manual, also a good municipal report; Minnesota administration analyzed; guide to data on cities; Michigan highway report; pot pourri.

By **MIRIAM ROHER**

RARE indeed are clear, understandable descriptions of the operations of most city governments. As a result, a school civics class must depend for its learning on conducted tours through the city hall, where lasting impressions are apt to be pretty superficial. And the citizen who votes and pays the taxes, being neither forced to learn nor even interested in learning, gets only vagrant prejudices gleaned from newspaper stories as the basis of his voting and taxpaying.

The **Kalamazoo Bureau of Municipal Research,** in coöperation with the employees of the city, has just made a giant stride in changing all this, at least for Kalamazoo. *Better Public Service* is the title of a 50-page book which is at once a civics textbook, a handbook for city employees, and a compendium of priceless facts for the man-in-the-street. It is chock-full of organization charts and maps, and it systematically and in simple but pungent language presents the functions of every city department, relates the highlights of its recent history, outlines the important laws enforced by each unit, describes personnel, tells where to get materials (such as copies of the zoning laws), and notes office hours and locations. The print is large enough and there is both a table of contents and an index. There isn't a single photograph but photographs aren't needed. The whole story is there and Kalamazoo is a very lucky city to have it there. It may or may not be pertinent that Kalamazoo has long been one of the diadems in the crown of city manager history.

How to Write a Manual

From the forward-looking state of **Minnesota** comes a contribution to the same field as Kalamazoo's book, in the form of a treatise on the subject of *Improving State Employee Effectiveness with An Orientation and Reference Manual,* issued by the state's **Division of Administrative Management and Research.** This work is effective not only as an outline of principles to be observed in the compilation of such a manual, but as a staunch argument for having the manual at all. There are plentiful excerpts from good employee manuals issued by various governmental agencies and frank appraisals of the techniques employed. This work is in a class with the now classic outlines of how to write municipal reports[1] and it should certainly be a library item for a personnel department on any governmental level.

Modernizing Municipal Reports

Those who recognize how fully the preservation of our self-governing system depends on an enlightened, interested, participating citizenry, were quick to welcome a straight-talking pamphlet, *Modernizing Municipal Reports,* published by the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council,** Hartford. In his introduction, Executive Director Carter W. Atkins, veteran researcher who has taken local governments apart for many years to determine what made them tick and how to make them tick more smoothly, argues that

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[1] *Specifications for the Annual Municipal Report,* by Ridley and Simon. Chicago, 1939.

"there is no wiser use of the taxpayer's dollar than to give citizens a brief, clear, and readable review of local governmental activities." The pamphlet defines good municipal reporting and bad, tells what to put in a report and what to leave out, describes step-by-step preparation including the achievement of "eye appeal," good format, and layout, and warns of the pitfalls which destroy the effectiveness of the large majority of reports. Originally intended as a guide for communities in Connecticut, the pamphlet has already attracted so much attention elsewhere that the Council, helpfully attempting to meet the growing demand, has arranged a second printing.

Researcher's Meat

To the uninitiated, lists and compendia rate even lower in glamour than the homely fifteen-year-old who lives next door. But the municipal researcher, who sometimes feels desperately that a nation-wide field trip would be necessary to do justice to any given research project, is apt to wrap his arms around the likes of *A Guide to Published Data for Cities of the United States.* This is a list just given to the world by Pressly S. Sikes, courtesy of the **Bureau of Government Research of Indiana University.** "The purpose of this publication," says the author, "is to provide in a convenient form a guide to the compiled and published statistical data applying to all or reasonably large selections of the cities of the United States." The material is broken up into ten subject divisions, such as population, education and libraries, housing, government (many sub-subs under this one), hospital and medical service, etc. What the Bureau has done is to delve into standard works of reference, as well as less well known ones, ferret out the tables and sections dealing with each subject, and list them by chapter and verse, not forgetting to include a tabulation of the types of material contained in each reference. To anyone who has ever used up costly hours in a library trying to find a fact by the hunt and fish method, this sort of thing is well nigh priceless.

Administrative Analysis

The Minnesota department which was responsible for the study described above is representative of an infant function which has recently emerged on the government scene—that of administrative analysis. First cousin to the efficiency expert of private industry, there is little question but that the administrative analyst is here to stay and to flourish in our cities, our states, and our federal government. Therefore, *Reducing Costs and Improving Services in Minnesota's Government,* which is the description by the **Minnesota Division of Administrative Management and Research** of its own organization and activities, is of particular interest and importance. Private philanthropy thought the division's job important enough to give it constant support since its inception in the fall of 1941 and the list of the division's successful projects seems to bear out this confidence.

Highways

Whatever one may think of the future of the airplane, few would not agree that the automobile is here to stay. In governmental terms that means more and better highways, particularly after the war when the populace will again have gasoline. Thus, paying for such improvements will probably become an even more burning question than it has been in the past. The **Bureau of Government of**

the University of Michigan has published an exhaustive study on *Michigan Highway Finance* with probably just this in mind. While the history in this work is Michigan's, the experience is common to most of the country and the authors have left no stone unturned in their effort to arrive at some conclusion regarding an equitable basis for taxation to support future highways. They give full consideration to such questions as the way in which tax money shall be divided among the various governmental jurisdictions, and to the fair weight of taxes upon the general public and upon the highway user. There is an ample bibliography to assist those who wish to go further into any one aspect of the subject.

Research Brevities

A month's layoff for a reviewer of research materials is equivalent to an invitation to Niagara to do its worst in one's backyard. The only way to hold back the waters is to give short shrift to studies which would otherwise merit more respectful treatment. In this category are the following summarily treated research *opera:*

The Legislative Program for Minnesota State Government, 1943-45, issued by the **Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research,** provides that invaluable summary of what the legislature did during its last session.

Proposals for improved fiscal control and general management for the State of New York are summarized in a work by the **Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research of New York State,** under the title, *Program for State Management Advances.*

"To help prevent any unnecessary additions to the taxpayers' burden in the form of padded payrolls during the coming election," the **Bureau of Governmental Research of New Orleans** has already published two issues of its *City Problems* on "Public Employment in New Orleans."

The **Providence Governmental Research Bureau** too is concerned with personnel, in "The City Personnel Plan" in a recent bulletin.

The **Des Moines Bureau** also deals with civil service law in its November 1 bulletin.

The **Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis** sheds perspective on a current constitutional convention by reviewing the experience of past conventions in "The Coming Constitutional Convention—Some Guideposts" in an issue of its *Mind Your Business.* Another bulletin presents taxation proposals for the convention.

The **Schenectady Bureau** throws light on that always murky document, a city budget, with an analysis in its October 15 *Bulletin.*

The **Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee** makes recommendations for modernizing its zoning ordinance in an October 30 bulletin.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Administrative Analysis

Reducing Costs and Improving Services in Minnesota's Government. St. Paul, Minnesota Division of Administrative Management and Research, 1943. 41 pp.

Building

A Suggested Basic Building Code for Washington Cities. By Alfred L. Miller and Joshua H. Vogel. Seattle, Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of Washington, 1943. 26 pp.

County Government

Areal and Functional Consolidation of Tennessee Counties. By C. E. Allred and B. H. Luebke. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, 1943. 39 pp.

Courts

Survey of the Minor Judiciary in Pennsylvania. State College, Pennsylvania Municipal Publications Service, 1942. 226 pp.

Highways

Michigan Highway Finance. By Robert S. Ford and Marvin A. Bacon. Ann Arbor, Bureau of Government of the University of Michigan, 1943. 191 pp.

Legislature

The Legislative Program for Minnesota State Government, 1943-45. Minneapolis, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, *State Government Research Bulletin,* October 1943. 20 pp.

Municipal Government

Better Public Service. Compiled by City of Kalamazoo Employees, edited by Kalamazoo Bureau of Municipal Research. Kalamazoo, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1943. 49 pp.

A Guide to Published Data for Cities of the U. S. By Pressly S. Sikes. Bloomington, Bureau of Governmental Research, Department of Government, Indiana University, 1943. 48 pp.

Municipal Reports

Modernizing Municipal Reports. Hartford, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, Inc., 1943. 27 pp.

Personnel

Improving State Employee Effectiveness with an Orientation and Reference Manual. St. Paul, Minnesota Division of Administrative Management and Research, 1943. 32 pp.

Municipal Salary Survey of South Dakota. Vermillion, Governmental Research Bureau of University of South Dakota, 1943. 13 pp.

Research

Progress Report, September Council Meeting. Topeka, Research Department, Kansas Legislative Council, 1943. 22 pp.

Strengthening Democracy at the Roots—the Five Experimental Years of the University's New Service to Government. Philadelphia, Institute of Local and State Government, University of Pennsylvania, 1943. 40 pp.

State Government

Program for State Management Advances. Albany, Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research of New York State, 1943. 18 pp.

War

Official War Publications. Guide to State, Federal and Canadian Publications (Vol. VI). By Jerome K. Wilcox. Berkeley, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, 1943 274 pp.

CONSTITUTION BY CONVENTION

(Continued from Page 16)

mental law, or a mixture of general enabling clauses and specific legislative enactments. It may submit a completed document, a series of amendments, a series of separate articles, or a complete document containing certain alternative provisions. The election must be held within sixty days after adjournment.

Plans will undoubtedly be laid for a statewide citizens' committee to secure a favorable vote on adoption of the constitution if the document warrants the support of progressive citizens' groups.

It is too early to hazard an opinion on the outcome of the Convention: but the prognosis of today is "Fair and warmer."

On the Local Front

Prepared by the Office of Community War Services, Federal Security Agency
Mark A. McClosky, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

An Expanded Program for Vocational Rehabilitation of Disabled Citizens

IN PASSING recent amendments which broaden the federal-state program for vocational rehabilitation of the disabled, it was pointed out in the Senate that: "From the long range point of view there is no question but that the problem of disability is a problem which can be met only by large expenditures of public money. The very fact that a person who is normally a breadwinner is disabled often raises a relief problem as to him and his dependents. From the viewpoint of both federal and state treasuries, and of the disabled persons themselves, experience has demonstrated that the best as well as the most economical approach for meeting the situation is an appropriate program of vocational rehabilitation. Where a disabled person may be made fit for employment through rehabilitation, and can become a tax producer rather than a tax consumer, it would seem poor economy to deny him these necessary services."

On the basis of a study made in 1936 by the U. S. Public Health Service, there are in this country at least eight million men and women between the ages of 15 and 64 years who have a physical defect or chronic disease—not including those having visual defects or those suffering from emotional disorders. It is estimated that of the eight million, about six million are normally employed. This leaves around two million unemployed from which group our problem derives.

This large group of individuals not only does not produce and thereby carry its own economic weight, it consumes—on a conservatively estimated basis—a billion dollars a year of the productive effort of others. The number would appear to remain fairly constant. In good times and in bad, additional numbers flow into this pool from various sources about as fast as others flow out through re-employment, advanced age, death, etc. In this period of almost full employment—allowing for those who cannot be expected to become employable—we estimate that there are about a million who, through appropriate rehabilitation services, could be made available for war and other essential production work.

The vocational rehabilitation program, which was designed to promote the rehabilitation of that segment of the disabled who can be made employable, was inaugurated in 1920. It was based upon the principle of local as well as federal participation with responsibility for its operation vested in State Boards of Vocational Education. This principle was retained in the recently enacted amendments to the act. These amendments, however, made a number of basic changes with respect to coverage and the method of financing the program.

The new law makes possible a more extensive and more effective program throughout the states. It defines the term "rehabilitation services" as any services necessary to render a disabled individual fit to engage in a remunerative occupation. Such services include, in addition to rehabilitation training, physical restoration services, hospitalization, physical and occupational therapy, prosthetic appliances, and maintenance during training. In contrast, the act of 1920 practically limited the use of federal funds to the training phase of the program and the furnishing of prosthetic appliances.

Specific provision is made in the new act for the rehabilitation of the blind. It also makes it possible to rehabilitate the mentally as well as the physically disabled.

Fiscal Limitations Removed

The fiscal provisions have been liberalized, and the old limitation of $3,500,000 for rehabilitation services has been removed. Payments to states are now based on need and the amount of state funds available for matching, rather than on the basis of population as provided by the act of 1920.

Under the amendments of 1943 the federal government will assume the entire cost of administration of state programs in contrast to the previous requirement of matching on a 50-50 basis. The federal government will assume one-half the cost of rehabilitation training, medical examinations, surgery, therapeutic treatment, hospitalization, prosthetic appliances, transportation, occupational tools and licenses, and the cost of maintenance. The entire cost of these services will be assumed by the federal government in the case of the war disabled civilian, defined to include members of the air raid warning service, civil air patrol, and merchant seamen.

It is to be noted that this act applies only to civilians. It does not include men and women who incur disability in line of duty in the military or naval services. That group is the responsibility of the Veterans Administration. It does include, however, those who are discharged from the service because of a pre-existing disability and those who are disabled not in line of duty. Such individuals are accepted and served on the same basis as civilians, there being no special provision for them.

The expanded program is designed to provide services which will be best suited to meet the needs of the individual concerned. The rehabilitation agent interviews the applicant, and frequently his former employer, school officials, and others, for the purpose of securing all pertinent data regarding the client's problem and potentialities for rehabilitation. In many cases, it is necessary to supplement this information by securing other data through medical, psychological, and psychiatric examinations made by specialists employed for that purpose. All data secured through the case study are evaluated for the purpose of assisting the client in determining upon a suitable employment objective and the formulation of a plan to realize it.

Disabled persons are selected for rehabilitation services on the basis of two major factors—eligibility and feasibility. *Eligibility* factors are conditioned by law. The determinant is the presence of an established handicap. *Feasibility* is determined by whether the individual can be made employable or more advantageously employable, taking into consideration the factors of age, physical condition, education and experience, mental capacity, aptitudes, abilities, and interests.

In the program of rehabilitation training, use is made of existing vocational training facilities that are able to meet the peculiar needs of the individual. These facilities include public vocational schools, private trade schools, universities and colleges offering professional and technical training, business colleges and correspondence schools, and business establishments such as service and repair shops, factories and other commercial concerns.

Maintenance may be provided clients during their training program only after an investigation of the client's resources and liabilities discloses that such assistance is necessary.

Placing the Client

Placement is an integral part of the rehabilitation process and, as it is proof that preparation has been adequate, it must be the responsibility of the rehabilitation agency. In the placement of a rehabilitated client the case procedure method is followed. It may be accomplished either by placement with an employer or by establishment in self-employment of some kind.

In effecting placement the employer must be sold on the employment of disabled persons; hence, rehabilitation workers must make personal solicitation of employers in order to effect the placement of their clients. It is the practice of rehabilitation agencies to coöperate with other agencies and individuals in securing placement for their clients. Training agencies are expected to assist in the placement of clients trained by them. Finally, the aid of all employment agencies, and particularly the U. S. Employment Service, is solicited in securing the placement of clients prepared by the rehabilitation agency for employment.

Some disabled persons have the desire and the ability to engage in business for themselves. Such persons may be assisted by the rehabilitation service in so establishing themselves.

In providing any service the policy of utilizing existing facilities will be continued as in the past. Although authority is given the Federal Security Administrator to establish needed facilities when requested by two or more states, this authority will not be exercised unless it be proven that existing facilities cannot be expanded to meet an urgent need.

On September 8 of this year an Office of Vocational Rehabilitation was established as a constituent unit of the Federal Security Agency. The functions of the Office are carried out through two major divisions—the Division of Management Standards and the Division of Rehabilitation Standards—each of which has sections responsible for specific functions and eleven regional offices located in regions corresponding to those of the Agency. Regional representatives will be in charge of these areas and will represent the Director of Vocational Rehabilitation and the Federal Security Administrator in the administration of the act in their respective regions.

The personnel in Washington are specialists in the different aspects of the program and will be available for technical assistance to regional and state officials.

— **Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps** —

Contributors in Review

ELECTED Governor of Georgia in 1942, **Ellis Arnall** (*25 Study Georgia Basic Law*) has made constitutional revision one of the major tasks of his administration. He was largely responsible for the adoption of some 28 amendments in August of last year—among them one which lowered the voting age to eighteen—as well as for the appointment of the constitutional commission of which he writes in this issue. Governor Arnall was admitted to the Georgia bar in 1931. He was a member of the Georgia House of Representatives, acting as speaker *pro tem* from 1933 to 1937, later the state's Attorney-General.

FOR many years head of the Department of Government at the University of Newark, **John E. Bebout** (*New Task for a Legislature*) took leave a year ago to act as full-time executive vice-president of the New Jersey Constitution Foundation. Previous to his work for the Foundation, Dr. Bebout spent a year as executive assistant to Governor Edison. His hobby for a long time has been the study of and civic activity in problems of government and citizenship in New Jersey. He is author of *Documents and Readings in New Jersey Government* and advisory editor of the forthcoming publication on debates in New Jersey's 1844 Constitutional Convention, as well as author of its extensive introduction.

INTERESTED in government since she was thirteen, when she marched in a New York suffrage parade, **Tess** (Mrs. Virgil) **Loeb** (*Constitution by Convention*) has worked for civic betterment in her adopted city, St. Louis, for a number of years. She has given much time to the League of Women Voters, recently participating in that organization's campaign to arouse public opinion on the problems of postwar planning. Mrs. Loeb served as chairman of the St. Louis Consumers Milk Commission, where she worked for the city's standard milk ordinance. She was a member of the council and of the Model City Charter Committee of the National Municipal League. She is now "covering" the Constitutional Convention in Missouri as a special writer for the *St. Louis Star-Times.*

HOMESTEADER in Colorado, U. S. Indian agent in New Mexico, college professor in Arizona, newspaper reporter in Detroit, advertising writer in New York—these are some of the high spots of the career of **Webb Waldron** (*The Mayor Gets Things Done*), now roving editor for *The Reader's Digest.* From writing copy for Dr. Eliot's Five Foot Shelf he graduated into the editorial department of *Collier's*, and during World War I was correspondent with the British and American armies. He derives his greatest satisfaction from describing the achievements of American individuals and communities in magazine articles, feeling it is more important to picture the successful struggle of a gang of Pittsburgh slum children toward good citizenship than to write a sonata or create a romantic heroine. Nevertheless, he has several novels, as well as other books, to his credit.

News in Review

City, State, and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Federal Government's Property Surplus a Postwar Problem

Disposition for Public or Private Use at Issue

ALTHOUGH no date for the end of the war is reasonably predictable, the problem of converting huge governmental investments for war purposes to public or private peacetime uses is receiving much attention by Congress, the administration, representatives of state and local governments, and the public generally. Some federal governmental holdings have already been disposed of as unsuited to present requirements or otherwise not needed.

Estimates of the prospective size of the surplus reach huge figures. One, based on experience of the previous war and the relative size of operations in this one, goes to the incredible height of 75 billions of dollars of surplus materials, while the total land in war use is reported to exceed 43,000,000 acres, over 17,000,000 of which was acquired by the War Department within the last three years. A great deal of this land, particularly among wartime acquisitions, will be regarded as surplus.

Congress Considers Proposals

Hearings have been held before various committees of Congress in connection with proposed legislation, and views of many organizations and individuals have been presented. There appeared to be general agreement that a central board or person should be empowered by Congress to look after all surplus property. Many private interests and also members of Congress urge the sale of surplus holdings to private purchasers as completely and rapidly as is reasonably possible without dislocating markets. On the other hand, there is fear that property that should be retained by the federal government or transferred to states and localities will be let go, to the immediate or ultimate public detriment.

One body considering the matter is a subcommittee of the Public Buildings Committee headed by Representative Carter Monasco, who has proposed a ten-man commission, representing government, industry, and the public, to dispose of surplus property, with first preference to the producer who had the property, followed by the federal, state, and local governments, and then by the domestic and foreign markets respectively. In December the National Association of Real Estate Boards urged upon the subcommittee the need of a central agency for disposal of surplus real estate under a careful and orderly program, the setting of minimum appraised prices, and governmental financing. The Association objected to the offering of surplus real estate to government departments ahead of non-governmental purchasers, but recommended that important holdings difficult of replacement should be sold only with right of recapture.

Rights of States and Cities

A bill by Representative James O'Leary, which has passed the House and reached the Senate, would leave the sale of surplus property (including personal property) with the procurement division of the Treasury, with the right for states and cities to purchase before offering to the general market.

The Small Business Committee headed by Representative Wright Patman has held hearings and issued a report favoring disposal of surplus property to veterans and small businesses. Municipalities are neglected. The committee believes that ten years or more will be required for liquidation.

Under the Lanham Act for war housing, property constructed thereunder cannot be conveyed to public or even private agencies to provide subsidized low-rent housing.

Related to disposal of surplus property is the general problem of reconversion from war industry to production for peace. The Council of State Governments, through its executive director, is one of many organizations and individuals expressing concern over methods and timing of termination of war contracts, and the handling of attendant problems of unemployment and surplus property.

Public or Private Control

A public opinion poll conducted last fall for the National Planning Association showed 75 per cent of persons interviewed in all parts of the country as favoring a central governmental agency—with representation of business, labor, and agriculture desired by most advocates—to guide domestic policy as to re-employment, plant conversion, and demobilization; 46 per cent were for selling government-owned plant facilities to private operators, and 26 per cent for government retention; in the case of plants which the private operator did not wish to purchase, 46 per cent thought the government should take them over and 37 per cent were for selling to the highest bidder. Postwar partnership between government and business in vital defense industries was favored by 52 per cent.

Labor Department Reports on Industrial Areas

As a service to local civic, labor, and industrial groups the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor is preparing and issuing a series of industrial area reports to set forth the background of local conditions bearing upon proposed federal policies for the postwar period. The Bureau states regarding the series of reports:

"All agencies and levels of government will have to participate in the task of postwar reconstruction if it is to be brought to a successful conclusion. But the necessary scope of this participation, and the proper division of responsibility between local, state, and national government, cannot be determined accurately unless local groups first stake out the field, examine the reconversion and re-employment problem in their communities, and indicate the type and extent of assistance they will require from state and national authorities.

"The studies in this series are not intended to be definitive; lacking the information and perspective which local residents alone can provide, they must aim at a more limited objective. They are meant to provide a solid base of statistical material on the local community before and during the war, with some suggestion of the problems to be met when hostilities end. It is hoped that they will stimulate and assist local groups in gauging the impact of the war on their community, and in preparing for a swift and effective shift of production to peacetime uses."

Canada Succeeds in Anti-Inflation Policy

Since the establishment of overall price, wage, and profit control in Canada[1] two years ago—December 1, 1941—the cost of living has increased only 3.3

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[1] See "Canada Regulates Wages, Prices," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, May 1942, p. 249.

per cent as compared to a 14.6 per cent increase in that country's first two years of the present war and a 33 per cent increase in the second two years of the last war, according to a dispatch in the *New York Times*. This states:

From January 1, 1942, to the end of October only 5,738 dealers had been prosecuted for breaking the ceiling or other infractions of the law. The control is for the most part exercised by 13,000 voluntary officers, mostly women, throughout the country who report to the board and make recommendations.

To keep the cost of living down subsidies are paid on essential imports and on such products as milk and butter to about an equal amount. The subsidies paid in both categories this year will reach about $120,000,000. Without these subsidies, it is claimed, the cost-of-living index would have risen considerably and weighed unfairly on certain classes of the community.

On December 9 a further order was issued barring wage increases except in cases of "gross inequality or gross injustice," where the employer can pay an increase and not raise prices. Such cost-of-living bonuses as have been granted will be incorporated in the wage structure. A re-examination of price and wage control is promised if any substantial increase in cost of living occurs.

Council-Manager Plan News

On December 7 **Ishpeming, Michigan,** adopted a council-manager charter by a vote of 1,020 to 669. It replaces a charter that was granted by the legislature in 1873.

The International City Managers' Association has added **Bloomfield Hills, Michigan,** to its official list of council-manager cities. The present manager has been serving since 1935 under a charter adopted in 1932.

The first council under the council-manager charter for **Lowell, Massachusetts,** was elected on November 2,[1] to take office January 4. A manager is being sought—preferably one with previous manager experience.

A proposal for a city manager in **Kenogami, Quebec,** was defeated on November 25 and 26 by a vote of 238 to 91. It is believed that a general understanding that the present mayor would be appointed manager reacted against the proposal.

The effort to substitute the council-manager plan in place of government by a three-man commission in **Everett, Washington,** received a setback on December 4 when the proposal for a manager and a council of seven was defeated by a vote of 3,021 to 1,578. The proposal was sponsored by the Junior Chamber of Commerce but was opposed by certain business interests, including a large lumber company, as well as by political office-holders. Labor sentiment was divided. An active committee worked for the plan and the attempt to have it adopted is expected to be renewed after the war.

Midland, Michigan, will vote February 21 on adoption of a manager charter.

The city of **Fairbanks, Alaska,** 100 miles south of the Arctic Circle, will have a special election soon on the question of adopting the provisions of the 1943 council-manager enabling act. The manager plan is reported to have large public support, and the present council has recommended it and is seeking qualified applicants from all parts of the United States. One of the first duties of the prospective manager will be the handling of arrangements with federal agencies on the construction of water, sewerage, and housing projects.

The charter revision commission of

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[1] See also p. 45 this issue.

East Lansing, Michigan, is at work on a council-manager charter. A council of five members of at least three year's residence in the city has been decided on; the other elective officials to be the justice of the peace and the city constable.

The Federation of Citizens Associations in **Washington, D. C.,** has adopted a committee report endorsing the McCarran bill, which would provide for a city manager and seven elected councilmen. The Federation also favored a proposed amendment to provide that at least three of the seven councilmen, and also a mayor, should be elected at large.

In a poll of aldermen of **Madison, Wisconsin,** by the *Madison State Journal,* three were definitely for a change to the manager plan, one favored it if the governing board is not to be reduced in size, three were willing to submit the plan to popular vote, four were definitely opposed, and five could not be reached for interviews at the time.

A committee of the Chamber of Commerce of **El Paso, Texas,** has been appointed to study the manager plan. One member is the editor of the *El Paso Times* and the others are prominent business men.

The directors of the Chamber of Commerce of **Burlington, Vermont,** voted on December 3 to investigate the pros and cons of the manager plan, which is in effect in 25 Vermont cities and towns. The executive secretary of the Chamber is gathering data, and citizens have been invited to express their opinions by writing to Chamber headquarters. The mayor contends that the plan is not desired locally.

Urban Redevelopment Project Upheld by New York Court

An injunction against the "Stuyvesant Town" project of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company for postwar rebuilding of an eighteen-block area on the east side of Manhattan Island, New York City,[1] was denied by the Court of Appeals of New York State on December 2, by a vote of four to two. The injunction against the proposal was sought by property owners. The majority of the Court held that a public purpose existed. Another suit, by various civic associations, seeking to abrogate the contract with the city, is pending in the courts.

Sandusky, Ohio, Provides Varied In-Service Training

An example of different types of in-service training for employees in several municipal departments is furnished by the council-manager city of Sandusky, Ohio, the American Municipal Association reports.

Every fireman has or is enrolled in a training course offered through the University of Virginia, and selected police officers attend monthly meetings held by the district office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Cleveland. Several police officers also have attended police training schools at Purdue and Ohio State Universities.

The police officers, upon their return from the various schools and meetings, lead group discussion meetings to transmit to members of the force information and ideas gained at the schools. In addition, all Sandusky officers attended a district school, covering eight counties, held in Sandusky with the coöperation of the University of Toledo.

In-service training also is being done in the waterworks, street, and engineering departments. The city engineer who directed training in these departments took motion pictures of actual operations and shows them to a group of employees who discuss ways in which the work could be improved. Though many employees in these departments are not interested in textbooks, they will sit through a meeting at which motion pictures are shown and practical problems discussed by a man whose language they understand.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1943, p. 284; July 1943, p. 397.

Other training programs sponsored by the city included sending the golf manager and greens-keeper to a school conducted by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The city also inaugurated an automobile and truck accident prevention program in coöperation with the company insuring municipal equipment. Monthly safety meetings were held, and as a result the accident rate has dropped about 70 per cent.

According to city officials, in-service training has resulted in the retirement of many older men in the police and fire departments who were not interested in participating in training programs. They were replaced by younger men who have improved the discipline and morale of the force.

Illinois Officials Studying Government Administration

State administrative officials in Illinois are being given courses in public administration, sponsored by the Illinois State Civil Service Commission and the University of Illinois.

The courses include administrative organization and reorganization at the three levels of government, centralization and decentralization, methods of management, personnel problems, financial administration, administrative powers and limitations, and legislative, judicial and popular control over administration. Future courses will include one in personnel administration and one in budget administration, according to the Civil Service Assembly.

Persons eligible to take graduate work are allowed credit toward a master's degree in public administration at the University of Illinois. Those not eligible for graduate work are permitted to attend the course.

Maine Provides Service Officer for Veterans

A new state service officer has been added to the Maine Department of Health and Welfare to handle affairs of state veterans and of men and women now in the armed forces. Maine is one of 32 states in the country with a state employee serving under the title of service officer or similar designation, according to the American Public Welfare Association.

Under general supervision of the director of social welfare the new service officer acts as a consultant to the staff of various divisions of the department in all matters pertaining to veterans and their dependents. Duties of the officer include filing and prosecuting claims for disability, death or other federal benefits for which veterans or dependents are eligible; consulting and working with the U. S. Veterans' Administration and other interested organizations; and interpreting to the public the activities and policies of the department on behalf of veterans and their dependents. He also serves on the Maine Veterans' Service committee which is composed of representatives of all organizations in the state concerned with the welfare of veterans and which has undertaken the postwar planning program for returning veterans.

University of Pennsylvania Gives Free In-Service Training

The Institute of Local and State Government of the University of Pennsylvania has announced a new program in Pennsylvania local and state government administration, for a limited number of state, county, city, borough, and township officials, without cost for tuition. Emphasis is on administrative problems and the methods utilized by public officials in such fields as public works, planning, utilities, recreation, taxation, finance, personnel, etc. Round table discussions are led by invited authorities in their particular fields. A different phase of public administration is studied and discussed each week. The program extends from November 2, 1943, to June 1944.

Kentucky Reports on Governmental Progress

A four-year account of the Kentucky state government, under the auspices of Governor Keen Johnson, was published under the title *Kentucky Government, 1939-1943* on November 30, shortly before the new Governor took office. This 72-page document, copiously illustrated with charts and photographs, along with the 1939 report of Governor Chandler, marks a milestone in the commonwealth's reporting plan.

The present report is presented in two coördinate parts, the first dealing with the operation and achievements of the state government itself and the second with the relationship between the state and local governmental and other coöperative activities. The second part begins with an outline of the state's policy toward local agencies. In brief, it is stated to be state financial and technical support for the development and maintenance of public service programs with statewide implications, but preservation of local discretion as to action and policy. The Governor believes state prescription of minimum standards or state checkup to assure legal expenditure of funds is consistent with desirable local autonomy.

James W. Martin
University of Kentucky

Illinois Welfare Employees under Civil Service

Employees of the Public Welfare Department of Illinois are undergoing the most important advance in that department in recent years in being given tenure under a merit system, according to the Citizens' Civil Service Association of Illinois. The State Civil Service Commission was directed by Governor Green last September to examine all classifications and to keep lists in force so that all employees will be certified. Those on the certified list are to refrain from politics and are not to be assessed for campaign funds although voluntary contributions are allowed.

Wisconsin Municipal Retirement Fund Now Operative

January 1, 1944, was the date when the Wisconsin Municipal Retirement Fund, provided by legislation enacted in 1943, became effective in twenty or more municipalities having employees ranging in number from 18 to 522 and totaling approximately 3,000, or about one-fourth of the eligible employees in the entire state. Other cities have acted to come under the fund but not in time to be effective before 1945. Four members of the board of trustees have been appointed by Acting Governor Goodland, the fifth member being the commissioner of insurance, *ex officio*. Two members were from lists submitted by the League of Wisconsin Municipalities, and Frederick N. MacMillin, Secretary of the League, has acted as temporary executive director of the fund.

Mayor Orville Christianson of Eau Claire, designated executive trustee, is chairman of the board, and Comptroller I. F. Knoebel of West Allis, finance trustee, is secretary. Two other members are designated municipality trustee and employee trustee.

Citizen Action

Citizens, Schools Cooperate on Election Project

Philadelphia pupils learn how to vote, visit the polls

WORKING with the secondary schools of Philadelphia to make their courses in citizenship and civics more interesting, and to help the students secure first-hand information about the ballot and its importance in our system of government, the **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy** last fall submitted a twofold plan to the school executives of the public, Catholic, and private school systems of the city. These executives welcomed the idea and each system assigned an instructor to assist with the program and make necessary arrangements with school principals.

With the full coöperation of the three systems the Committee established a school to teach registration procedure and the conduct of elections. The course was divided in two parts.

Education for Teaching

Six weeks before the municipal election of November 2, 1943, the office of the Committee of Seventy was equipped with voting machines as used in 41 wards of the city, sample paper ballots which cover the remaining eleven wards, and other election equipment. The Committee also secured copies of official registration affidavits, voters' certificates, return sheets for recording results of elections. It had printed an eight-page digest of election laws, penalties for the violation of the laws, and the setup and arrangement of polling places, etc.

School authorities selected five students from each school in the city. These included 46 junior and senior public high schools, nine Catholic high schools, and ten private schools of high school grades.

Five representatives from four different schools and several teachers constituted a class. A definite schedule of classes was established, and a period of two hours was allowed each group. Training was intensive. It began with an explanation of the permanent registration system, filling out of a permanent registration record, a black-board outline of a polling place, an explanation of how members of the election board are chosen and their respective duties, who is permitted in the polling places, straight party voting by machine and paper ballot, and how to split tickets. The candidate counters on the back of the machines were shown and explained, as were other safeguards to prevent fraudulent voting. After these demonstrations, each student was permitted to mark a ballot and operate a voting machine. This was followed by a question-and-answer period.

Illegal Assistance

In Philadelphia we are plagued with wholesale illegal assistance by political workers. These violations of our election laws were stressed in order that students would accent the simplicity of voting by machine or ballot. Ways of learning qualifications of candidates and the importance of issues were suggested. *In instructing the classes, the Committee emphasized the need for discussing these important problems with parents and other adults during the election season.*

Each student was given copies of a facsimile ballot from the voting machine, the paper ballot used in some parts of the city, the primary election ballot, registration affidavit, a voter's certificate, election board return sheet, digest of the election laws, and a small pamphlet entitled—*How a Vote Works.*

Upon completion of the course, the students returned to their respective schools and, in turn, assumed the role of teachers before classes in social science, civics, problems of democracy, history, etc.

It is estimated by civics teachers and school authorities that the 325 students and 35 teachers who had been trained in this course of study instructed more than 100,000 students in 65 Philadelphia schools.

Practical Experience

As an experiment, fifteen students from the public, Catholic, and private schools were selected to visit polling places and observe the conduct of elections during the primary, September 14, 1943. A short course of training was developed to equip them for the work. On election day the students were assigned to visit 50 of the 1,335 polling places in Philadelphia, representing a cross-section of the city.

The experiment was so successful that school executives asked the Committee of Seventy to enlarge the program for the general election. The Committee made the necessary arrangements and executives from secondary schools and colleges selected 348 students for the project. Many in this group had attended the previous course in voting procedure.

Our staff planned a two-hour course to be given in the Committee's offices, and an average of 30 students comprised each class. After the completion of the course the students paired off and assignments were made so that students could go right into the field on election morning.

Important sections of the Pennsylvania election laws were reviewed, while special emphasis was given to the layout of polling places, who is permitted inside the polling place, the duties of police officers and County Board of Elections, and how returns are made to the Election Bureau.

Students were coached in how to secure coöperation of political workers around the polling places and encouraged to question them. They learned at first hand how political workers and party committeemen get out the vote, control the vote, intimidate the uninformed to vote for their handpicked candidates, and influence election boards.

Each student was supplied with a digest of election laws, a list and the addresses of the polling places each couple would visit, and a card of identification. This card contained the student's name, the school he represented, and a brief notice advising that he was coöperating with the Committee of Seventy.

Some students began their visits at 7:00 A.M. when the polls were opened, others at noon, while some who were not given class credit for the survey waited until after school hours. Depending upon the amount of time to be devoted to the project, each couple was given from three to ten polling places to visit. Altogether, 800 polling places were visited by the 174 teams.

Results

The study of civics and democracy will have more meaning to these boys and girls, many of whom for the first time had an opportunity to see democracy working at the polling place. They saw how their public officials are elected. They saw what happens in and around many of the polling places in a large metropolitan city. They met and talked with members of election boards, political workers, and voters. They watched two political machines at work.

Most important of all, by their presence around the polling places and repeated visits to the more congested areas, they had an important part in bringing about one of the most orderly and peaceful municipal elections held in Philadelphia for 50 years.

The experiment was successful, and next year both projects will be repeated on a larger scale.

The credit for the successful plan belongs to the social science teachers of the secondary school systems.

William Barclay Lex,
Vice-chairman
Philadelphia Committee of Seventy

Citizens and Officials Plan for Grand Rapids

The **Metropolitan Grand Rapids Planning Association** has scarcely reached a point where much can be said of its activities. However, the story of its inception may be of interest.

Impetus for the movement was threefold. First, Mayor George Welsh, presumably through his participation in the Advisory Council of the U. S. Conference of Mayors, became convinced of the need for planning. Second, Kenneth C. Welch, vice-president of the Grand Rapids Store Equipment Company, through his contacts in designing, equipping, and planning for leading retail stores in large metropolitan areas, saw the direct relationship between retail trade problems and city planning. Third, the League of Women Voters, concerned with the social aspects of planning, brought Walter Blucher, director of the American Society of Planning Officials, to the city for a day's consultation with city officials and for a dinner attended by 150 leading citizens.

Out of this grew almost simultaneously both the Planning Association and progress in official planning. One can scarcely say which was cause and which effect, so closely have they been interwoven. No doubt the very existence of preliminary steps in the development of the Association—plus the leadership of the Mayor and the prodding of our two most technically informed citizens, Mr. Welch and Mrs. Martin Robinson—account for passage of a new planning ordinance based on the state enabling act, the appointment of a new Planning Commission, and the appropriation of funds therefor.

So, too, with the encouragement of the members of the new Planning Commission, has come about the incorporation of the Metropolitan Grand Rapids Planning Association. Representatives of some thirty citizen groups and of all cities and townships within the area were invited to a preliminary dinner. Here talks were given on the Committee for Economic Development and its relation to city planning by the CED chairman, on state planning activities in relation to city planning by the State Planning Commission's chairman, the history of planning in Grand Rapids by the Mayor, planning in other cities by Mr. Welch, legal problems in planning by Mrs. Robinson, and the place of a citizens' organization in planning. Two luncheon meetings with the planning consultant, Mr. Ladislav Segoe, helped to clarify for us our objectives and functions as an organization, as well as to widen and intensify the interest in planning among business men and labor leaders.

Association's Program

The two principal emphases of the Association are: (1) coördination of the planning efforts of all the governmental units in the metropolitan area, a function for which there is no governmental channel possible under the law; and (2) development of public understanding of and support for sound planning.

The Association plans to employ a planning technician to make studies of the economic and social structure and needs of the metropolitan community. To have these studies made by the Association rather than by the governmental planning agencies will serve two purposes: it will make it possible to approach these problems from a metropolitan-wide point of view, and will relieve our governmental agencies, financially restricted by a drastic property tax limit, of this expense.

Citizens, Officials Cooperate

Under the heading of physical planning, the function of the Association will be to bring together into a permanent committee the officials of the governmental planning agencies for the purpose of coördinating their plans. Subcommittees on the various phases of physical planning will also include official representatives of the cities and townships of the area as well as citizens.

Much thought has been given to the question of the extent to which government officials should participate in the direction of this citizens' association. It is important that the Association protect itself against political abuse. On the other hand, the Association is to serve as the machinery through which government officials of the seven cities and townships in the area can coöperate. We therefore are developing a board of directors, the majority of whom are citizens, but on which will be officials from each of the governmental units.

The objective is to create a large citizen membership through which we can reach the community with our educational efforts. Some of us believe that this Association offers a means of stabilizing and making permanent much of the citizen interest and coöperation that has been developed for war purposes in the Defense Council. The functions of many of the Defense Council committees are those of community planning. They need only to be transferred to a continuing, peacetime basis.

Though it may be too early for such assumptions, the establishment of this Association marks a most encouraging milestone for Grand Rapids. The prospects for success for the present citizen movement are twofold: (1) much of the motive for planning is economic and the Association therefore is profiting by the interest and support of citizens who ordinarily turn a deaf ear to the more idealistic, intangible objective of "good government"; (2) the Association has a positive rather than a negative purpose: it does not exist to clean up a bad political situation; it exists to build a better community, economically and socially. A better community politically may be an inevitable by-product, but direct activity in this field is barred by the Association's articles of incorporation.

Dorothy L. Judd
Grand Rapids, Michigan

Here and There

More Anniversaries

The **Chicago City Club** celebrated the 40th anniversary of its founding on December 6. Dr. Charles E. Merriam, professor of political science at the University of Chicago, gave an address at the anniversary luncheon on Chicago and the postwar world which was greeted with prolonged applause. The only two charter members present—Lessing Rosenthal and Colonel A. A. Sprague — gave short addresses. Herman L. Ellsworth, president of the Club, presided.

Hon. Millard E. Tydings, U. S. Senator from Maryland, was the principal speaker at the 50th anniversary dinner of the **Chicago Civic Federation,** referred to in this column last month.

The **Women's Municipal League of Boston** celebrated its 35 years of civic service this fall by publication of a history of the organization.

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With the Women Voters

Apropos of the "person-to-person" campaign (see last month's column) of the **National League of Women Voters,** the *Monthly News,* organ of the **New York League of Women Voters,** contains reports from the state's local groups on the success of similar tactics in pre-election and membership work.

"Personal canvass is the most direct way to meet the indifference and apathy of voters," said the **New Rochelle League.** "The community has become more aware of the League and its program," reports **Albany.**

Leagues which used the face-to-face approach with the 100 per cent voter pledge cards report returns of from 20 to 60 per cent. Leagues which have tried it say that the "direct approach" method is best in increasing memberships.

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Election Tactics

A. R. Everson, executive vice-president of the **New Jersey Taxpayers Association,** has solved the problem of how to get the commuter vote to the polls. In the interests of constitutional revision he organized a volunteer corps of more than 500 workers, chiefly women, and assigned them on the Friday morning preceding election to posts at nearly two hundred central and north Jersey railroad and bus stations. These volunteers handed out circulars to over 200,000 New York–bound commuters. Says the November 15 issue of *Taxegram*: "For the first time in political history Hudson County, the Hague stronghold and a 'verboten' spot for opposition outlanders, was circularized on a county-wide basis without a single casualty."

The **Seattle Municipal League** has endorsed the campaign of the Aero-Metal Trades registration committee to get 50,000 new voters to register prior to the city primaries, League President Harry J. Markey has announced. In a letter to the committee, the League states: "It is the intention of the Municipal League to develop a program with the same objective as yours, and the League offers to you such assistance of its staff and facilities as will help to bring about the desired results."

* * *

Local Governmental Consolidation

Howard W. Davis, president of the **San Antonio Council of Presidents,** writes that additional clubs have now endorsed the Council's proposal for consolidation of San Antonio and Bexar County.[1] These include Zonta International, The Business and Professional Women's Clubs, and the Woman's Club, the latter with over four hundred members.

The **Cleveland Citizens League's** bulletin, *Greater Cleveland,* discusses "the annual struggle between fourteen library boards and the thirteen suburban mayors in the county before the County Budget Commission over the 1944 classified property tax revenues." The League comes to the conclusion that "the only permanent and satisfactory solution . . . is the creation of a single city-county government with branches in the municipalities and traveling bookmobile service for the rural portions of the county."

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Local Finance

Numerous citizen groups are making efforts to keep their members informed of the financial status of local governments. The December *Tax Digest,* organ of the **California Taxpayers Association,** publishes tax levies for all counties in the state.

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[1] See "San Antonio Civic Group Endorses City-County Consolidation," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, November 1943, p. 553.

Latest Financial Statistics of New Jersey Municipalities, a compilation of figures relating to budgets and expenditures of 566 government units, arranged by counties, was issued in November by the **New Jersey Taxpayers Association.**

The November issue of *North Dakota Taxpayer* contains a "Financial Report of Counties—Year Ending June 30, 1943," in which it states: "Most counties are now on a current cash basis. Some even have developed sizable surpluses."

The *New Mexico Tax Bulletin* published the bonded indebtedness of the state as well as of its local governments in November.

The bulletin of the **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance**—*Wisconsin Taxpayer*—published a series of articles "designed to show the relation between various state aids and property taxes."

Budgets for 1944 are close to the hearts of the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy** and the **Citizens Budget Commission of New York City.** In *Your Tax Dollar* the Baltimore organization, after a general discussion of the matter, states that city officials can economize and that better budget-making procedure is needed. It requests legislation to give adequate time for public hearings on the budget. The New York budget group has issued a fifteen-page release, taking issue with many of the budget proposals of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment.

The **Lowell Taxpayers Association** has presented to its members "a breakdown of the tax dollar" of the city for the years 1938-1942.

City Club Committees Report

The **Chicago City Club's** Education Committee has recently made a report on the exodus of high school students to war jobs. Copies of the report have been placed in the hands of members of the Board of Education, the superintendent of schools, director of the War Manpower Commission, and other interested persons. Its Public Health Committee is seeking data on the care of the aged, with particular reference to homes. A recent report of the Club's Social Welfare Committee, calling attention to the fact that the poor law of Illinois was enacted in 1874, asks for a "codification of all public welfare laws in order to avoid duplication of effort" and the removal of "obsolete laws from the statute books and enactment of legislation to meet changing social and economic trends in a constructive manner wherever there are gaps in the present law." The Club is continuing its work of over three years to stop the pollution of Lake Michigan which, it claims, is increasing dangerously.

The **Portland City Club** has inaugurated a new City Club series of addresses on, "Portland: Neighbor-to-the World," which will be devoted to Portland's "future among sister cities around the world."

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Recent Publications

Fifty Years on the Civic Front, by Douglas Sutherland, a clothbound volume of 98 pages, has recently been issued by the **Civic Federation of Chicago.** The book is "a history of the Civic Federation's dynamic activities, the evolution of a citizen movement in Chicago, and the development of organized public interest in the costs and procedures of local government."

The **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations** has issued *Municipal Law Changes Made by the Massachusetts Legislature 1943.*

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Poll Asks Increased Federal Taxes

Economists Hold Additional Taxes Possible, Desirable

IN RECENT months the Tax Institute (formerly Tax Policy League) has polled its members on the most important single fiscal question of the day, that of increasing federal taxes in 1944. The answer is overwhelmingly that taxes can and should be increased—a result especially significant inasmuch as the Institute's members consist of tax economists, business men with more than ordinary interest in the field of taxation, tax lawyers, accountants, corporation tax agents, governmental researchers, and like individuals.

As described in the Institute's *Popular Release* of November 30, 1943—a preliminary report on the poll to be followed by a more exhaustive study later—the questions asked were as follows:

Can we raise $10,000,000,000 in new taxes in 1944?

Should we try to do so?

If so, how would you recommend that it be done?

Heavier income taxes:
    Individual?
    Corporation?
Estate and gift?
Heavier excises?
General sales tax?
Forced savings?
Other?

Replies to the poll numbered 333. Of these, 240 or 72.7 per cent thought that $10,000,000,000 in new taxes can be raised in 1944 and 222 or 66.6 per cent thought we should try to do so.

The total votes cast for each of the various taxes and forced savings were as follows:

General sales tax	187
Heavier excises	172
Heavier individual income taxes	159
Forced savings	126
Heavier estate and gift	118
Heavier corporation income taxes	99

States the release: "Some of the respondents voted for all the taxes listed. Others for one or more. Several persons voting for the sales tax specified that it be imposed only for the duration of the war. A number of persons specified that heavier excises should be on luxuries only. Several respondents recommended a reduction in governmental expenditures."

An interesting commentary on the close division of the experts on the sales tax and personal income tax is that a poll of the street-corner type conducted by a New York afternoon newspaper early in December showed a slightly different result. Of five "average citizens" asked, "Which do you favor, a higher income tax or a federal sales tax to help finance the war?", three favored the higher income tax.

Financial Planning for Municipalities

Last month there was reprinted in these columns the excellent statement on municipal fiscal policies for the war period recently adopted by the executive board of the Municipal Finance Officers Association. While there probably is general agreement in principle with the fifteen "particulars" set forth in the statement, the practical application of some of them will raise some interesting problems.

Probably most debate on the proposals will arise with respect to that "particular" stating: "Postwar plans of a municipality should be so designed that they may be carried out without federal aid. However, if federal aid makes expansion of plans possible, future operating costs as well as original outlays must be considered."

Aside from the fact that it would seem necessary that a consideration be given to future operating costs, regardless of whether a project is financed with federal aid or whether it is financed wholly with local funds, it is highly questionable whether local government can actually finance by itself a sufficient volume of postwar public works to make much of an impression on the employment need which most planners envision for the demobilization and transition period.

Estimates of the volume of construction needed to bridge the transition period range up to $10,000,000,000 annually for several years, and while a part of this is expected to be provided by business and industry and by construction of homes, a considerable part of it obviously must come from large-scale public works. Conceivably, the states can provide $1,000,000,000 a year for a year or so, in view of their great opportunities for highway construction, but public works other than highways will be needed and these must come to a large extent from the cities. During few recent years have new bond offerings by states and local units combined topped $500,000,000, and it would appear doubtful that it is politically possible for the cities, counties, school dstricts, etc., to secure voter approval for much more than $1,000,000,000 annually for several years, if indeed taxpayers can be induced to authorize that much. Funds accumulated in postwar reserves by many units are impressive when viewed separately, but in total they are not likely to provide more than the starting money for the program. Hence, if the local units are to carry anything like their fair share of the total postwar program, in terms of project volume, they will need federal and state assistance to finance it. And cities which make their plans "designed that they may be carried out without federal aid" may find themselves faced with the necessity of making new plans in a hurry.

What Are Reserves?

Another "particular" likely to prove troublesome is No. 11, in which it is hoped that "any plan of postwar state or federal aid should reward and not penalize communities with reserves." The Association appears to recognize that there are other ways of accumulating reserves than by pouring cash into a kitty earmarked "postwar reserve"—for many cities, the mere process of retiring bonds as they mature, instead of indulging in the delusive process of "equalizing" debt service by refunding, may be the best possible way of accumulating reserve fiscal capacity. For other situations, the elimination of long standing operating deficits is a much more satisfactory way of getting "reserves" than any accumulation of small cash accounts would be. Does the Association seriously propose that the amount of cash accumulated and earmarked for postwar capital improvements is to be the criterion of a city's preparedness to carry its share of the postwar works program? If not, it has a job on its hands determining a formula to provide the "rewards" which it hopes federal and state largess will provide to cities with reserves.

It is to be hoped that as the Association, and other bodies recently turning their attention to formulation of principles to guide local units in their preparations for the postwar period, will presently come to grips with one phase of the problem as yet not adequately developed—a discussion of the *types* of projects to be undertaken. It is one thing to urge the governments to make their plans promptly—it will be another if it turns out that so many of the plans revolve, as they did in the depression of the 1930's, around public auditoriums, monuments, ornamental comfort stations, and the like in communities badly in need of adequate sewerage systems, water distribution and supply systems, and transportation.

Kentucky Tax Collections Decline

In the first four months of 1943-44, Kentucky's tax receipts from all sources have declined 15 per cent as compared with the corresponding 1942-43 period, according to the November 1943 report of the Department of Revenue. Receipts for October alone, however, were slightly ahead of October 1942.

Excise taxes are up 20 per cent for the period, but all other categories are down. Alcoholic beverage taxes are off 49 per cent, road taxes (practically all motor fuel taxes) are down 10 per cent, property taxes are down 7 per cent, and income and death taxes are down 3 per cent.

The increase in the excise tax group is the result of sharp increases in amusement, cigarette, and motor vehicle usage taxes. The increases in the first two are self-explanatory reflecting phenomena common throughout the country, but the increase in motor vehicle use taxes is said to reflect "a rather marked inflow of used cars to Kentucky in recent months," the result of the gasoline situation in the seacoast area which has contributed to a movement of used cars into the central states.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Lowell's First P. R. Election

Cincinnati Uses System for Tenth Time; Yonkers Third

EDITOR'S NOTE. Last month we described one of the eight P. R. elections held on November 2, that in New York City. This month we carry accounts of four others. The first is the story of Lowell's first election under Massachusetts' optional Plan E, the combination of the city manager plan and proportional representation, told by one of those most responsible for the plan's adoption and auspicious start in that city. As editor of the *Lowell Sunday Telegram,* Mr. Maguire gave the plan its first and most vigorous newspaper support and since its approval by the voters has done his utmost to make it a success. In fitting recognition of his enterprise he was recently awarded a Nieman Fellowship at Harvard University and is now studying at Cambridge.

THE city of Lowell emerged from its first P. R. election under the new Plan E charter Tuesday, November 2, 1943, with potentially the best municipal government in many a long year. This is not a matter of opinion but of record, which can readily be sustained by a comparison of a clear majority of the nine men who won Council seats and the six successful in the School Committee fight with the type of individual who has held office in this city over the years.

It is necessary at this time to qualify the new government as "potentially the best" since the two most important steps to make it actually so are yet to be taken. These are the election of a city manager and of a mayor, which will take place some time after the first of January when the new council is inducted.

The importance of a city manager is self-evident, but in assaying the importance of a mayor in Lowell's new municipal structure, it is perhaps necessary to point out that in this city the mayor will be far more than the figurehead he is in many other cities outside the state under this type of charter. The mayor automatically becomes chairman of the School Committee, and thus makes a seventh vote on that Committee, which has virtually absolute power in the management of the School Department, one arm of municipal government over which the city manager under the laws of Massachusetts has virtually no control.

Even now the machine politicians, who have been twice roundly trounced in their effort to retain control, first when they failed to block the adoption of the Plan E charter at the referendum election a year ago, and a second time this election day just past when they failed to pack the new Council and School Committee with their candidates, are fighting a last-ditch fight on this manager-mayor front. If they can name the new manager and the mayor they will have won, and Plan E will have been defeated for the time being, after all.

Up to a few weeks ago it seemed that these forces might win in the end, at least on the city manager front, because there were no applicants for the post who could be considered even mildly qualified. Thus there was the danger that the job, which in Lowell can pay as high as $20,000 a year, would go by default to some favored footless and handless local son. The fact that the job was a-begging was widely publicized in the newspapers throughout the nation, with the result that queries have begun to pour in, including a few from city managers elsewhere and from bona fide business executives.

Because of the independence of the new council — this writer, knowing their backgrounds, believes there are at least six and possibly seven out of the nine who can be so classified — there is every reason now to expect that they will choose the best man available. This same status of independence can be conceded to at least four of the six school committeemen, who have the equally important task of straightening out a school department generally acknowledged to be the worst in this state. If a good man among the councillors is elected mayor, and therefore chairman of this committee, the independents may yet number five.

A Civic Revolution

All this can be said because it is clear that Lowell's first P. R. election was in the nature of a revolution. All the old concepts were completely upset. The voters stepped clear across the party and racial lines which politicians under the old partisan primary and ward election system were so adept in manipulating to their own advantage.

For example, in this city whose registered voters are overwhelmingly of the Democratic party, five of the men elected to Council were Republicans, four were Democrats. The voters ignored those old and odorous red herrings of race and religion, too, and proved that when given the chance they vote on the only real issue—fitness for office. One evidence of this is the fact that four of the new councillors are what are genetically known hereabouts as "Yankees," a decided minority in this city's life. Four are Irish-Americans, so-called, and one of French extraction.

This writer for one sees hope for the future in the apparent submergence of these alleged racial and religious discriminations which history sadly proves to have been the bane of the city's politics, being chiefly responsible for the arousing of ancient antagonisms to obscure genuine issues. In passing it might be remarked that for "Lowell" you can read "Massachusetts," since the same appeals have brought state politics to a low level many times in the past.

New Council and School Committee

Now for a quick glance at the nine men who were elected as Lowell's first Plan E council. They are, in order of election:

1. J. Joseph Sweeney, present mayor, councillor and state representative; a building wrecker and horse trader (literally) by profession.
2. Woodbury F. Howard, 38, lawyer and co-chairman of the first Plan E Charter Committee.
3. Leo A. Roy, 42, superintendent of maintenance for a large local mill and present city councillor. Publicly favored charter change a year ago.
4. J. Russell Scott, 39, owner and operator of a local hardware business.
5. Water E. Clement, 45, purchasing agent for the Aberthaw Construction Company. Was an ardent worker for the adoption of the charter a year ago last fall.
6. William C. Geary, about 50, head of the local soldiers' relief department.
7. Maurice D. Condrey, 42, present minority member of the Board of Health and job estimator for the Courier-Citizen Company, large printing establishment with local and Chicago plants.
8. Bart J. Callery, Jr., 32, local attorney, present councillor and state representative. Favored charter change in last year's election.
9. Harold W. Hartwell, 35, manager of a local retail store and present councillor.

The school committee:

1. Eldred L. Field, 27, local attorney, and one of the original Plan E Committee.
2. Henry Beaudry, in mid-40's, local restaurant owner.
3. George W. Murray, in 40's, chemist and member of present School Committee.
4. Mrs. Julia R. Martin, 46, housewife with business experience before marriage.
5. John P. McDonough, around 30, brother of a present school committeeman who is in the army.
6. Gerald F. Cronin, 36, traffic manager with manufacturing company.

Public comment on the street after the announcement of the result expressed disappointment over the return of four of the present City Council to office, with the election in addition of a city employee. That, however, is a very narrow view and was broadened considerably by a more careful weighing of results. For instance, as noted in the summary above, two of these councillors, Callery and Roy, publicly came out in favor of the charter change a year ago when their stand was generally thought to be fatal to their political futures. In addition, they are known locally as staunchly fearless and independent, as is also Hartwell, a third councillor who won re-election.

There was some point, however, to the astonishment over the re-election of Mayor Sweeney on the very first count and by the largest vote of any candidate, since he had previously been exposed in a series of articles in the *Lowell Sunday Telegram* as owing thousands of dollars in unpaid taxes accrued through his building wrecking operations, and his pay as mayor, at the insistence of the *Telegram,* was attached last April by the city treasurer and tax collector, and is still so attached every week.

But again, on the credit side of the ledger, we find that three of the new councillors were absolute newcomers to politics, namely Clement, Howard, and Scott, and another had never held elective office before, namely Condrey. Clement, in fact, espoused a cause supposedly the equivalent of political suicide when he ran on a personal platform calling for a manager from afar and a pegging of the council salary at not in excess of $2,000, rather than the top of $4,000 allowed by law. He was elected very handily.

What is really astonishing and likewise indicative, at least to this writer, is that more of the present council (thirteen of the fifteen ran) didn't get in, and that all the old-timers, including four former mayors and innumerable and consistent also-rans, faded early out of the race.

Effective Voting under Difficulties

It adds to the amazement of the observer to remember that the Lowell voters put these men into office under the most difficult of conditions. The near-fatal thing was the absolute lack of anything resembling a citizens' committee, as formed in other cities, for the advancement of a good government slate. Attempts to form such a committee were made in Lowell all during last summer and fall. They failed because of old-fashioned political thinking and downright fear.

With 100 candidates in the running for the nine Council seats and 31 for the six School Committee posts, the voter was presented with a truly formidable choice. Worse, there were definite and powerful drives to put stooges into office.

The *Sunday Telegram* attempted to assist by short factual biographies of the candidates repeated in several issues in the weeks before election, and compiled from information gained from questionnaires. Some 70 per cent of the candidates responded to the questionnaire; the 30 per cent who didn't had little to report anyway.

In the absence of any local good government slate chosen by a representative committee, this writer made bold on Sunday, October 31, with the election two days away, to publish his own personal choices for Council and Committee in a special story. He named fourteen choices for Council and nine for School Committee. Seven of the nine councillors elected were among these choices and four of the six school committeemen. This is presented not to claim credit for the results but to underscore the writer's belief that the voters used the freedom of the new system with discrimination and gratifying effect.

Only 2.9 per cent of the ballots cast for council were invalid or blank — 855 out of 29,541 — and 4.7 per cent of those cast for School Committee — 1,375 out of 29,559.

Still more remarkable is the fact that the large number of candidates did not prevent most of the voters from making their votes effective in actually electing councillors. With 100 candidates to choose from nearly half the voters picked candidates with enough popularity to win as their very first choices — 13,514, or 47 per cent of the 28,686 valid ballots — and the others marked enough choices so that 83 per cent — 23,867 out of 28,688 — helped elect someone for whom they had voted.

In the School Committee election, to which less attention was paid, the record of effective voting was not quite so good but still creditable. Of the 28,184 who cast valid School Committee ballots, 11,517, or 41 per cent, saw their first choices elected and 21,487, 76 per cent, helped elect some choice to the Committee.'

Lowell is off to a good start, but we cannot afford to be complacent. Political attacks on the new system may confidently be expected, and in the next election, with less novelty to focus public opinion, we could not expect with so little effort to get such good results. The only safe course is to form a strong, militant, and ever-working citizens' committee. There is no other way to be sure of holding the ground gained, none certainly by which to progress farther.

Frederick W. Maguire, *Editor*
Lowell Sunday Telegram

Cincinnati's Charter Committee Reverses Downward Trend

Editor's Note. The writer of this article, Mrs. Elizabeth Reid, granddaughter of Governor Judson Harmon of Ohio and widow of the distinguished surgeon, Dr. Mont R. Reid, is the first woman elected to the Cincinnati City Council since its membership was reduced from 32 to nine in the charter revision of 1924. She was elected this fall on the ticket of the City Charter Committee, which led the successful campaign for the adoption of P. R. and the manager plan of government twenty years ago and has stayed actively in the field as a municipal good government party ever since. Mrs. Reid is a vice-president of the Cincinnati League of Women Voters and has been for four years chairman of the women's division of the City Charter Committee. She was supported for election by all three of the city's newspapers.

On November 2 Cincinnati held its tenth P. R. election. There were twenty candidates in the field, nine organization Republicans, nine candidates of the independent City Charter Committee, and two unattached independents. The Republicans based their entire campaign on national issues although there are many problems of pressing importance in Cincinnati. During the middle of the campaign, the City Manager, Col. C. O. Sherrill, announced his intention of resigning on January 1. It was obvious that this election would determine which group would choose the next manager, and the Charter candidates campaigned largely on that issue, with emphasis also on the need of a new city plan.

The results of the election were interesting. The Republicans won five seats in the new Council, the Charter candidates four. The significance, however, is that the Charter Committee reversed the downward trend which has persisted throughout its existence. In each election heretofore it has received a smaller percentage of the first-choice vote than in the previous election. In 1941 the Charter candidates totaled 32 per cent of the vote, but in 1943 jumped to 40 per cent without the top vote getter of 1941, Charles P. Taft. It seems reasonable to assume that a great many voters realized the many problems facing Cincinnati as a city, and voted on the municipal issues rather than on national ones. Cincinnati is very Republican on national questions and was, in fact, the only large city in the country carried by Willkie in 1940. Of the four Charter councilmen elected in 1943, two are Democrats and two independent Republicans, so that on national lines, the Council has seven Republicans.

One argument which is often heard against P. R. is that it tends to split the major parties and, by representing small groups with selfish interests, makes cohesive action impossible. Cincinnati has had P. R. for twenty years and in that time has elected unattached independents only four times and never more than one at any election. In the last two elections no such independents were elected, and the two original municipal parties made up all of both councils.

The 1941 Council was composed of five Republicans and four Charterites, but due to the resignation of Charles P. Taft and his replacement by the Republican majority, the Charter Committee went into this campaign with only three incumbents, the Republicans having six. The only change in the personnel of Council resulting from the 1943 election is that the writer replaces one of the present Republican majority and returns the council to a five-four division rather than a six-three.

The ninth councilman reached his quota without needing transfers from the last candidate to be eliminated, and 77 per cent of the voters saw their first choice elected. Ninety per cent of the voters helped elect someone, though if the figures were available they would undoubtedly prove that a much larger percentage saw someone for whom they voted elected. The invalid vote was 4.87 per cent, including blanks.

The new Council will have many vital problems before it, the first one being the appointment of a city manager. The Republicans with their majority have, of course, the responsibility, and have announced that the Charter councilmen will not be consulted, on that issue at least. The Charter Committee with its minority of four will be in a strong position, and if the Organization misuses its responsibility the results of the 1945 election may well return the Charter Committee to control.

Elizabeth Cassatt Reid
Cincinnati City Council

Good Government Continues in Yonkers

In Yonkers, which adjoins New York City on the north and has a similar cosmopolitan population. the results of the P.R. election this fall were generally acclaimed. The only dissent to be heard was from politicians of the old school.

In a long editorial entitled "The People Approve Good Government" the Yonkers *Herald Statesman* of November 9 rejoiced that "the Yonkers electorate has proved that it recognizes good government when it gets it" and "that they understand and like the special system of voting for Council by proportional representation."

The independent City Manager League ticket elected three out of five, the same three who chose City Manager William A. Walsh and have been controlling city policies since Thomas B. Sheridan, independent Democrat, was chosen in a P.R. vacancy recount a year ago last summer. Curtiss E. Frank, a law associate of former U. S. Solicitor-General Charles Evans Hughes, Jr., led the ticket with a full quota of first choices. Mr. Frank was on the Republican as well as the City Manager League ticket. Next to reach the quota, both on the same transfer, were Mrs. Edith P. Welty, City Manager League independent Republican, and Mr. Sheridan.

The last two elected were both regular Democrats, Vice-Mayor James A. Sullivan and John J. Whalen. Mr. Whalen, a business man with a good reputation, replaced Mayor Benjamin F. Barnes. Mr. Barnes was elected two years ago on the City Manager League ticket, but promptly joined forces with the Democratic organization members to turn their minority into a temporary Council majority in return for their support of him for mayor.[1] This year Mr. Barnes was on the regular

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[1] The mayor is not the chief executive under the city manager plan, but the president of the Council and ceremonial head of the city.

Democratic ticket, but was defeated.

All five of the Councilmen-elect reached the quota sufficient for election before the last candidate was declared defeated. Under a charter amendment adopted at the same election the quota was calculated from the vote actually cast as in most other P.R. cities instead of being fixed arbitrarily in the charter at 10,000.

The five Councilmen were chosen from a total of only twelve candidates: four City Managerites including one also on the Republican ticket, two other Republicans, five on the Democratic ticket, and one American Labor party candidate.

All the results secured at the original count were subject to adjustment when a few ballots came in from soldiers overseas. Fortunately the margin by which each candidate was elected or defeated was large enough so that there was no chance of any change being made in the order of defeat or in the candidates elected. Figures in this article are those for the original count without the soldier vote adjustments.

A Recount for Mayor

For the first time in any public election the regular P.R. ballots for Council were recounted according to the Hare system of majority preferential voting to determine the people's choice for Mayor. This was done under a second charter amendment drafted by a charter commission last summer[2] and adopted on the same day as the voting for Councilmen. It resulted in the selection of Mr. Frank over the Democratic leader, Mr. Sullivan, by just about the same three-to-two margin that the City Manager League will have over the Democratic organization in the Council. The final vote, after the lowest candidates had been dropped one by one and all the ballots had been sorted into those that preferred Frank to Sullivan and those that preferred Sullivan to Frank, was Frank 21,688, Sullivan 14,906. The other voters had expressed no choice between the two.

Mr. Sullivan, as the runner-up, automatically became Vice-Mayor. The amendment was deliberately drawn with the idea of making the leader of the opposition normally the Vice-Mayor and so inviting the coöperation of majority and minority so far as it might prove feasible.

Since the first step of the mayoralty recount is to sort out all the Council ballots according to their earliest choices for any of the five elected Councilmen, this method gives a valuable piece of information not hitherto available in P.R. elections, namely how many voters saw at least one of their choices elected to the Council. In Yonkers this fall the number was 96 per cent of all who cast valid ballots. The variety of representation always secured under P.R. is such that even those who do not technically help elect anyone usually see someone they approve elected by others.[3]

The 44,354 Council ballots were counted in three days by a bipartisan force of about fifty counters under the direction of the editor of this department. An extra day was required for the election of the Mayor.

There were 41,872 valid Council ballots, 2,048 invalid and 434 blank. Thus the invalid ballots constituted 4.7 per cent of the ballots marked. Of the valid ballots 27,091, or 65 per cent, saw their first choices elected; 34,895 or 83 per cent (that is, five full quotas of 6,979 each) helped elect members to the Council; and 40,211, or 96 per cent, saw one or more of their choices elected.

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[2] See this department for September.

[3] The only other election for which comparable figures are available is the Ashtabula, Ohio, P.R. election of 1919. The ballots in that election were specially examined after the election was over, and it was found that 86 per cent saw a first or second choice elected, 91 per cent saw one of their first three choices elected, and 93 per cent some choice.

For Yonkers' effective and intelligent use of P.R. the Yonkers *Herald Statesman* deserves a large share of the credit. It did a fine piece of work in publicizing the election method, the election issues, and the candidates. During the count it followed up with daily front page stories, giving all the details of the count as they occurred—an invaluable educational help for the future. And in repeated editorials, it brought out the significance for good government of the results achieved and the part played by the election method in securing them. On November 12 it analyzed some of the transfers in an editorial entitled "How P.R. Looses the Voters' Shackles," in which it remarked: "P.R. guarantees voter independence. And worse yet for the political machines, the voters know it does, and act accordingly."

Boulder Election Uncontested

The fourteenth P.R. election of City Councilmen in Boulder, Colorado, was unique in the annals of American P.R. elections, for only three candidates presented themselves for the three places to be filled.[1]

The only other issue to be decided at the election was a referendum on an increase in the city's tax levy limit, which was approved by a narrow margin, and the total vote was naturally light—the lightest since 1921.

On the first count L. W. Cumberford, vice-president of the National State Bank, who has been a member of the Council under P.R. for eighteen years, was elected with 472 votes and Elmore Peterson, dean of the Colorado University Business College, a newcomer to the Council, with 258. Councilman Thomas J. Peyton, a local insurance man, received 247 first choices, one short of the quota, and was elected by the first ballot of Mr. Cumberford's surplus that was taken for transfer. That completed the election and no further second choices had to be examined.

The count was completed between about 8:30 and 9:45 on the evening of election. The counting staff consisted of the seven Councilmen who were not candidates, City Manager H. C. McClintock, and seven assistants.

Other Elections Next Time

P.R. elections were also held November 2 in New York, whose results were discussed at length last month, and in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Toledo and Hamilton, Ohio. The significant results in these last three cities have been held over till next month for reasons of space.

Alfred Gray of England

With deep regret we record the death on October 28 of Captain Alfred J. Gray, formerly assistant secretary for many years and more recently joint secretary of the British Proportional Representation Society. Captain Gray was one of the foremost authorities on P.R. He has been the constant collaborator and invaluable assistant of Mr. John H. Humphreys, who is affectionately recognized in all quarters of the globe as the world leader in efforts for electoral justice as the basis for democratic institutions. Captain Gray's loss will be felt far beyond the borders of his own country.

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[1] Boulder has a Council of nine members. It elects three Councilmen every second year for a term of six years.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Civic Group Urges Reforms for Cook County

Cites Some Measures Needed for Its Efficient Government

THE Civic Federation of Chicago has addressed the Board of Commissioners of Cook County, Illinois, through its *Bulletins* urging upon the commissioners a number of reforms in county government. The following recommendations are listed by the Federation as urgently needed at this time:

1. A department of maintenance and operation, authorized by the General Assembly last year, should be created immediately because it would permit unification of equipment and material orders, establishment of roving crews of skilled workmen to do necessary repair work, centralized maintenance and operation of all county elevators, and centralized supervision of engineers, oilers, sewer men, watchmen, and similar personnel.

2. A department of central services, also authorized by the General Assembly last year, should be created immediately to centralize control of certain mechanical office equipment now located in the Switchboard Division, Central Photographic and Blue Print Division, Addressograph and Tax Machine Division, and certain units in the County Auditor's office such as the Tabulation Department and the Divisions of Tabulation Control, Key Punch, Machine Accounting and Recordat.

3. The Federation congratulates the County Board for progress achieved toward the installation of the Department of Purchases which also was authorized by the General Assembly last year. It urges that a board of standardization be appointed now in order that such board might begin immediately to classify the requirements of the county government regarding supplies, material, and equipment, to standardize the various qualities, sizes, and varieties, and to prepare, adopt, and promulgate written specifications describing the standards adopted.

4. The Federation recommends that the position of superintendent of public service be abolished since practically all of his functions are being transferred to the new departments.

5. The adoption of a position classification and compensation plan to be administered either by a new agency or by the Civil Service Commission is urged on the County Board. The Federation warns, however, that unless competent help is employed the plan will be worthless.

6. It is suggested that the care of dependent, neglected, and delinquent children be transferred to the Chicago Welfare Administration and similar agencies in surrounding towns because such action would result in no harm to the children and it would permit the county to adjust its precarious financial situation.

7. And lastly, the Federation urges that strictest economy be practiced by the county, and in this connection it recommends abolition of the highway police force.

Supreme Court Interprets Statute in 'Kickback' Decision

The Supreme Court of the state of Washington has decided county officials may receive "donations" or "contributions" from their employees, although "rebates" constitute violation of the law.

The Court rejected the argument of

(Continued on Page 56)

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Constitution-Making in a Democracy. Theory and Practice in New York State. By Vernon A. O'Rourke and Douglas W. Campbell. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1943. xiii, 286 pp. $2.75.

This is a case study of a fundamental American institution, the state constitutional convention. The discussion is based on the experience of the New York State Convention of 1938, which provides an excellent opportunity to make an analytical and systematic study. The volume begins with a preliminary analysis of the theory and practice of constitution-making, with some attention to its historical evolution. Concluding chapters assess the value of the constitutional convention process to representative government and suggest ways of strengthening it.

American Political Parties — Their Natural History. By Wilfred E. Binkley. New York City, Alfred A. Knopf, 1943. xii, 419 pp. $3.75.

How did political parties first arise? How were new parties germinated? How did they grow? How did they come to an end? These are some of the questions which the author undertakes to answer. The book traces the formation of group opinion from the making of the constitution down to the present, and the coalescing of group opinion into a political party under the hand of the politician. It contains much of interest on the kind of statesmen and leaders which the exigencies of party politics have produced.

The Book of the States: 1943-1944. Chicago, Council of State Governments, 1943. xii, 508 pp. $4.

This is the fifth issue of the standard reference manual on the 48 states, compiled and published biennially by the Council of State Governments. The book contains information on state organization, personnel, dates of legislative sessions, etc. It reports the news about the states during the past two years, with special emphasis on wartime activities, the work of defense councils, and federal-state coöperation in the war effort. Over 50 pages of reference material and tables are devoted to taxation and finance.

There are more than a hundred tables covering certain state laws, the number and payrolls of state employees, distribution of major war supply contracts, qualifications for voting, etc.

A roster of state administrative officers, classified by function, title, and agency duties, and a bibliography on problems of state government complete the volume.

The Cabinet Politician. The Postmasters General, 1829-1909. By Dorothy Ganfield Fowler. New York City, Columbia University Press, 1943. xi, 344 pp. $3.75.

When a newly-elected President chooses his cabinet he usually appoints the chairman of his party's national committee as Postmaster General. How long has this been customary? To what extent has the Post Office Department been involved in party politics? These questions and numerous others are answered in this story of the Postmaster General's office and of the men who have filled it from 1829 down to 1909.

While primarily appealing to students of American history and government, especially those interested in the civil service reform movement, the book will also appeal to those interested in the background of many of our political practices.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Constitutional Convention Manuals

Manuals on **The Amending Procedure and the Initiative and Referendum,** by Paul G. Steinbicker and Martin L. Faust; **The Bill of Rights and Suffrage and Elections,** by Harry B. Kies and Carl A. McCandless; **County Government,** by William L. Bradshaw; **Education,** by Neil C. Aslin and William L. Bradshaw; **The Executive Article,** by Martin L. Faust; **Federal-State Relations,** by J. G. Heinberg; and **The Legislative Article,** by Martin L. Faust. Prepared for the Missouri Constitutional Convention. Jefferson City, Missouri, 1943.

Hospitals

The Hospital in Modern Society. Edited by Arthur C. Bachmeyer and Gerhard Hartman. New York City, The Commonwealth Fund, 1943. xiv, 768 pp. $5.

Postwar Planning

After the War 1918-1920. Military and Economic Demobilization of the United States—Its Effect upon Employment and Income. By Paul A. Samuelson and Everett E. Hagen. Washington, D. C., National Resources Planning Board, 1943. 45 pp.

Puget Sound Region—War and Postwar Development. Report of Puget Sound Regional Planning Commission and Washington State Planning Council in coöperation with National Resources Planning Board. Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1943. viii, 160 pp.

Reconversion of Industry to Peace. Report by Officers of the Agriculture, Business and Labor Committees on National Policy. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1943. iv, 24 pp. 25 cents.

A Selected List of Planning Primers and Publicity Manuals. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning of Harvard University, 1943. 4 pp.

The States and Postwar America. A Radio Discussion. By John Bricker, J. Melville Broughton, Herbert O'Conor, Leverett Saltonstall, and Maynard Krueger. Chicago, University of Chicago, 1943. 27 pp. 10 cents.

Things We Need in Cleveland. Presented by the City Planning Commission. Cleveland, 1943. 41 pp. illus.

World Needs for U. S. Food and Fiber. By John D. Black. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1943. 71 pp. 50 cents.

Public Opinion

The Greatest Needs of Atlanta and Georgia. Summary of Opinions. Atlanta, Chamber of Commerce, 1943. 31 pp.

Street Lighting

Safe Streets at Night . . . in Wartime and Thereafter. New York City, Street and Highway Lighting Safety Bureau, 1943. 28 pp.

Wartime Lighting and Safety. By Edwin Vennard. New York City, Street and Highway Lighting Safety Bureau, 1943. 28 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Federal Taxation. Treasury Proposals for 1944. Chamber Committee on Federal Finance Testifying before Committee on Ways and Means October 12, 1943. Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1943. 62 pp.

Financial Statistics of Cities Having Populations over 100,000, 1941. Vol. 3: Statistical Compendium. By Bureau of the Census. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1943. iv, 160 pp. 65 cents.

Manuals of Instruction. Chicago, The Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance*, November 1943. 28 pp. 50 cents.

State Finances 1942. Vol. 3: Statistical Compendium. By Bureau of the Census. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1943.

State Tax Legislation in 1943. Edited by Mabel L. Walker. New York City, Tax Institute, 1943. 14 pp. 25 cents.

Tax Literature in 1943. Edited by Mabel L. Walker. New York City, Tax Institute, 1943. 11 pp. 25 cents.

Trade Barriers

Are the United States United. Detroit, Fruehauf Trailer Company, 1943. 23 pp.

Traffic

Anticipating Problems of Postwar Traffic. Suggestions for Handling the Return of Congestion. New York City, Regional Plan Association, 1943. 8 pp.

Summary Report — Street and Highway Traffic Section of the 32nd National Safety Congress and Exposition. Chicago, National Safety Council, 1943. 21 pp.

Transit Fares

The Record of Transit Fares in Thirty-nine American Cities. New York City, Citizens Budget Commission, 1943. 25 pp.

War

Directory of War Agencies. Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1943. 77 pp.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

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the defense that because the county and not the county official was the employer, any payments made to the official by employees under his supervision did not constitute rebates to the employer as prohibited by law. The Court declared that since the official could hire and dismiss the employees, it was clearly the intent of the legislature to prohibit any compulsory payments from them to him even though such funds did not find their way back to the county treasury.

However, the Court ruled that the statute did not prohibit all contributions to employer from employees. The legislature could have enacted such a prohibition if this had been its intent. Hence, even if the county treasurer had accepted money from the employees he supervised in order to pay his campaign indebtedness, as charged by the prosecutor, it still had to be demonstrated to the satisfaction of the Court that compulsion was used. In the absence of such compulsion, the statute permits employees to make contributions to any cause or person that suits their fancy.

In the case under review, the treasurer of King County, Washington, was acquitted because the prosecution had not proved that any compulsory contributions had been exacted.

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The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service*, the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service.*

— **Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps** —

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Restoring Confidence in the Legislature

NEBRASKA'S one-house legislature, the only one in the United States, has completed five sessions over a period of six years.

This solid laboratory test appears to demonstrate conclusively the soundness of the arrangement and the fallacy of the arguments which have blocked its more widespread adoption despite many years of advocacy by authorities on state government, including not only the so-called theorists but also numerous enlightened governors and legislators who have become disgusted by the performance of the traditional two-house legislature.

John P. Senning's analysis[1] reveals a greater sense of responsibility instead of less as the alarmists had predicted, a better quality of representatives and of laws enacted, the elimination or minimizing of the abuses which have caused our legislative bodies to sink so low in public esteem, and, finally, something which measures up much more accurately to "the American way."

If this much abused term, "the American way," truly connotes anything, it connotes a desire for progress and an unwillingness to be bound by narrow, meaningless traditionalism. It expresses the mass struggle toward an ideal condition which defeats selfishness and which effectively serves the public interest.

Our state legislatures stand practically alone among public institutions in their resistance to change. For 150 years they have remained static in organization, procedure, and faults while great progress has been made in local and even county legislative bodies and while substantial reforms have been applied to the administrative branch of government at the state and all other levels.

That astute critic, James Bryce, said some devastating things about municipal government, and municipal government has overcome a great many of the evils he and others identified. But it has been more than half a century since he made this indictment of our state legislatures:

"In most states it [the legislature] exaggerates the characteristic defects of Congress. It has fewer able and high-minded men among its members. It has less of recognized leadership. It is surrounded by temptations relatively greater. It is guarded by a less watchful and less interested public opinion."

Fundamental changes are long past due. It is clear, now that practice has demonstrated the wisdom of the more widespread adoption of the theory, that the unicameral legislature would be one of the most constructive of these desirable advances. It is interesting to re-read the arguments used by Senator George W. Norris when he was leading the Nebraska campaign for unicameralism. They ran as follows:

I. The jealousy, friction, and ri-

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[1] See p. 60 of this issue.

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valry between the two houses, which often result in deadlocks and the defeat of constructive legislation, will be eliminated by a one-house legislature.

II. A one-house legislature will make possible the definite fixing of responsibility for action taken on all bills introduced; where two bodies of persons are involved it is hard to fix blame.

III. A one-house legislature will decrease greatly the opportunity for corruption; special interests desiring to kill proposed legislation find their way twice as easy when it is necessary to control or corrupt only one of two houses.

IV. Legislation by conference committees will be abolished.

V. The tax burden of the state will be reduced by the adoption of the one-house legislature proposal.

VI. By providing that the members shall be nominated, and elected on a nonpartisan ballot, the one-house legislature will be divorced from partisan politics.

He was quite right. The achievements growing from his campaign are impressive. If other leaders who are capable of dramatizing this issue for their people could be inspired to wage similar campaigns in all our states, the benefits to be derived would be almost beyond measure. We might measure the savings in dollars and time, yes; but how could we gauge the good to be gained by the restoration of the people's confidence in our self-governing proccess?

Achilles Heel

SPOILS politicians find themselves in an amusingly difficult position. Their power is based, of course, largely on their ability to give jobs and favors to their henchmen—at public expense.

The recent breakdown of garbage collection in Jersey City reveals more clearly than anything else what happens when people don't have to go to politicians for jobs. Boss Hague has kept the garbage collection contract in the hands of one of his lieutenants. Antiquated methods which made the work even more disagreeable than it needed to be were preserved in order to provide more jobs. Who wants such jobs today? The answer appears to be, not many.

There is a shortage of city employees today in most cities, boss-ridden or otherwise; but the situation seems to be more than normally acute in those where political machines have been in the saddle. This is to be expected. In a city which is run for the benefit of all the people, methods are modern, the pay and other benefits for public employees are superior, and the workers are not at the mercy of bosses.

This appears to be an opening in a vital part of the political machine armor. Could there be a better time to strike a blow for better government?

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

Unicameralism Passes Test

Nebraska's one-house legislature, after extended trial, has shown itself a sound instrument in the solution of the state's problems; fears of critics prove unfounded.

By **JOHN P. SENNING**
University of Nebraska

ALTHOUGH the United States is engaged in an unprecedented world war and the end is not yet in sight, the thoughts of the people are turning to postwar planning. Near the close of World War I interest in state government was focused on budgetary reform and administrative reorganization; today it is centered upon the state legislature.

Many reputable citizens are pointing to the ineptitude of legislatures in their handling of the depression issues as an omen of their inability to cope with the many serious questions of social and economic policy that will plague them in postwar days. They feel that the mechanism of legislative procedure must be reconstituted so that the lawmaking process will be adaptable to the nature and solution of those problems.

The nature and extent of that reform, whether it will follow the course of merely rejuvenating the bicameral setup or the example of Nebraska in adopting a unicameral structure, is unpredictable. Each plan has its staunch supporters and opponents. Unicameralism is a live issue in the Missouri constitutional convention now in session. The reasons advanced in opposition follow the traditional pattern of thought familiar to Nebraskans.

It is ten years ago this month that the campaign for a unicameral legislature was begun in Nebraska with the drafting of a constitutional amendment by a citizens committee.[1] Again and again the question is asked as to why this amendment was successful at the polls. The reasons have been published too often to require repetition here, except for one very important factor—Nebraska had kept the idea of a one-house assembly alive and before the people since 1913. No matter how fiercely the fire of a campaign for governmental reform burns, there must be a backlog of education and information if the fire is to arouse the people to affirmative action.

Since the questions raised in opposition to the unicameral principle in Missouri and elsewhere are identical with those which were the center of debate in Nebraska, it may be appropriate to turn to actual experience of the operation of a unicameral assembly, through four sessions and one special session, and to see to what extent the prophets of gloom and pessimism failed in their predictions. The skeptic answers each of these questions with an emphatic "No." Is it possible for a small single-chamber assembly to be representative of the people? To be an effective deliberative body? To be a protection against hasty and ill-considered legislation? To be able to cope successfully with powerful pressure groups? Such an attitude reveals a misconception and a traditional view imposed upon the idea of a modernized legislature functioning in the present-day industrial and social environment.

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[1] See "Nebraska Considers a One-House Legislature," by Lane W. Lancaster, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, July 1934, p. 373; also "Nebraska Adopts Single-Chambered Legislature," *op. cit.*, December 1934, p. 695.

In Nebraska the substitution of a nonpartisan, single-chamber assembly of 43 members for a partisan, bicameral body of 100 representatives and 33 senators reduced the total number of representatives without disturbing to any appreciable extent the ratio of farmers, business, or professional men and lawyers elected. Consequently the cross section of interest represented in the small assembly and in the bicameral body, subject to certain fluctuation, is the same. Multiplying men of the same occupational interest will not improve the representative character of the legislature.

Improved Personnel

Pursuing the subject of personnel we discover distinct gains in what may be termed a higher type of legislator. Considerably over 50 per cent of the unicameral legislators have either completed a college course or have attended an institution of higher learning one or more years. Furthermore a study of their place in the community shows that most of them have held public office or are influential members of civic and state social and economic organizations. They have therefore acquired a knowledge of the problems that are before the people and that are likely to need legislation for solution.

The most appealing argument used against representation in a small unicameral legislature was that, since Nebraska is predominantly agricultural in economic interest, the percentage of farmers elected would be too small for equable agricultural representation. One apparent fact was overlooked on the part of those who feared inequitable representation—that because of modern transportation, methods of production and distribution and industrialization of farming, urban and rural economic interests have become so intertwined that the differences of an earlier day have virtually disappeared.

A second fact emerged from an extended study of the occupations of the men elected to the one-house assembly and, for comparison, of the men who had served in the lower house of the bicameral legislature from 1921 to 1935. Of the bicameral representatives approximately 48 per cent were identified with two or more occupations while 52 per cent followed a single occupation. Of the unicameralists who served from 1937 to 1943 inclusive, approximately 69 per cent are identified with two or more occupational interests while 31 per cent have only a single occupational interest. Mr. Farmer, for example, also specializes in live-stock raising, serves on a board of directors of a farmers coöperative or of a rural telephone company or a local bank, and at the same time is identified with the associations representing those interests. Likewise Mr. Merchant, Mr. Lawyer, or Mr. Professional Man has a similar breadth of interests.

While the legislators do not lay

claim to being experts, but just plain ordinary men, nevertheless by reason of their catholicity of interests, their wealth of experience, coupled with their demonstration of good judgment and common sense in their labors session after session, it follows that this small body of legislators is actually more representative of the state's interest than a body twice its size or one of a hundred members.

Representatives of this quality are aware of their responsibility as the custodians of the great power vested in the single-chamber assembly. They gave evidence of that attitude during the first session in setting up the procedural framework within which the process of legislation has been carried on. The rules have been kept simple. A conscious effort was made to implement and supplement the safeguards set up in the constitution to prevent hasty and ill-considered legislation. Nor did the legislators rest on their oars after the rules of procedure were adopted. At each successive session alterations to facilitate work or to increase responsibility have been incorporated in the rules. This constant urge for improvement is in striking contrast to the old type of legislature in which rules were used for manipulation instead of for safeguarding the process of legislation.

The system of mandatory public hearings on all bills, inaugurated by the unicameral legislature, has steadily grown in importance. No legislator may serve on more than two of the eleven standing committees which deal with substantive legislation. Conflict of committee attendance is avoided by a carefully prepared schedule of time and place of meetings. This schedule, published in leaflet form and widely distributed, becomes a highly important source of information as each committee announces what bills will be heard at each session. The latter notice must be published five days prior to the session at which the hearing is had and a like notice is issued if a second hearing on the same bill should be necessary.

No Secret Sessions

The public announcements of committee hearings and the full press reports of the discussions at the hearings have created a renewed interest in the legislature by the people of the state. Increasing citizen participation in the hearings from session to session has brought the legislature close to the people. Hearings are also a great aid to the committee in determining the attitude of the public toward the legislative proposals under consideration. The press reports hearings almost, if not quite, as fully as it does the deliberations on the floor of the House. Contrary to the practice in at least some bicameral legislatures, there are no secret executive sessions of committees. The public is excluded from executive sessions but the press is present. In addition to its recommendation to the legislature as to disposition of a measure, the committee presents a statement giving reasons for its decision. This is mimeographed and placed on the desk of every member.

After a bill has been reported favorably by the committee to the parent body, it receives two thorough considerations by the legislature itself. The first, General File, is the more exhaustive of the two. It is here that the bill is amended and each section approved or disapproved. It is also at this stage that the greatest casualty of legislative proposals occurs, except, of course, in the standing committee.

Legislative Procedure

Because a bill is so thoroughly discussed on General File, the debate unchecked, the clash of opinions often sharp and sometimes lobbying tactics exposed, there is captious criticism that the legislature is too slow. It is recommended, chiefly by lobbyists, that there be two or three leaders who would dictate to the rest of the House how to vote.

An interval of not less than three days must intervene between the first or General File consideration and the second or Select File consideration. Unless the measure is indefinitely postponed on General File it is sent to the Committee on Enrollment and Review for a thorough overhauling by the committee's legal expert for incorporation of amendments, attaining clarity of expression, and technical arrangement. All changes recommended by this committee are acted upon by the House. Following the second consideration on Select File, the Committee on Enrollment and Review prepares the bill for third reading and final passage. After the bill is printed in final form it must, by rule, lay on the members' desks for two legislative days before the final vote.

Nebraska Unicameral Legislature
Disposition of Bills

	1937	1939	1941	1943
Bills Introduced	581	523	515	446
Committee Action				
Recommended to General File	312	306	298	301
Indefinitely Postponed	205	124	177	136
Omnibus Motion	56	93	31	9
Withdrawn	8	0	9	0
House Action				
General File	312	306	298	301
Passed	239	155	209	250
Indefinitely Postponed	54	34	12	30
Omnibus Motion	19	117	75	21
Select File	239	155	209	250
Passed	235	148	204	249
Indefinitely Postponed	2	7	5	1
Omnibus Motion	2	0	0	0
Third Reading File	235	148	204	249
Passed	230	144	202	247
Defeated	5	4	2	2
Vetoed by Governor	16	6	7	7
Became Law	214	138	196	241

The full and open discussions, spacing of time between files, careful examination for errors after each consideration, machine and record votes, laying over of bills for additional information, all make for a satisfactory product. Moreover the orderly progress of work throughout the session prevents the piling up of a large number of bills to be disposed of during the closing days—another safeguard against hasty legislation. Not only does this make for a satisfactory product but also the governor is not confronted by a large number of bills for his approval or veto after the legislature adjourns. After adjournment in 1937 the governor had in hand 26 measures, 24 in 1939, eleven in 1941 and seven in 1943.

The relation of the governor to the unicameral legislature has been watched with interest especially since opponents of the unicameral plan predicted that the governor would exercise complete domination over the small legislative body. As a matter of fact the nonpartisan legislature and the chief executive have worked together more as two coordinate departments than did the governor and legislature under the bicameral system. A closer relationship exists at present between the governor and the assembly since the governor acts as liaison officer between the federal government and the legislature in transmitting the interpretation of federal laws, rules, and regulations relating to federal-state legislation, to committees and to the House. He has been able to iron out differences much more effectively than if the legislature dealt directly with the federal agencies.

Both governors who have been in office since the inception of the unicameral body have objected strenuously to the constitutional prohibition that prevents the chief executive from vetoing items in the appropriations bill which have been raised above the figures set in the executive budget, after the bill has been passed by a three-fifths vote. This objection is not directed at the unicameral legislature but rather at a decision of the State Supreme Court in 1929, which said that veto of such items would constitute a second veto. In 1943 Governor Dwight Griswold asked the legislature to pass and submit to the people a constitutional amendment which would give the governor the constitutional power to veto items raised above the executive budget but the proposal did not get out of committee.

The veto power has never been exercised to any great extent in Nebraska and the same is true under the unicameral plan—see table above. Furthermore there are frequent conferences between members of the legislature and the governor and understandings are effected while a proposal in which the governor is interested is under consideration. The position of influence which the one-house legislature has attained makes it stand on the same footing and coordinate with the executive department. Thereby the governor and the legislature act as a check upon each other.

What of the Lobby?

Is the one-house assembly able to cope with the lobby? Opponents of the unicameral legislature warned that the lobby would throw the legislature into confusion and assume control. They pictured the lobby as a few powerful special interest groups working under cover and attempting to corrupt the membership. Modern pressure groups are made up of a vast number of citizens whose manifold interests cover all the major fields of legislation. But the old-fashioned lobbyist is still on the scene using the objectionable tactics with which his name is associated. The unicameral legislature gives the representatives of pressure groups opportunity to be heard at the public hearings where they perform a distinct function in expressing public opinion and in furnishing factual information.

A few persistent lobbyists pester the legislature in their insistence on attaining their objectives. The very nature of the one-house legislature, however, is a check upon their activities. The direct and open procedure soon exposes any member who is prone to succumb to lobby influence. It is not uncommon for a legislator on the floor of the House to call a lobbyist by name and to state in what underhanded practices he is engaged.

Each session has seen one outstanding struggle where powerful lobbies were pitted against each other—in 1937 the allotment of one cent of the gasoline tax for relief, in 1939 and 1943 bills which brought private and public electric power forces into conflict, and in 1941 the regulation of small loan companies. The one-house legislature is much more successful in combatting lobbying influence than was the bicameral assembly, because its small membership is unhampered by party control, and because of the open procedure, the searching publicity, and the neutralizing influence of opposing pressure groups upon each other.

Why has the Nebraska unicameral legislature increased in popularity during the seven years of its operation and why are the requests for a return to the bicameral system few and far between?[2] The product of legislation has been satisfactory and shows the result of exhaustive consideration and matured judgment. The process of deliberation is orderly and effective, conducted by a group of men who are representative of all interests in the state. The resistance to the lobby has inspired the confidence of thinking citizens in their lawmaking body. The development of research facilities through the legislative council assures accurate information to the legislature. The quarterly meetings of the council, held in different parts of the state where public hearings are conducted, induce citizen participation and lead the people to think of the legislature not as a discontinuous body but as a constantly functioning department of the state.

What of the future? There is a disposition on the part of members of the legislature to be alert for improvements in deliberation. Planning for and research upon important issues will be increased in scope. Forward-looking legislators are talking about a staggered four-year term to replace the present biennial term, of quarterly sessions to take the place of the long biennial session, and of salaries equal to those of judiciary and executive state officers.

The modernized structure of the Nebraska legislature is not a solution of legislative problems but only an instrument in their solution. It is a human instrument and as such can claim no infallibility but it is a step toward coördination of the process of lawmaking with the social and economic life of the people of the state.

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[2] See also "Nebraska's Nonpartisan Unicameral Legislature," by L. E. Aylsworth, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, February 1937, p. 77; "Nebraska's Unicameral Legislature Saves Money for Taxpayers," *op. cit.* October 1938, p. 490; "One House, Two Sessions," by John P. Senning, December 1939, p. 843; and "Nebraska's One-House Legislature—After Six Years," by Harry T. Dobbins, September 1941, p. 511.

Dallas Prepares for the Future

Well accustomed to looking ahead since its pioneer effort of 1911, Texas metropolis is drafting a complete master plan to guide city's growth for the next quarter century.

By V. R. SMITHAM
Acting City Manager, Dallas, Texas

WHILE we are endeavoring seriously, in these days, to project our thinking into the future through a proper consideration of postwar planning, we are reminded of the words of an ancient prophecy: "And your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions"; and "Where there is no vision, the people perish."

Certainly there can be no constructive, forward-looking program that is not inspired by an enlightened, forward-looking citizenry wherein some shall be found who are capable of dreaming dreams, and others who can catch a vision of "nobler deeds and greater achievements" through planned progress.

The responsibility for a proper evaluation of the present situation in its relation to future progress rests entirely with us here and now. Wise planning now can provide the basic blue prints for a whole era of constructive effort.

Public officials are confronted with a dual responsibility of endeavoring to arouse a general public interest in postwar planning, at the same time formulating specific plans and getting in readiness all the necessary machinery for their speedy execution when peace comes. If we are actually on our toes we may even be able to beat the gun a little.

In any growing community planning must be a continuous process. No plan can remain static. Long range plans must be adjusted from time to time to changing conditions. Present recommendations for future extensions of service or for major improvements can be realized in a coordinated way by adopting them merely as a working program, making only such adjustments as further careful study and changing conditions may dictate. The opportunities ahead of us are great and the program is large.

Primary consideration, therefore, should be given to a frank and free approach to the entire matter of postwar planning. Open public discussion and the broadest possible publicity should be encouraged at all times. In Dallas such a policy has long since been followed and with gratifying results. The history of city planning in Dallas amply demonstrates the fact that great benefits accrue from such procedure.

Our local newspapers have cooperated splendidly through a generous allotment of space for news stories and timely editorials. Outstanding in this connection is a series of ten special articles appearing in the *Dallas Morning News*. These articles were written on special assignment by Barry Bishop, City Hall news reporter, who put considerable time and research effort into their

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preparation. The entire series has been reprinted in pamphlet form by the *News* and widely distributed.[1]

Preliminary to the preparation and study of the present comprehensive city plan for Dallas, extensive discussions were held with the Citizens' Council, a special advisory commitmittee of one hundred, and with various other civic organizations, in order to establish in the minds of all the definite need for additional planning. Next came the employment of a nationally recognized city planner, Mr. Harland Bartholomew of St. Louis, who was invited to meet with the various groups to explain what would constitute a comprehensive city plan for Dallas. Then followed a rather extensive tour of the cities of St. Louis, Kansas City, Louisville, and Memphis, made by a group of local city planners headed by the Mayor and accompanied by Mr. Bartholomew. Much helpful data was gathered first hand in this manner, and all concerned were ready to get down to the actual business of preparing plans and specifications, estimates of costs and financing, and the proper timing for execution.

Dallas intends to have a real postwar plan. It will not be any ordinary plan, but it will comprise a complete master plan to guide the growth of Dallas for the next 25 or 30 years. It will provide employment for a large number of people because in its broad scope it contemplates a vast construction program which will include airports; new wide streets, to bring people to the central business district; interregional highways that will bring people to the heart of the business district with express speed and without cross traffic; Central Boulevard, two hundred feet wide, to connect North and South Dallas; the rebuilding of blighted areas; a new football stadium to accommodate 100,000 people; additions to our State Fair Grounds which will include an automobile building, an aircraft building, a petroleum industry building, and others; new school buildings, new parks, and the various extensions of public works and sewer and water mains necessary to serve a city of 667,000 people.

Early Planning

Dallas has been well trained in city planning procedure. Mr. George E. Kessler, eminent city planner of St. Louis and designer of the renowned Kansas City boulevard system, made a plan for Dallas in 1911. Turtle Creek Boulevard, the Union Terminal Station, and the Trinity River levees, as well as many of the city parks, were first suggested in this early plan. Mr. Kessler was brought back to Dallas in 1919 by the Down-Town Development Association. Dallas' first City Plan Commission was organized that year and a city plan engineer was employed in August 1922.

To bring city planning up to date in 1925 and to provide the financial means for carrying out the plan, the Ulrickson Committee was appointed. The Committee's report in 1927 recommended a long list of improvements that were needed, involving a proposed $23,900,000 bond issue. The bond issue was voted by Dallas and many projects carried out. In this same year, the Texas legislature adopted a number of city planning laws including a zoning act which enabled Dallas, in 1929, to adopt the first comprehensive zoning ordinance in Texas.

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[1] *Dallas Meets a Challenge, Dallas Morning News,* August 1943.

The next city planning program to be adopted by Dallas was the 1940 basic financial and improvement plan, commonly called the "Six-Year Plan," because improvements were to be spread over a period of six years. This plan was prepared with the coöperation of the National Resources Planning Board, and contemplated a city free of debt in 34 years. This was to be accomplished without any diminution of physical improvements and anticipated the operation of the city ultimately on a cash basis. The plan provided for the issuing of approximately $1,000,000 per year in bonds for capital improvements without affecting the goal of reaching a cash basis in 34 years.

Due to the war situation, certain modifications necessarily have had to be made with regard to the Six-Year Plan. Recently Bartholomew and Associates began the preparation of the Comprehensive Master Plan for the City of Dallas, and work on this plan is well under way. It looks ahead far beyond the Six-Year Plan. A detailed outline of specific reports to be presented by Mr. Bartholomew on the master plan has already been submitted by him to the City Plan Commission. Three of his reports have been issued thus far: (1) *Character of the City,* (2) *Scope of the City Plan,* and (3) *Preliminary Report on Airports.* The fourth report, on *Population,* is ready to be released, and work on the fifth, *Major Street Plan,* is under way. Reports on other sections of the master plan will be issued as they are completed, the final report being scheduled for 1945.

Needless to say, if it is to get beyond the discussion stage, any planning on as large and complete a scale as the Dallas master plan is going to take a vast amount of money. Two highly important considerations, therefore, present themselves. First, the financing of the various improvements must be in accordance with sound business principles and anticipated revenue including possible government assistance, and a reasonable and intelligent amortization of bonded indebtedness, bearing in mind our present debt position, credit possibilities, and the possible limits of the expansion of debt for postwar needs.

Financial Planning

Municipal bonded debt can and should be planned, however, with the knowledge that in following the plan the city is going to be governed by expediency and actual needs from year to year. No plan can be followed blindly; yet some definite planning is essential as an over-all guide to hold public enthusiasm for spending within reasonable bounds. The necessity for temporary deviations from any plan should be taken no more seriously than the occasional detours that confront us in a long automobile trip. The growth of cities is rarely evenly spread over the years but comes in spurts, at least until the city reaches considerable size. Periods of rapid growth are accompanied by the need for borrowing money in accelerated amounts. Such periods might be considered the detours from the long-time city plan; they might last three years, or ten years, and still have little effect on the over-all life of the city in relation to its being ably or poorly managed from the financial standpoint.

Next in importance for consideration is the fact that the contemplated improvements must be condensed and taken up in the order of their importance, both in relation to the need for them and the man power involved in their construction. This latter is highly important in the light of anticipated labor surplus which undoubtedly will develop as a result of demobilization. Just how soon after peace is declared this acute situation will develop is, of course, problematical. It may even be delayed from one to two years through a carefully planned and gradually executed demobilization of troops. The situation will also be involved greatly by the fact that, while many workers now employed may find themselves without jobs, they may be content to go jobless for a considerable period, at least as long as their war bond savings last.

To sum up the situation: The time necessary for completing any specific project, or just when any project may be started, will depend on two main factors: First, the definitely limiting factor of any restriction upon the total annual sale of bonds and, secondly, whether or not government funds, if any, may be available, and upon what conditions such assistance may be had. Thus far it has been deemed wise to so plan and organize our efforts that any program proposed may be carried out through financing wholly within the limit of our own means to provide. Any governmental assistance over and above would merely tend to hasten ultimate consummation.

And above all it would seem to be of paramount importance that every legitimate means shall be employed to keep the public fully informed with regard to all proposed undertakings. Frequent discussions with an advisory body composed of a carefully selected group of representative citizens is recommended as the best stimulus toward the creation of a general interest and enthusiastic support of all projects agreed upon.

Advisory Committee

It would be difficult to formulate a more workable procedure than that adopted by Dallas in the appointing by the Mayor of such an advisory committee, continuously functioning and self-perpetuating. This plan commends itself particularly since such a group can maintain a continuous interest and assume responsibility for the carrying forward, from year to year, of any progressive program regardless of changing administrations or varying political situations. In other words, it is this sort of close partnership between taxpayers and elected officials in the administration of public affairs that makes for mutual confidence and provides the best insurance against failure. It furnishes the only real assurance of definite, interested, and continuous sponsorship from the inception of a project until its ultimate and complete accomplishment.

City Hall Looks to the Colleges

After five years trial New York City's unique experiment in public service training has more than justified efforts on the part of students, college faculties, city officials.

By **HAROLD SEIDMAN**
Formerly Director, Division of Coordination and Research
New York City Department of Investigation

CITY HALL can give the colleges invaluable assistance in carrying out their educational program, the colleges can aid City Hall in implementing its governmental program. This seemingly self-evident but none the less revolutionary doctrine led New York City's Commissioner of Investigation, William B. Herlands, to embark on what many in both educational and governmental circles believe to be an unusual experiment in public service training. College students were actually to be invited by the city to study at first hand the inner workings of municipal government under the joint supervision of the Department of Investigation and the colleges in which they were enrolled. In return, the city expected the students to produce studies which would be of practical benefit to it.

The city's internship program has now been operating for five years. In that period 210 college students in the New York City area have successfully completed their "internships." At various times twelve colleges have participated in the program.[1] One hundred and fourteen studies have been submitted to the Department of Investigation. It is obvious that the program can no longer be considered an experiment.

The time has come for a frank and objective evaluation of the results in terms of the program's original three objectives: (1) to afford qualified undergraduate and graduate students in colleges and universities an opportunity to do research on practical problems of municipal government; (2) to provide the city with research materials which might not otherwise be readily available; and (3) to attract the most competent and ambitious of the city's college graduates to public service as a career.

At the outset the Department of Investigation was faced with the problem of determining what type of internship program would best accomplish its objective. None of the existing programs appeared to be entirely satisfactory. A survey had revealed that in the few cities which had student training programs it was the policy to assign the intern to work full or part-time in a municipal agency. Such a program was acceptable neither to educators nor to public officials. There was always a danger that the student would be called upon to do nothing but routine clerical tasks. The educational value of such training would be negligible. But more important, such a program could not easily be integrated with the regular academic curriculum. Since the colleges were going to grant academic credit for the work, they properly desired to exercise some supervision over the student and to have some basis on which to evaluate his accomplishments. For their part, many public officials objected to having students underfoot in their departments for any extended period of time.

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[1] City College, Hunter College, Brooklyn College, Queens College, Columbia University, Fordham University, New York University Graduate Division for Training in Public Service, Adelphi College, Manhattan College, Barnard College, St. Joseph's College, and New School for Social Research.

Students Study Problems

A satisfactory solution was found by assigning an intern not to a department but to a specific municipal problem. If a student were interested in public finance, for example, he would not be placed in the Comptroller's Office or the Finance Department. Instead, he would be asked to make a study of tax delinquency or the effect of the war on municipal revenues. Since most of the colleges already had honor's programs or research courses, this arrangement presented no serious administrative problems. City College and Hunter College merely added municipal research to economics, history, and the other subjects which a student might select for honor's work. A few colleges found it necessary to institute research courses in order to accommodate the internship program. In the graduate schools there was no problem at all, the study made for the city being accepted as either a master's thesis or doctoral dissertation.

This arrangement also obviated most of the public officials' objections. By assuming complete responsibility for the supervision of the research project at the city end, it was possible for the Department of Investigation to reduce calls on the individual agencies to a minimum.

A Division of Coördination and Research was set up in the Department of Investigation to coördinate the work of the colleges and to act as a liaison agency between colleges and city departments. It is the Division's purpose to provide interns with all possible assistance and guidance. While primary responsibility for supervision of the research rests with the colleges, officers of the Division hold conferences at least once a month with the students to review their progress and plan the next steps in their work. Interviews with public officials and other executives are arranged by the Division only when the student has satisfactorily demonstrated that he has completed his secondary readings and has achieved some mastery of his subject. A student is rarely permitted to conduct interviews before he has completed at least three months of his internship. The Division also obtains public documents for interns and advises on the preparation of letters and questionnaires to be sent to government agencies and private organizations under the letterhead of the Department of Investigation. All such communications are signed by the Commissioner of Investigation.

Each college participating in the internship program has named one member of its faculty to act as liaison representative and handle all administrative problems related to the program. From time to time meetings of all the faculty representatives are held at the Department of Investigation for the purpose of discussing any problems which may have arisen and discovering ways and means of improving the program. Within the college the liaison representative supervises only those interns in his own department. During the internship program's first year it quickly became apparent that the best results could not be obtained unless an intern was assigned to a faculty adviser who was thoroughly familiar with his specific field of research.

Student Qualifications

Although the selection of student interns is left to the college faculties, the Department of Investigation has stipulated that a student must possess certain qualifications to be eligible for appointment and reserves the right to reject any applicant. Interns must be honor students who have completed at least one-half of their junior year. If a college or university has a graduate school, only graduate students may receive appointments. The prospective intern's scholastic record must be such as to indicate that he is capable of doing useful research. Personal attributes such as personality, appearance, and speech are also taken into consideration. Interviews with public officials, many of whom will be extremely skeptical—or in a few cases even hostile—demand tact and the ability to get along with people. The best scholar does not always make the best intern.

Until 1942, 90 or more students a year were accepted as interns. Under wartime conditions with resultant shortages in personnel it became impossible to supervise adequately a group of this size. At present no more than 25 interns are accepted.

Each intern selects a research topic from a master list prepared by the Department of Investigation from suggestions received from the various city departments. The 1942-1943 list contained 99 research subjects in such diverse fields as architecture, engineering, chemistry, economics, statistics, public finance, government, administration, law, sociology, and psychology. Among the topics on the current list are service ratings, employee suggestion systems, public personnel forms, city-owned enclosed markets, comparison of World War I experience in food and price control with current practices in food rationing and price control, the adolescent offender, accident prevention under dimout and blackout conditions, present status of teachers retired for disability, proposed creation of a Municipal Parking Authority, census of food establishments in New York City, administrative study of the Board of Water Supply, and rule-making and adjudication by city agencies.

In some instances several students may be assigned to conduct a single study. This is done in all cases where the research involves the analysis of a vast number of case records or other documentary material. An attempt is always made, however, to apportion the study so that each intern will be able to present an individual paper. Whenever possible students from the same college are selected to make group studies.

Experiments in assigning students from several different colleges to one research project were not entirely successful. Each intern had his own faculty adviser who naturally had his own ideas as to the proper approach to the problem.

There can be no question that the internship program has been successful in achieving the first objective—to afford qualified students an opportunity to do research on practical problems of municipal government. A committee of the American Political Science Association headed by Professor Joseph P. Harris reported that too often political scientists "study government only through the use of books and the printed word, and thus cannot bring to their research or teaching the lively sense of reality and the grasp of the important issues which come only through first-hand contacts." The internship program has enabled students to compare reality with the standards suggested in the text. It has opened the door to one of the finest laboratories in the world for research in the social sciences—New York City.

Colleges and City Pleased

With a few exceptions the colleges have indicated that they are well satisfied with what the internship program has accomplished. A few colleges dropped out at the very beginning because in their opinion the program placed too onerous a burden on both the student and the faculty. Others were of the belief that it was more beneficial for students to study theoretical rather than practical problems. But the vast majority would subscribe to the statement made by President George N. Shuster of Hunter College: "The work done by students of public administration under the auspices of Commissioner Herlands has led to very fruitful results, although the amount of labor required has been excessive from the point of view of students who in addition carry other heavy programs."

An intern is required to devote a minimum of eight hours a week to his research. Most students exceed this. A Hunter College intern for several weeks in mid-winter visited the market at five o'clock in the morning to question taciturn and hard-bitten farmers about the marketing of potatoes. A City College intern gave up his summer vacation to hitch-hike through the middle west so he could study at first-hand the methods used by various cities in handling industrial disputes.

Most of the students have not grudged the extra labor which an internship demands. As one intern expressed it, his experience gave a new meaning to his college work. It showed him that what he was learning in college was not merely theory but had a practical application. Students welcome the opportunity to supplement library research with personal contacts and to observe government in action from the front line. Former interns have stated that their experience in interviewing, fact-finding, and report writing has proved invaluable in subsequent work.

The city is also pleased with its bargain, even though the internship program has not been able to fulfill all the demands made upon it. It soon became evident that there were several things which the program could not do. Many officials want spot studies and they must have the information within one or two months if it is to be of any value. Not only do the colleges expect the interns to work for a year or a year and a half on a single project, but also the interns do not possess sufficient background and experience to make spot studies. Sometimes the departments desire studies of very narrow topics such as reception methods in the Department of Health or procedures in filing birth certificates. Topics of this nature are not academically acceptable to the colleges because they are too limited in scope. Often it is possible to work out a compromise by including the limited topic in a broader study. Thus, the study of reception methods in the Health Department was made one part of a larger study of reception methods in city departments. Experience has demonstrated that interns can make their principal contribution in preparing long-range studies which supply useful background material.

Not all of the studies are of uniform quality. Approximately 10 per cent are of outstanding excellence and approximately the same number are absolutely worthless. The remainder are good workmanlike jobs which can be utilized in one way or another by the city. Eight of the best studies have been published in mimeographed form by the Department of Investigation and widely distributed.[2]

Comments from public officials have been generally most favorable. The State Department of Labor reported that the study of the "Domestic Worker as a Municipal Problem" has been "extensively used by our staff." The study of centralized purchasing was called by the Commissioner of Purchase "an excellent piece of work" which represented "a great deal of diligent investigation and a high degree of intelligence in assimilating and expressing facts and conclusions." The Deputy Comptroller wrote that an administrative study of the Comptroller's Office was "not only valuable to the student but is very much worth while from the city official's point of view." The President of the City Council noted that a study of the city pension system was "very valuable for the use of city officials."

Unfavorable comments have been surprisingly few. In one instance, however, a mildly critical report provoked a vitriolic response from the department head. He retorted that the report was "obviously the work of enthusiastic, inexperienced, irresponsible young women who haven't the first notions of the problems which we face. They are, of course, full of bright ideas and not in the least hesitant about expressing them. May I suggest that with all the important things there are to

(Continued on page 108)

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[2] *Pension and Retirement System of New York City, Advisory Bodies and Public Housing, Price Margins and Price Spreads on Long Island Potatoes, The Domestic Worker as a Municipal Problem, Centralized Purchasing in New York City, The New York City Garment Industry, Follow-up Study of High School Graduates with High I.Q.'s,* and *New York City Looks to the Future: A Survey of Postwar Planning.*

A North Carolina Experiment

State's Institute of Government, which began as a Law School teacher's dream, brings the classroom to local, county, and state officials; a clearing house for ideas.

By **PAUL W. WAGER**
University of North Carolina

VISITORS entering Chapel Hill, North Carolina, on Route 15 from the north are always attracted by the handsome building of Georgian architecture over whose portal are the words, "Institute of Government." If they are curious enough to stop and enter the building, they will be even more impressed by the magnificent murals of North Carolina scenes which surround the big central room on the main floor—the sand dunes of the east coast, the Great Smoky Mountains on the western border, the cotton fields of the central plains, and other equally beautiful scenes of this varied state.

When they lower their eyes from the murals they will observe racks and tables of current magazines, practically all dealing with government—federal, state, and local. If they enter the smaller adjoining rooms they will see young men and women typing, clipping items from stacks of newspapers, abstracting court reports, or perhaps displaying a series of charts to some other visitors.

If these curious travelers explore further and go down stairs they will discover what appears to be a dormitory. When they finally venture to inquire what is the meaning of this juxtaposition of art gallery, reading room, work shop, and dormitory they will be told that they are in a laboratory of government and that the dormitory is to lodge in succession policemen, tax assessors, court clerks, and accountants who come to study in the laboratory.

Then, if they are patient, they will be told how the building and the activities which it houses are the physical expression of an idea born in the mind of a University of North Carolina law professor fifteen years ago.

Albert Coates, in attempting to teach criminal law to his students, became convinced that law as presented in the case books fell far short of law as it was practiced in the courtrooms. Therefore, he took leave from the classroom and went out and joined a police force. He listened to complaints, went along when arrests were made, followed individual cases through the trials, and thoroughly familiarized himself with the way the machinery of justice actually operates. Incidentally, he soon discovered that practices differed widely even under the same laws.

When he went back to his classes, he called in local law-enforcement officers to help him instruct his students and to exchange experiences with each other. Pursuing the idea further, he called together law enforcement officers from all over the state and invited experts on scientific crime detection from the FBI and the National Police Academy to address them. From this beginning there developed annual police schools for ten-day periods of intensive training, and today the FBI acclaims North Carolina as the nation's outstanding example of coöperative effort in this field.

So convinced had Coates become that local officials have much to learn from each other that he effected statewide organizations of firemen, accountants, election officials, prosecuting attorneys, coroners, tax officials, and others. In May 1932 some three hundred representatives of the groups then organized, together with other local, state, and federal officials, met in Chapel Hill and formed the Institute of Government.

With his organization perfected, he recruited a staff of able young men to assist him in the preparation of guidebooks, in the assembly of illustrative materials, and in the publication of a magazine. He began to lay plans for the day when he might have a building to house the Institute's activities and display its exhibits. His enthusiasm knew no bounds. He put practically all of his own earnings into the enterprise, sought financial help from those whom he could interest, and with the indefatigable assistance of his wife struggled toward the realization of his dream.

These are the facts presented in a story which appeared in the October issue of *The Reader's Digest* under the title "Don't Shoot Your Sheriff: Teach Him" and its appearance prompted the editor of the REVIEW to solicit this article in further explanation of this interesting experiment.

Publishes Magazine, Manuals

As early as 1934 the Institute launched a magazine, called *Popular Government,* as an organ of communication between one unit of government and another and as a bridge of understanding between public officials, teachers, and citizens. The magazine is now in its tenth year, but not all volumes have contained the same number of issues. Sometimes there have been lapses of several months when the resources of the Institute were at low ebb. But no issue has ever come from the press that was not attractive, well written, and packed with timely information from the governmental front. After each session of the state legislature there has been an excellent summary of the new laws. When civilian defense was being organized *Popular Government* became an indispensable manual to local officials and their civilian aids.

One of the most useful services which the Institute has performed has been the preparation and distribution of a series of manuals or guidebooks for the use of local officials. The series includes guidebooks for sheriffs, for clerks of the Superior Court, for county and city tax collectors, for election officials, and many others. Here the scattered provisions of the law, as interpreted by the courts, are brought together and presented topically in simple language. The writer has found the two volumes dealing with the assessment and collection of property tax invaluable in one of his University courses.

Another important function of the Institute staff is to answer questions which flow in constantly from officials and private citizens. Sometimes the question can be answered readily, but at other times it may necessitate an opinion from the attorney-general, or an exchange of letters with some federal bureau, or hours of diligent research. Oftentimes, the answer can be found in the experience of some other official, so that the Institute becomes a clearing house of information.

Covers All Local Units

As a service bureau the Institute resembles the North Carolina League of Municipalities, which also answers the questions and wrestles with the problems of its members. As a matter of fact most of the cities of the state belong to both groups. An important difference between the Institute of Government and the League of Municipalities is that the former does not limit its membership to cities as does the League. The Institute includes in its membership cities, counties, and associations of officials.

In 1940 the building was realized, and to this governmental laboratory come officials, citizens, students, and teachers of civics and government to see demonstrated in one place the governmental methods and practices which they would otherwise have to go to many city halls, county courthouses, and state department offices to observe. New practices in the administration of public affairs are constantly arising out of the initiative, resourcefulness, and energy of public officials. A central clearing house where these new techniques can be demonstrated and explained is a most effective way of promoting their wider adoption.

The Institute is not a lobbying organization. It never goes before the legislature for or against any bill. Its member associations, such as the Association of County Commissioners or the Association of County Sheriffs, engage in lobbying, but they do so directly.

Neither is the Institute a reform movement. Its basic idea is education; it proceeds on the assumption that most officials, teachers, and workmen in any field will want to do things the right way when once they discover that way. Not all will be frank enough to admit that their way has been faulty, but they will quietly shift to the better way none the less. When scientific farming was taught to farmers through demonstrations on selected farms, the more conservative were inclined to scoff publicly at the newfangled ideas, but at the same time they began covertly to try them out on their own farms. It is human nature not to want to admit that one is backward even if he is convinced of it.

Public officials, especially elective officials, are fully as conservative as farmers. They are afraid of innovations because of a possible political backfire. They are sensitive to pressure and suspicious of reform elements. But let one of their fellow officeholders work out an improved technique, and the improvement will spread like leaven throughout the whole fraternity if the means of education and demonstration are provided. The task which the Institute has set for itself is to provide these means.

In putting its faith in internal or official stimulation, it would not be fair to imply that external stimulation is neglected. Certainly in the institutes and training courses conducted for local law enforcement officers and local administrators there has been no dearth of professionals. In the police training schools there have always been experts present from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, from the State Department of Justice, and perhaps from some big city police force in a distant state. Similarly, outside talent is invited to participate in meetings of assessors, or accountants, or superintendents of waterworks. The Institute has consistently tried to arouse a professional spirit and a sense of public responsibility.

Encourages Citizen Interest

Neither would it be fair to imply that the Institute has not tried to bring officeholders and citizens together. In the early days of its history it encouraged public attendance at the installation of new officers, and the making of the installation a significant public occasion. Not always was the public response gratifying, but the objective was a worthy one, none the less. Citizens have been encouraged to attend and participate in the special group meetings. If they have not done so in large numbers, it has not been for lack of an invitation.

The governing body of the Institute of Government has passed through three stages. In the beginning it included the accredited leaders of all groups of officials which had joined together to form the Institute. In later years it included three mayors, three county commissioners, the governor, and two other state officials. Finally, when the Institute was absorbed into the University of North Carolina, the membership of the board was increased to fifteen, the three units of the Greater University being allowed five members. The fifteenth member is Justice W. A. Devin of the State Supreme Court, who has been chairman of the Institute's Executive Committee since its organization.

The financing of the Institute has also passed through three stages. In the beginning, as well as in lean years ever since, it was financed out of the pocket of Professor Coates, its founder and director. Later, when the program showed it was worth a trial, a few citizens of North Carolina financed it for a five-year period of experimentation. Before this period was over cities and counties throughout the state had found its services worth enough to induce them to make an annual contribution. Now, in addition to service charges and private contributions, it gets a biennial appropriation from the state.

The Institute has now won the active backing and support of the University of North Carolina and a place as an integral unit in the University structure. In January 1942, the incorporation of the Institute of Government into the Extension Service of the University was approved by the University trustees and formally announced by the Governor.

From the beginning staff members

of the Institute have had a close relationship with the University. Director Coates has continued to teach in the University Law School, and at times members of his staff have taught courses in the University. During the fall quarter of the current year three staff members of the Institute taught classes in the Department of Political Science. Almost always there are staff members enrolled as graduate students in the University. Even before amalgamation people out in the state assumed that the Institute, since it was located at Chapel Hill, must be a part of the University. No longer will they have to be set straight if, in fact, there was ever any purpose in correcting the misapprehension. At any rate, the merger links the University in a working partnership with city hall, county courthouse, state department, and federal agency in professional training for the public service. Just as public officials have been coming to Chapel Hill for short courses arranged by the Institute, so the way should be cleared for students at the University, who are interested in the public service, to serve internships in city halls, county courthouses, and state departments.

Some Limitations

An honest appraisal of the Institute of Government demands mention of its limitations as well as its merits. In the first place, its activity does not diminish the need for other governmental research. This is not to discount the research done by its staff in preparing the guidebooks and magazine articles. The quality of both has been uniformly high, but the material is strictly factual. There are no deductions, no recommendations. The Institute is not a research bureau in the accepted sense of the term.

The Institute does not take the place of citizen organizations. It invites and encourages closer coöperation and better understanding between citizens and officeholders, but the structure of its organization and the sources of its support weight its viewpoint heavily on the side of the officeholder. It believes in and labors for good government, but it wants the improvements to come from within. It believes that public servants can be inspired by demonstration and example to improve their techniques. It maintains that citizen crusading movements are usually short-lived and ineffective, whereas the development of ever-rising standards of administration by public servants is a permanent gain.

There is much evidence to support this thesis. Reform governments are rarely sustained long in office. On the other hand, new and superior methods of administration are constantly being suggested by those who are enmeshed in it. More good laws enacted by Congress and the state legislatures could be traced to the much-maligned bureaucrat than to the pompous legislator who takes the credit. The Institute relies on education of the officeholder as the most effective means of getting good government.

Granting the efficacy of this technique, it can be easily observed that it is more productive among appointive officers with indefinite tenures than among elective officers with fixed tenures. Professor Coates has observed "that our form of government is forever being administered by beginners who do not always have beginners' luck, and that private business, operating in this fashion, would soon go broke." And he adds that public business may go broke unless these beginners are taught. But he does not admit that it is unnecessary to have so many beginners. The Institute has never declared for the short ballot, has never advocated a merit system, has never expressed itself in favor of county consolidation, or the council-manager plan. It declares that its purpose is not to advocate anything, but "to find facts, distribute them, and coordinate officials, citizens and the schools in a unified program for good government."

No Champion of Reform

Perhaps the Institute is right in its belief that it should not be an advocate, that it would lose its influence as a teaching agency if it supported particular reforms. But if that is the case, then there is a place for citizens organizations that will work for changes in the machinery of government. For it is too much to expect that associations of politically-minded officials will take any steps that might tend to undermine their own security. Moreover, the educational work which the Institute can do with such a group is extremely limited. Let me illustrate.

North Carolina is plagued with a swarm of justices of the peace in every county. Some are elected by popular vote of the township, some are appointed by the governor, and great numbers are appointed by the legislature. A few are competent and useful; many are worse than a nuisance. The Institute may struggle patiently to elevate their standards and practices by educational processes, but everybody knows that the justice-of-the-peace court can never acquire a position of dignity and popular esteem until the number of justices is reduced to about one-tenth the present number, the qualifications are made higher, and the compensation is divorced from fees.

It may well be that the Institute, working as it does through officeholders, can ill afford to champion particular forms of governmental structure. To do so might weaken its influence as an educational and in-service training agency. Moreover, it may well be that improvement of government will come faster by training the administrators than by changing the machinery. That being true, the Institute is placing its emphasis in the right place.

But it would be wrong to accept faulty machinery, where it exists, as a permanent condition and make no attempt to do anything about it. In other words, there is a need in North Carolina, as elsewhere, for political leaders and civic organizations to agitate for structural improvements. The Institute is doing exceedingly well the work which it has assigned itself, and its effort has unquestionably raised the standard of administration in the counties and cities of the state. Its achievements should challenge the rest of us to display equal energy in the fields of political and civic action.

Researcher's Digest: February

Measurement applied by metropolitan consolidation; what the public is thinking on postwar problems; taxes and business reserves; South Dakota surveys local salaries.

By MIRIAM ROHER

THE third and last of the measurement studies brought out by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California at Berkeley,** and financed by Rockefeller Foundation funds, is *Fiscal Aspects of Metropolitan Consolidation,* Herbert A. Simon's meaty contribution to the literature on governmental measurement. This work combines the heart of what has been learned about the measurement of service, a stiff shot of economic theory, some neat reasoning, and a clever application to a practical situation.

What the author is trying to determine is what would happen to property values, taxes, and services if all the governmental units in any sizable metropolitan area were, as is urged by many students, consolidated. First he sets the theoretical stage by developing a theory of the incidence of the property tax which hypothesizes that equalization of tax differentials would work to the disadvantage of present property owners. Next, he sets forth techniques for measuring these governmental services which account for the largest share of the urban tax bill. Finally, he applies both his tax conclusions and his measurement techniques to a specific metropolitan area, the San Francisco Bay region.

Dr. Simon's conclusions may be a little surprising to those who see in metropolitan consolidation a means of equalizing tax rates, for he finds that such equalization might decrease property values in one city as much as 20 per cent, and increase property values in another little city by more than 10 per cent—which would be unfair to the owners. Rather, consolidation would be desirable chiefly because it would be a means of eliminating existing inequalities in the level of services in the various sections of the metropolis. Thus he advocates that consolidation, if undertaken, be accompanied by only a gradual equalization of taxes.

To follow this argument it is highly desirable to read the study, which is bulwarked by the most careful reasoning and considerable scientific evidence.

Opinions

Many are talking about postwar problems but is anyone actually *thinking* about them? The **National Planning Association** answers the question in an admirably concise pamphlet, *Public Thinking on Post-War Problems,* by Jerome S. Bruner, in which the results of public opinion surveys on all the chief problems are presented in striking charts, tables, and pithy commentary. There is an accompanying "Reader Ballot" for you to test your own views on the same subjects.

The same association has another recent pamphlet on *Business Reserves in Present Tax Law* which may carry less popular appeal but contains plenty of hard fact.

Salaries

R. F. Patterson of the University of South Dakota, the REVIEW's correspondent from that State, has analyzed for this department a survey recently made of current trends in municipal salaries by the **Business Research Bu-**

reau of the University of South Dakota in coöperation with the South Dakota League of Municipalities. The 292 incorporated municipalities of South Dakota were surveyed and 185 responded with the information requested. Professor Patterson reports the results as follows:

"There are sixteen towns in the state with a population of 3000. All but one of these reported increases in salaries both for full-time and part-time positions. In all of these towns the bulk of all increases went to such full-time city employees as librarian, water and light superintendent, street superintendent, police, and fire departments.

"In the group of cities with one to three thousand population, a few raises were reported for elective city officials, but here also most of the increases were given to laborers or full-time administrative employees.

"For the group of towns with less than one thousand population the same situation with reference to increases was also true. Of course, it is in this class of municipalities that the lowest salaries for both part-time and full-time employees are paid.

"There has been some evidence that some positions have either been eliminated or consolidated with others making an increase possible in the positions which were retained. The survey should be of considerable value to the various municipalities of the state as a basis for comparison for the payment of comparable positions in South Dakota municipalities."

Research Bureau Reports Received

Administration

Filing and Publication of Administrative Regulations. Topeka, Research Department, Kansas Legislative Council, 1943. 34 pp.

Metropolitan Government

Fiscal Aspects of Metropolitan Consolidation. By Herbert A. Simon. Berkeley, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, 1943. 67 pp.

Public Opinion

Public Thinking on Postwar Problems. By Jerome S. Bruner. Washington, D. C., National Planning Association. 36 pp.

Taxation

Business Reserves in Present Tax Law. By E. Cary Brown and J. Keith Butters. Washington, National Planning Association, 1943. 26 pp.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

On the Local Front

Prepared by the Office of Community War Services, Federal Security Agency
Mark A. McCloskey, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

Restaurant Sanitation — A Wartime Problem

WAR has changed the pattern of living for millions of persons. Crowded living conditions, poor housing particularly in war industry areas, the general dislocation of populations, and to some extent rationing, have all helped to increase the number of persons "eating out." With more than seventeen billion meals served annually at hotels and restaurants in 1942 and with some seven million persons eating at least one meal a day at drug store soda fountains, it is more essential than ever to the public health that eating establishments prepare and serve food under sanitary conditions.

Nearly everywhere operators of eating establishments are being called on to render additional service at a time when they are already suffering from shortages of both skilled and unskilled labor, the difficulty of obtaining high-grade provisions from their usual sources of supply, and from the scarcity of equipment and critical materials needed to keep equipment in repair.

From the point of view of state and local health officers, the enforcement of restaurant sanitation has been made more difficult by the loss of trained inspectors and law enforcement personnel to the Army and to private industry. All these circumstances have combined to cause a breakdown in the sanitary methods formerly carried out by responsible restaurant operators. Unfortunately, these breakdowns have occurred in the very areas where the provision of properly prepared food is of primary importance—in war industry areas where workers must be fed and in extra-cantonment areas where soldiers patronize local restaurants.

To obtain more complete knowledge of outbreaks of disease caused by drinking contaminated water and milk and by eating contaminated foods, the Public Health Service in 1937 inaugurated the first nation-wide survey for this purpose. The most striking fact revealed was that contaminated food caused the greatest number of such disease outbreaks.

In 1942 the number of disease outbreaks from food was more than twice the number reported from all other sources combined. Water supplies were responsible for 53 outbreaks, milk and milk products for 45, and food for 246. Practically every item which appears on an ordinary restaurant menu, with the possible exception of fresh fruits and vegetables, has been incriminated at one time or another.

Of the outbreaks reported by 28 states and the Territory of Hawaii, 30 per cent were in New York State alone, the second largest number was reported in Michigan, Pennsylvania was third, and Kentucky fourth. Diseases reported included dysentery, gastroenteritis, food poisoning, trichinosis, and typhoid fever. In the twenty remaining states, seemingly unaffected, it must be remembered that not all states report all of these diseases nor do all states carry on effective programs of investigation.

At the request of state and local health authorities, the Public Health Service is now sending mobile laboratories into hundreds of critical war areas to investigate the status of restaurant sanitation. These mobile laboratories are equipped with facilities for testing the bacterial content of milk, water, and foods and for determining the efficiency of dishwashing and sterilization procedures. The units are staffed with technicians of the Service. The "housekeeping" of restaurants is also investigated.

To cite a typical example, in one extra-cantonment area, with a population of about 20,000, conditions were found to be appalling. Unswept floors, stoves coated with grease and dirt, food stored on exposed shelves, dishwashing done in old-fashioned dishpans, and dishes dried with dirty towels characterized a type of restaurant only too frequently encountered.

In this community there was no local restaurant ordinance and enforcement of statewide regulations was of a half-hearted, sporadic nature.

In other communities surveyed large air-conditioned establishments were found where the dining rooms were clean and well managed, but whose kitchens presented a sadly contrasting picture. Many large chain cafeterias with modern dining rooms which attract a good class of clientele by their pleasant exteriors, when investigated back stage are guilty of numerous flagrant violations of even the simplest sanitary precautions.

When interviewed restaurant operators were unanimous in placing the blame on scarcity, turnover, and inefficient help. Still others complained of the unavailability of essential equipment. These complaints are to some extent legitimate. And yet there are restaurants whose operators in the face of the same problems, by extra effort and ingenuity, manage to run establishments which are a credit to their communities.

The basic need in many of the restaurants surveyed is simply one of good housekeeping—getting rid of rubbish and litter, provision of proper storage space for food and utensils, adequate refrigeration, and the liberal use of soap and *hot* water. Proper training of low-paid employees presents somewhat greater difficulties.

Health Department Program

From the standpoint of health authorities, the solution of the problem lies in the adoption of a sound restaurant sanitation ordinance backed up by machinery for enforcement. In many instances, where some form of state, county, or local ordinance does exist, there is at this time a lack of trained inspectors and sanitarians to carry out the work. The Public Health Service has now undertaken to meet this need through its expanded restaurant sanitation program which provides training for sanitary inspectors as well as education for restaurant operators and food handlers. One important phase of this work is the establishment of a definite program in state health departments for the promotion and supervision of local restaurant sanitation.

The essential features of a health department restaurant sanitation program briefly include: (1) Enactment of an adequate local ordinance, (2) conscientious enforcement of the ordinance, (3) in-service training of sanitation personnel, (4) instruction of restaurant operators and food handlers, and (5) constant encouragement of good housekeeping, simple cleanliness, and the use of soap and water.

A model ordinance for local adoption has been drawn up by the U. S. Public Health Service.[1] This recommended basic ordinance may be enacted with such modifications as state and local health authorities deem advisable.

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[1] *The Ordinance and Code Regulating Eating and Drinking Establishments* (Public Health Bulletin No. 280), for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. Price 20 cents.

Enforcement is, of course, the responsibility of state and local authorities. In extra-cantonment areas, the Army may and often does step in and declare an establishment "off limits" for Army personnel. This brings to the notice of the general public the fact that the place is not fit to eat in. In communities where there are no Army officials to wield a "big stick," the various citizens' organizations can, in the interest of public health, bring pressure to bear on both indifferent local officials and on irresponsible restaurant operators. They can demand the adoption of a restaurant sanitation ordinance followed by rigid enforcement.

Training Courses for Personnel

Today the process of education must often begin with sanitation personnel, as health departments have had to recruit and utilize inexperienced persons to work as sanitary inspectors. Consequently, training courses have been instituted in many places. The Public Health Service has assisted state and local health authorities in organizing and conducting such courses, providing expert instructors and educational materials including literature, motion pictures, strip films, posters, and exhibits.

Eighteen such regional sanitation seminars have already been held and more are to follow. A feature of these seminars is a demonstration of a food handlers' course. One such seminar, held in Roanoke, Virginia, in August 1943, was attended by nearly two hundred persons, including sanitarians from health departments in four states and the District of Columbia, as well as representatives of the Army, Navy, and several interested federal agencies.

In October, milk and food specialists of Public Health Service District No. 4 conducted a school for restaurant employees at Memphis, Tennessee, in cooperation with the Memphis-Shelby County Health Department, the Memphis Chamber of Commerce, and the Memphis Restaurant Association. Nearly 4,600 persons attended, including employers and employees, representing 829 eating and drinking establishments. This was the largest school so far conducted by the Service.

The course consists of three sessions. The subjects studied include bacteriology and communicable diseases, food poisoning and spoilage, refrigeration and storage of food, personal hygiene and sanitation, and the cleaning and sterilization of utensils. Each food handler who successfully completes the course is given a card, called a handler's pledge, to be signed by the recipient. Each establishment which sends at least a 75 per cent representation of its employees to the school, receives for display a "Restaurant Personnel Training Certificate" signed by the local health officer.

By the end of June 1943, the Public Health Service's *Ordinance and Code Regulating Eating and Drinking Establishments* was in effect in 227 municipalities and 133 counties in 29 states and in Alaska. It was also being used as the basis for state regulations in seventeen states. Seventeen milk and food supply specialists are on duty in eight Public Health Service District offices and nineteen others have been assigned to states.

The need is obviously for wider adoption of the ordinance or codes based on it, followed by rigid enforcement and an educational campaign that reaches all those concerned with serving food and drink to the public.

The difficulties presented by wartime restaurant sanitation are grave, but they are not insurmountable. The history of sanitation is one of hard-won achievements. Behind these achievements have been resolute health agencies, necessary local ordinances properly enforced, and the support of an enlightened public opinion.

Contributors in Review

DIRECTOR of the Division of Coördination and Research for the New York City Department of Investigation from 1938 until late 1943, **Harold Seidman** *(City Hall Looks to the Colleges)* was in charge of the development and direction of the internship program of which he writes. He is now senior administrative analyst with the Division of Administrative Management of the U. S. Bureau of the Budget. Dr. Seidman, who received his Ph.D. from Yale University, is author of several books including *Investigating Municipal Administration* (1941), the story of the work of the New York City Department of Investigation, and *Labor Czars* (1938).

A MEMBER of the executive committee which drafted the one-house constitutional amendment for Nebraska, and an active participant in the campaign for its adoption, **John P. Senning** *(Unicameralism Passes Test)* was chosen advisor to the 1935 House and Senate unicameral committees selected to consider bills putting the amendment into effect. In the latter stages of the legislation, he was also made adviser to the joint committee of conference which reported the final measure. Professor Senning, who teaches political science at the University of Nebraska, has watched the development of the one-house experiment closely. He is author of the volume, *The One House Legislature,* as well as numerous articles on the subject.

FOLLOWING his graduation from Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College in 1915, **V. R. Smitham** *(Dallas Prepares for the Future)* was a railroad, later a highway, engineer. He took his master's degree in civil engineering at the same college in 1926, specializing in city management. Since that time, except for the period from 1934 to 1941 when he was state director of the Farm Security Administration in Texas, Mr. Smitham has been in the city manager field, serving in Lufkin, Big Spring, and Wichita Falls, Texas. He is now acting manager for Dallas, second largest city under manager government in the Lone Star State.

EXCEPT for two leaves of absence to enter federal service, **Paul W. Wager** *(A North Carolina Experiment)* has been with the University of North Carolina since 1926. In 1930 and 1931 Dr. Wager was taxation economist for the U. S. Forest Service; during 1934-1937 he acted as regional chief of the Land Use Planning Section, Resettlement Administration, later the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. He was consultant for the Land Committee of the National Resources Planning Board until its abolition last year. Dr. Wager is author of books and articles dealing especially with county government, and is one of the sectional editors of *The Municipal Yearbook* issued by the International City Managers Association. At present he is teaching political science to Naval and Marine Reservists as well as to civilians.

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

News in Review

City, State, Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Voting by Service Men and Women Stirs States' Rights Controversy

Poll Taxes and Politics Other Disturbing Factors

WORLD-WIDE armed conflict, with over 11,000,000 American men and women expected to be in many parts of the globe by election time, has brought into sharp relief the many differences in elective qualifications and procedures of the 48 states as obstacles to widespread voting in the armed services. Congressional division reflected the states' rights controversy and other political considerations. President Roosevelt's message of January 11 warned that a great majority of the service personnel would be prevented from voting if election machinery is left exclusively to the states under existing state laws.

The Green-Lucas servicemen's absentee voting bill, sanctioned by the federal administration, attempted to streamline absentee voting procedure by a program, under supervision of a U. S. War Ballot Commission, to enable ballots to be cast at the various fronts, far and wide, for president, vice-president, and Congress, and transported by air to local precincts for counting. Requirements for personal registration in advance of voting, payment of poll taxes as prescribed by some states, and the use of ballot forms set up by state election authorities were to be waived for servicemen during the war.

In December, after six days of effort in amending the bill, the Senate discarded it and through a combination of Republicans and southern Democrats enacted by a vote of 42 to 37 the Eastland-McClellan-McKellar substitute which leaves balloting by the armed forces under state laws and election officials. All senators from the eight poll-tax states who were present supported the substitute. Instead of setting up a federal commission the Senate merely recommended to the states that they enact legislation to enable all eligible absentees to vote. The states were asked to furnish postcard applications for absentee ballots, the cards to be delivered to the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy for distribution to the forces, and the secretaries were to coöperate with state officials and agencies in regard to the voting.

The substitute was denounced as rendering impossible the casting of a large soldier vote. Its sponsors claimed that the proposed federal control was unconstitutional. The controversy showed indications of much thought being given to political speculation as to the possible outcome of voting by the armed forces.

On January 5 the war and navy secretaries outlined the extent of army-navy coöperation considered possible as to any plan for voting by members of the services. They announced their desire to assist and encourage voting so far as compatible with military obligations, but stressed the difficulties of administering the diverse procedures of 48 states as to 11,000,000 servicemen all over the world. They stated that the following provisions could not be effectively administered by the army and navy, having regard to their primary function to wage victorious war:

1. Provisions that the services furnish to officials of a state the names, serial numbers, and military addresses of servicemen voters of the state, or data as to military or naval establishments at which located.

2. Provision that the state appoint agents to take action at military or naval establishments as to voting; designate a particular day or period for the voting; provide any particular voting procedure other than the secret marking of ballots; furnish to the services particular state instructions to be posted, or, except as personal mail, any literature, instructions, official forms, or application for ballots, or state absentee ballots; or provisions that conflict with the mechanical requirements of federal law.

They urged that ballots for outside the United States be mailed at least 45 days before the election, and recommended that there be uniform legislation as to mailing time, application forms, and bulk and weight limits for voting material.

By January 3 the governors of three states—Georgia, West Virginia, and Illinois—had called special legislative sessions to arrange for soldier voting. Congress had not finally acted, however, and there was no uniform guide to legislation. Various measures were recommended, including the proposal of Governor Arnall of Georgia, to abolish the poll tax for voting by men and women in the services.

On January 14 the Elections Committee of the House of Representatives voted seven to five against the federal ballot plan and favored leaving the matter to the states.

Senator Scott W. Lucas of Illinois, co-author with Senator Theodore F. Green, Rhode Island, of the initial proposal, revised the provision for a federal ballot commission to make it purely administrative, without investigative powers and without the requirement that local election officials account to it for ballots received. The Senate Committee on Elections voted twelve to two for such a bill on January 20. But the chances of large-scale soldier voting remain dubious.

New Jersey's 1944 Constitutional Convention Gets to Work

The New Jersey legislators who assembled in Trenton on January 11 met as two different bodies: the 168th Legislature of the State of New Jersey and the 1944 Constitutional Convention of New Jersey. A week later Governor Walter E. Edge, in his inaugural address, reported on the work of three unofficial committees of Republican members which he had commissioned to do "spade work in preparation for the meeting of the legislature."

The Governor summarized "certain basic principles" that had guided the unofficial committees. These included recommendations: (1) to establish a unified court system consisting of a Supreme Court of seven judges and a Superior Court, merging the present law, equity, and probate courts; the chief justice to be the administrative head of the entire system and judges to be given life tenure;

(2) to increase and define the executive authority by extending the term of the governor to four years, strengthening his veto power, giving him full power "over the appointment or approval of all state administrative officers" subject to confirmation by the Senate "within a reasonable and stated period of time"; the legislature to be forbidden to make any appointments except treasurer, comptroller, and auditor; the governor still to be forbidden to succeed himself;

(3) to strengthen the legislative process by extending terms of assemblymen and senators to two and four years respectively, by increasing their pay to at least $1,500 a year, and "preferably" by limiting regular sessions to 90 days every two years;

(4) to improve state financial pro-

cedures by requiring a single state budget and eliminating most dedicated funds;

(5) to provide for reorganization and consolidation of administrative departments by giving the governor power, subject to legislative veto, to transfer functions of any department to another.

Governor Edge declared that public hearings should be held "upon completion by the legislature of the revised draft." For the purpose of completing that draft, the legislature has added four additional members, including two minority members, to each of the three unofficial committees already at work. Thus a majority of the 81 members of the two houses belong to these committees.

The principles outlined by Governor Edge closely follow the recommendations of the 1942 Hendrickson Commission on Revision of the New Jersey Constitution. The chief difference was his rejection of the proposal to specify nine administrative departments in the constitution.

When public hearings get under way, the New Jersey Committee for Constitutional Revision can be expected to support most of the positive recommendations of Governor Edge and the legislative committees. This citizens committee, which carried the ball for the "Yes" vote last November, met weekly while the unofficial legislative committees were working. Among the differences between their proposals and the ones outlined by Governor Edge are: (1) recommendation that the governor be permitted to succeed himself; (2) rejection of the plan for biennial sessions; and (3) recommendation that the number of state departments be limited to twenty.

Other probable differences between the proposals of the citizens committee and those of the legislative committees include: (1) a method for amending the constitution which does not depend upon a two-thirds vote of the legislature; (2) provision for a periodic vote on the question of constitutional revision; (3) provision for a "stand-in" for the governor appointed by himself in place of the president of the Senate; (4) provision for municipal home rule; (5) slight changes in language which would eliminate present blocks against the adoption of proportional representation or the election of assemblymen by single-member districts; (6) provision that any bill which passes one house of the legislature may upon order of the governor be submitted to a referendum vote; and (7) elimination of county officers from the constitution.

Early in January constitutional revision weathered two attempts to obtain judicial review of its validity. Supreme Court Justice Porter denied the first application for review on the ground that the people having authorized revision, the matter is now a political rather than a judicial question. Part Two of the Supreme Court later denied a similar request on the narrower ground that it had no technical right to interfere with the mere certification by the Secretary of State to the legislature of the referendum vote. The opinion of the Supreme Court appeared to leave the door open for a possible attempt at a later time to enjoin submission of the revised constitution to the people, but the best judgment seems to be that such an attempt if made will almost certainly be unsuccessful. In any event, Governor Edge in his inaugural address promised: "I shall resist with every resource at my command any and all efforts to nullify the will of the people."

JOHN E. BEBOUT,
Executive Vice-President
New Jersey Constitution Foundation

Legislative Research Committee Functions in Missouri

The 1943 legislature of Missouri established a permanent joint Committee on Legislative Research, composed of ten senators and ten representatives, with offices in the state capitol in Jefferson City. The law prescribes that no major party shall have more than six senators and six representatives on the Committee. The Committee is to provide a research and reference service on legislative problems for members of the legislature, and upon written request shall make investigations into legislative and governmental institutions of Missouri or other states, shall coöperate with any interim legislative committee or commission created by the legislature, and shall draft or aid in drafting bills, resolutions, memorials, and amendments. It thus has some functions of the legislative council of certain other states.

The Committee also maintains the legislative library, and has charge of the Senate and House Chambers and legislative offices. Thirty thousand dollars was appropriated to it for the biennium. Charlton F. Chute, director of the St. Louis Governmental Research Institute, has been given leave of absence to become the committee's first director of research.

Twenty-one States Permit City Postwar Reserves

Municipalities now have authority to establish postwar reserve funds[1] in 21 states according to a report by the Municipal Finance Officers Association; thirteen states authorized such funds in 1943. Several states that enacted such legislation before 1943 broadened their statutes last year.

Massachusetts, for example, extended the authority to include districts and counties in addition to cities and towns, and now permits establishment of funds equal in amount to 5 per cent of total valuation, instead of the former limit of 1/10 of 1 per cent.

In general, under provisions of the various state laws, municipal reserve funds may be created by vote of the local governing body, by vote of the electorate, or by vote of the governing body approved by the voters. In North Carolina the reserve fund ordinance must be approved by the Local Government Commission.

Major sources of reserve funds are budgetary appropriations supported by annual tax levies and unencumbered balances of the general fund. Statutes usually specify the maximum amount of any special annual levy, and in Nebraska and North Dakota the special levy is limited to ten years and two years respectively.

Several states in addition to the 21 permit municipal reserve funds under home rule charter provisions, or the purchase of United States bonds with unused balances.

Judicial Election Reform Suggested for New York

Changes in methods of nominating and electing judges have been proposed in New York State, largely as a result of the Aurelio case, where a bipartisan judgeship candidate in New York City, repudiated by both parties after charges of racketeer connections, was nevertheless successful in a three-cornered election.

Suggestions for appointment by the governor have come from various quarters. As this would require constitutional amendment, be a drastic departure from precedent, and invite political difficulties, the Citizens Union of the City of New York advocates a plan, acknowledged to have been conceived by the City Club, which includes the following:

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, July 1943, p. 392; September 1943, p. 450.

> 1. Nominations by the governor, before any other nominations are made, for all constitutional court positions, the governor's nominees to be so designated on the ballot.
> 2. Opportunity for candidates in opposition to the governor's nominees to be put on the ballot only by petition.
> 3. Election without party designations of all elective judges.

Governor Thomas A. Dewey, in his message to the legislature, proposed that each of the nine judicial districts of the state determine by referendum how they would select their judges. This would involve a constitutional amendment to permit appointment, if desired, as to judges now elective under the constitution. It is assumed that election would continue to be the method outside of the large cities, inasmuch as the governorship has been held by Democrats more often than by Republicans, and the small cities, villages, and rural districts, which are mostly Republican, would hardly relish judicial appointments by governors of the other party.

The development of some plan of preferential voting, to prevent election of candidates who, like Aurelio, obtain only a minority of the vote, has not made noticeable progress.

Florida to Vote on Amendment Repealing Uniform Charters

The Florida legislature in 1943 approved the following constitutional amendment, for submission to popular vote at the 1944 general election:

> Section 24. The legislature shall establish a uniform system of county and municipal government, which shall be applicable, except in cases where local or special laws are provided, or may hereafter be provided, by the legislature that may be inconsistent therewith.

The Florida League of Municipalities at its conference on December 8 endorsed the amendment, stating that it would repeal existing "inoperative, impracticable, and unworkable" constitutional requirements of uniform municipal charters based on population classifications, and would preserve for local communities the "right to have municipal legislation affecting them, their governments, and their particular needs and problems considered and made through representatives of their own choice."

Merit Systems Advanced in 1943

Twelve cities and three counties adopted civil service laws in 1943, one state and one county extended civil service, and four states reorganized their civil service systems, according to the Civil Service Assembly. The cities were Hazel Park, Michigan, Kenosha, Wisconsin, San Mateo, California, Harvey and Jacksonville, Illinois, and the New Jersey municipalities of Linden, Hamilton, Lakewood, Long Beach, Lavalette, Seaside Park, and Seaside Heights. The merit system for the New Jersey cities will be administered by the State Civil Service Commission. Counties establishing civil service agencies include Fresno County, California, Fulton County, Georgia, and Davidson County, Tennessee.

The Civil Service Assembly states that there are approximately 1,180 governmental jurisidictions in this country in which civil service programs are in operation. They include 936 cities, 184 counties, the 48 states, the federal government and eight miscellaneous governmental units. Although only 21 states have statewide merit systems, each of the other 27 has one or more departments under a merit system.

Council-Manager Plan News

Twenty-five years ago last month the first periodical publication devoted entirely to the city manager movement began as the *City Manager Bulletin,* mimeographed organ of the City Managers' Association, then five years old. It was edited by Harrison G. Otis in New York. In January 1922, the *Bulletin* began to be printed, with Paul B. Wilcox as editor, at East Cleveland, Ohio. A year later the name was changed to *City Manager Magazine,* and its scope was enlarged. John G. Stutz, Lawrence, Kansas, was editor. In September 1924, the Association added "International" at the beginning of its name, and in January 1927, the magazine further broadened its scope and appeal, under the name of *Public Management.* In June 1929 the magazine moved to Chicago, with Clarence E. Ridley as editor.

Twelve cities were added to the official list of the International City Managers' Association in 1943, bringing the total in the United States to 555 cities and seven counties. With eighteen cities in Canada, five in Ireland, and one in Puerto Rico the grand total at the end of the year was 586. Nine municipalities adopted manager plans in 1943: by charter, Thomasville, Georgia; Blaine and Norway, Maine; Las Vegas, Nevada; Ishpeming, Michigan; and Sweet Home, Oregon; by ordinance, Lehighton, Pennsylvania; Crystal and Hubbard, Texas. Three other cities that had previously adopted the plan were added to the official list in 1943: Sylacauga, Alabama; Bloomfield Hills and Marysville, Michigan. No cities voted on abandoning the plan in 1943; Bloomfield, Connecticut, which had voted in 1942 to abandon it decided in 1943 to continue it. Eleven municipalities defeated manager proposals.

On January 4 **Rapid City, South Dakota,** voted against abandonment of the manager plan.

Skowhegan, Maine, will consider the manager plan at its annual town meeting in March.

Neosha, Missouri, now a third-class city, will vote on the manager plan February 15.

Mayor Walter P. Richter of the borough of **Milltown, New Jersey,** in his New Year's message recommended to the borough council that it give serious consideration to the employment of a person to whom could be delegated the supervision of many borough activities, including the care of streets, public buildings, and parks.

Mayor Elisha Large of **Eugene, Oregon,** has been authorized to appoint a charter commission of seven members to draft a manager charter, for submission to the voters in May or November of this year.

In **Seattle, Washington,** the city council has appointed a committee of two to report on past attempts at charter revision in that city, particularly that of 1926, when a freeholders commission was elected to prepare a new charter. At the same election a manager plan sponsored by the Seattle Municipal League was defeated by only 111 votes. The commission prepared a charter calling for a council of fourteen nominated by districts but elected at large; it was to appoint a manager and three commissions—police, civil service, and welfare. The manager was not to be given control of budget-making or purchasing. The mayor, comptroller, treasurer, and corporation counsel were to be elected. This charter was dedefeated by 10,000 votes in November 1926.

In **Santa Monica, California,** Ray E. Schafer campaigned for mayor on a city manager platform against the incumbent Mayor L. E. Murray, but was defeated on December 7 by a vote of 6,483 to 3,021 (not including absentee ballots). About half the registered voters took part. Mr. Schafer was supported by the New Charter Committee and promised to appoint an official committee to draft a manager charter. The election, however, was not an out-and-out vote on the manager plan. *Santa Monica Topics* on December 10 stated editorially that the need of a new city charter remains and that the mayor had promised coöperation with a citizens' committee. The city now has the commission plan, with three commissioners.

Independence, Oregon, and **Texas City, Texas,** are showing interest in the manager plan.

In December twelve city managers of Georgia met in Atlanta, and 21 Florida managers held a luncheon and discussion session in Jacksonville, at the meeting of the Florida League of Municipalities.

Sixteen Oklahoma managers met in Oklahoma City at the convention of the Oklahoma Municipal League.

Baltimore Sees Prospect of Charter Revision

Following the announcement by Mayor McKeldin of Baltimore, of his intention to appoint an official commission to revise the city charter, the unofficial Charter Revision Committee formed in 1941 offered its coöperation to the Mayor and the proposed commission. The committee, headed by Dr. C. I. Winslow, president of the Citizens League of Baltimore, was created under the auspices of the Real Estate Board, the Women's Civic League, the Mt. Vernon Improvement Association, and the Citizens League.

The mayor has suggested various charter changes, including elimination of unnecessary bureaus, centralizing responsibility for administration of the park system, etc., but the Citizens League in its *Citizens Bulletin* urges that there be a real sifting of the merits of the various tested forms of municipal government. Some members of the Charter Revision Committee have endorsed the council-manager plan, but the majority have not taken a position on that issue.

The League points out the need of basic reform, especially as the present city council of eighteen members is entirely Democratic, although the former Democratic mayor was replaced at the last election by a Republican. The *Bulletin* asserts that under the present charter it is virtually impossible for a Republican to be elected to the council, that the council has no active and watchful minority and is dominated by unofficial political leaders, while under proportional representation one-third of the council could be expected to be of the opposition party and provide a salutary influence. The advantage of a professional city manager, with power of appointment of city employees, was urged as a remedy for the spoils system, provided that a higher type of council is secured than under the existing ward system.

Awards in Massachusetts Town Report Contest

The Massachusetts Selectmen's Association has announced the results of its 1942 annual town report contest. Silver cups for first places in various population groups were won by the following: towns of over 5,000 population, Dartmouth; 1,000 to 5,000, Williamstown; under 1,000, Charlemont. Special mention was accorded to towns in various groups for the best Selectmen's report, best financial report, best charts and graphs, and most attractive cover.

District Meetings of Minnesota Municipal Officials

Thirteen regional conferences of municipal officials were held in Minnesota in the latter part of 1943 under the auspices of the State League of Municipalities. They had a record attendance of 615 from 160 municipalities, together with 130 county officials, several state highway department officials, and a number of members of the legislature.

Five Regional Planning Institutes Held in Michigan

Sponsored by the Michigan Planning Commission in coöperation with the Michigan Municipal League and Michigan State College, five regional planning institutes were held toward the end of 1943 in different parts of the state and were attended by over five hundred city, village, and county planners. The purpose was to encourage immediate action on the part of local public officials in preparing public improvement programs, with emphasis on the employment problem during the postwar conversion period.

Collection of City Refuse a Wartime Problem

A survey of the refuse collection departments of 103 cities in the United States and Canada, by the Committee on Refuse Collection and Disposal of the American Public Works Association, shows that equipment shortages, manpower problems, inadequate disposal facilities, and difficulty of salvage operations are major problems of the war.

Only 38 per cent of the cities consider their equipment adequate and 73 per cent already have made more or less detailed estimates of future needs, including proposed capital outlays totalling $8,600,000 principally for refuse collection equipment. A total of 296 trucks were secured by this group of cities in 1943, but they are generally rebuilding and repairing municipally-owned equipment, with considerable ingenuity.

Twenty-three per cent of the cities reported increases in the work week, while 76 per cent granted wage increases for employees ranging up to 30 per cent during the last twelve months. Other steps taken included use of younger or older inexperienced labor and reduction of service.

More than one-fourth of the cities reduced the frequency of collections; 15 per cent changed the location of refuse containers, either from the alley to curbstone or from the house to the alley to save time in picking up refuse; and 31 per cent changed to new types of containers. Practically all refuse collection departments in these cities engage in tin can salvage at various intervals.

Utility Rates Not Dependent on "Value"

In validating a reduction of $3,609,857 in wholesale natural gas rates charged by the Hope Natural Gas Company of West Virginia, the United States Supreme Court on January 3 overruled a lower court decision that the rates should have been based on so-called "fair value," including consideration of reproduction cost, instead of on actual cost, less depreciation, as used by the Federal Power Commission.

The high court said, "The heart of the matter is that rates cannot be made to depend upon 'fair value' when the value of the going enterprise depends on earnings under whatever rates may be anticipated." It held that the total effect of the rate order was not unjust and unreasonable, that the method used was not controlling, and that the order should stand. There were three dissents on points other than reproduction cost.

Citizen Action

New Citizen Group for Los Angeles

Complete Registration First Aim of 'Government Research'

WITH its organization completed, Los Angeles' new Government Research, Inc., has launched its first project, an effort to encourage the complete registration of the voters of the community.

Calling itself "A Better Government League," the group is defined as a "nonpartisan, fact-finding organization which is on the job day by day to achieve integrity, efficiency, and economy in local government." It is run by a board of 21 representative business men, professional men, and labor representatives and a Women's Council of eight. Membership "is open to every citizen who seeks closer contact with his elected officials, factual information on local government, and greater participation in the democratic process."

The organization lists as its specific activities: candidate investigation; city, county, and school district programs; city, county, and school district budget and finance; civil service; legislation; law enforcement. It plans to issue periodic bulletins, press releases, voters' guides, etc., and from time to time to conduct forums. It expects to secure its information by having members of its staff attend meetings of the Board of Education, City Council, and County Supervisors; through research and through investigation carried on by committees and staff members.

John R. Richards, a member of the Los Angeles City Board of Education, is president of Government Research, Inc.; Cecil L. Dunn, acting chairman of the Department of Economics at Occidental College, is executive secretary. The membership of approximately 750 is being expanded under the guidance of the Membership Committee, headed by Rev. Dr. James W. Fifield, Jr., original sponsor of the organization.

A Nonpartisan, Non-Axe-Grinding Lobby

Through its secretary, its staff, and its hard working volunteer Committee on Legislation the **Citizens Union of the City of New York** is endeavoring this year to put through the state legislature a nineteen-subject program of measures to improve the structure and functioning of New York's state and city governments.

Some of the points in the program will be carried out in bills drafted by the Union's counsel or secretary, some will be made effective through support of bills introduced or drafted by others, and some are merely "preventive," involving strong opposition to certain types of legislation which the Union knows from past experience will be pushed by special interest groups.

One of the most important bills drafted by the Union for introduction in the legislature is a measure which developed from the Flynn paving block case, when Bronx Commissioner of Borough Works Robert L. Moran retired on a full pension after being identified by a grand jury presentment as the official in charge of laying city-owned paving blocks with city labor on the private estate of political leader Edward J. Flynn. The bill provides that public employees guilty of fraudulent practices shall be deprived of the part of their retirement allowances contributed by the public.

Another major point in the program in the drafting of which the Union cooperated is a measure to permit constitutional amendments to be put on the ballot by petition. This proposed amendment to the New York State constitution is more carefully safeguarded than the provisions in the eleven other states which now use this method of popular government control. It would require two petitions instead of one, the first to bring an amendment before the state legislature, the second to bring it before the people if the legislature refuses to submit it or to offer a satisfactory substitute.

Another extremely important item on the program is one which would abolish party lines on the voting machines so that the voter would have to consider each candidate as an individual instead of being able to vote by party rows as he does at present. The need for such a change was emphasized this year by the election of Judge Aurelio, whose nomination both the major parties tried to withdraw. Despite the unfavorable publicity he received he was elected by the numerous voters who are trained to vote straight across a party line without even looking at the individual candidates.

Changes in Judiciary

In addition to this suggestion for a Massachusetts ballot the Union devotes a whole section of its program, comprising twelve points, to the improvement of the judiciary.[1] The points include: nominations by the governor, before any other nominations are made, for all constitutional court positions, the governor's nominees to be so designated on the ballot; election without party designations of all elective judges; a constitutional amendment to permit the state's highest court, the Court of Appeals, to remove judges for cause or to retire them for physical or mental disability.

Some of the other topics covered by the Union's program are: preservation of civil service standards, housing, preservation of civil liberties, popular initiation of charter amendments, provisions for future reapportionments of legislative districts, education improvements, and control of outdoor advertising.

In addition to working for the items on this program the Union's secretary, who represents the organization at Albany, and the minutes of the Committee on Legislation will inform the legislators of the committee's attitude on hundreds of bills which will be considered by the legislature.

Eleanor C. Tanzer,
Assistant Secretary

Citizens Union of the
City of New York

Chicago City Club Suggests Citizenship Ceremonial

The Board of Governors of the Chicago City Club has recommended to the judges of the U. S. District Court and the Circuit Court of Appeals of the seventh circuit that proceedings in connection with the conferring of citizenship on aliens and others be made more impressive.

The War Effort Committee of the Club has come to the conclusion that the present procedure is frequently too perfunctory and might therefore prove an anticlimax to the candidates who, after several years of waiting, finally achieve the honor and privilege of becoming United States citizens.

In writing to the judges, President Herman L. Ellsworth called attention to the fact that many of the applicants come from countries where elaborate ceremonies are traditional, and it is therefore natural that many of them expect that an occasion of such significance will be marked by a ceremony of unusual impressiveness.

The Board recommended that as a minimum requirement two features be made a part of every induction proceeding: (1) that the Clerk of the Court read the oath carefully and distinctly and that he require the repetition of the oath by the candidates, and (2) that the Court or some person designated by the Court give a short address appropriate to the occasion.

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[1] See also p. 90 of this issue.

In addition the Board recommended that steps be taken by the judges to arrange for bi-weekly meetings to be held in a large hall or assembly room, where a program of several hours' length could be presented. This could include the induction ceremony, thus taking the place of the present courtroom proceedings, or it could be an additional program, with patriotic music and a lengthier address than can be included in a courtroom procedure.

Party Politics Discussed in Illinois League Pamphlet

The **Illinois League of Women Voters** has issued a revised edition of its *Political Parties—Their Organization and Influence.*[1]

The pamphlet's first chapter, "The Party at Work," dwells on the machine aspects of party organization. "It succeeds because it is organized while the general public is not," reply the authors to their own question, "Why does the 'machine' . . . usually capture office regardless of candidates with unsavory records and administration of public affairs far from satisfactory?" "If they [the parties] are here to stay," they conclude, "the sensible thing to do is to study them, work with them, have a part in their management, and eliminate, so far as possible, their evils and abuses. . . . We should endeavor to improve them so much that they will prove a vehicle for carrying out the popular will rather than the will of an entrenched group."

Other chapters include a study of the political party in Illinois, forces that make political parties, and the national nominating conventions. The pamphlet concludes with a general bibliography and several "projects." The reader is given a series of questions to answer; a form entitled "Know Your Precinct," on which he may fill in his precinct and ward numbers, names and other data of party officials, etc.; and another, "Your Party Directory," with spaces for listing names, addresses, etc., of ward, county, state, and other committeemen, with their voting records.

Material was prepared by a committee consisting of Mrs. W. W. Ramsey, chairman, and Mrs. George Collins, Mrs. Will Lyon, Mrs. Raymond S. Simons, and Mrs. Eric W. Stubbs. The recent revision is by Mrs. C. H. Thomas.

Here and There

With the Women Voters

The **National League of Women Voters** will hold its biennial convention in Excelsior Springs, Missouri, April 25-28. Thirty-five state and six hundred local leagues will participate.

Local Leagues of Women Voters in **Racine, Green Bay, Superior,** and **Madison, Wisconsin,** are using the radio as a means of communicating with voters.

In **Connecticut** the **West Hartford League** reports 64 new members. The membership chairman's philosophy is that "All women of voting age should be given an opportunity to join." The **New Britain League** recently visited police headquarters at the invitation of Chief William C. Hart. The **Stamford League** is sponsoring a series of "Know Your Town" forums, meeting monthly at the Public Library.

The **Illinois League of Women Voters** has a "Five Year Plan"—a revision of the state's constitution. "War brings in its train a host of reconstruction problems," states Lolita E. Bogert in a recent issue of *The Illinois Voter*. "These will be difficult enough to adjust, even with a state constitution in resilient health. When it has suffered for years, as ours has, from hardening of the arteries, breakdown will be threatened." Even with every step of revision accomplished without a hitch, it will be five years before a revised constitution can be secured.

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[1] Chicago 1943, 37 pp. mimeo., 15 cents.

The **Minnesota League** reports a new local league in **Paynesville.** The recent fall conference of **Minnesota college leagues** was held in Minneapolis. Colleges represented included Mankato, St. Cloud, Winona State Teachers, Hamline, Macalester, and St. Catherine. Other colleges planning to continue with their organization this year are those of St. Olaf, Bemidji, and Carleton.

February 15 and 16 are the dates set by the **New York State League** for its annual legislative conference at the state capital, Albany. The conference will feature a panel discussion, "That's Where My Money Goes," with State Budget Director John Burton, representatives of the legislature and the public participating.

* * *

Good Government

As evidence that Yonkers, under its city manager–proportional representation charter, is getting good government, the *Bulletin* of the **Committee of 100** presents the fact that "The sale on November 23 of $1,000,000 short term notes to the First National Bank in Yonkers, [was] for the exceptionally low rate of .38 per cent."

* * *

Active Voters

The **Municipal League of Seattle for Governmental Research** continues its campaign to secure a large registration of voters. Five thousand posters urging Seattleites to "Register Now" have been sent to members and to stores, offices, factories, apartment houses, and public buildings. The posters contain information as to who can vote and where and when to register. By registering now the voter is eligible for participation in the forthcoming city election for mayor and members of council as well as the general election next fall.

The **Civic Searchlight,** organ of the **Detroit Citizens League,** urges new citizens to register under the city's permanent registration process.

* * *

Annual Meetings

The **Citizens Union of New York City** held its annual meeting January 8. Guests of honor and speakers were the six members of the new City Council elected with the recommendation of the Union.

U. S. Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia was the principal speaker at the thirteenth annual meeting of the **New Jersey Taxpayers Association** held in Newark.

The **Los Angeles Women's Tax Study Group** which represents a cross section of that city's women, held a meeting January 4 on three problems which increased populations cause government—health, education and police. Speakers were Dr. H. C. Pulley, chief assistant health officer of Los Angeles; Dr. Buel F. Enyeart, superintendent of Burbank city schools; and Arthur C. Hohmann, deputy chief of police of Los Angeles.

* * *

Budgets

Now that Lowell, Massachusetts, is making a new start under its "Plan E"—city manager and proportional representation—charter, Joseph J. Jaycox, executive secretary of the **Lowell Taxpayers Association,** is preparing an outline of suggested policies concerning the 1944 municipal budget. Suggestions will include preparation of a comprehensive budget for work programs in all departments and a capital improvement program looking ahead five or six years, as well as a more logical plan of organization with clearly defined functions assigned to the various departments so as to facilitate the interchange of personnel and equipment and the elimination of overlapping services.

Newton C. Farr, president of the **Chicago Civic Federation,** presented a comprehensive statement to the Chicago Board of Education's public budget hearing early in January. Among his recommendations were: no future upward adjustment of salaries unless supported by a careful study, appointment of a committee to formulate amendments to the basic school law designed to carry into effect the recommendations of the report of the Administrative Survey Commission, a thorough overhauling and reorganization of the purchasing function, a severe cut in the appropriation for the Architect's office and a corresponding reduction in the 1944 tax levy for building fund purposes.

The **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy** has called that city's Council on its budget practices, pointing out that savings can be made in 1944 if the Council will investigate the expenditures of the various departments and redeem their pre-election promises and obligations to the taxpayers by saving money now being wasted through inefficiency.

* * *

Local Finance

The **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance** devotes a recent issue of *The Wisconsin Taxpayer* to money spent on aid to dependent children.

The Montana Taxpayer, organ of the **Montana Taxpayers Association,** lists the debt figures of Montana cities and towns as of June 30, 1943, including bonds and warrants outstanding, total gross debt, sinking and other funds, and total indebtedness. The tables also show whether debt has increased or decreased during the fiscal year.

The North Dakota Taxpayer recently presented a statistical report on grade and high schools by counties for the year ending June 30, 1943. The report includes number of school districts, children enrolled, and number of teachers, as well as costs.

* * *

Committee Reports

The Hospital Committee of the **Municipal League of Seattle for Government Research** has issued its report on Harborview Hospital, the principal unit of the King County Hospital. The report deals with the operation of the hospital and the reasons for the present unsettled state of its board of trustees. It recommends, among other things, "that civic-minded persons who have no political obligations, who are qualified as to age, residence, occupation, and an absence of political or pecuniary interest in the office, be appointed" to the board.

W. J. B. Schimfessel, executive secretary of the **Phoenix Good Government Council** before his retirement to join the army, issued a report to the President and Board of Directors on the work of the Council under his direction. Included are the lists of members of the Council's committees together with their accomplishments and letters of commendation from city officials who have worked with the committees.

* * *

A Correction

This department was in error in including the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research** among organizations "which issued directories on candidates or made recommendations on ballot measures," listed in the December REVIEW. The Bureau's policy is to analyze ballot measures and state the facts both for and against the propositions.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. Results in Two Ohio Cities

Toledo Elects Its Fifth P. R. Council

THE 1943 P.R. election in Toledo was the best one thus far from the standpoint of providing adequate representation for all sections of the city and all the major politically active groups. In the first place, three new members were elected, thus disproving the argument that under P.R. a councilman well established cannot be defeated for re-election.

In the second place, the seven main areas of the city are as accurately represented by resident councilmen as could possibly be achieved by appointment. And the two remaining councilmen represent respectively the two most active political groups in the city in this election: the C.I.O. and the two Polish wards, which happen to be located almost three miles apart. The east side councilman is also a leader in the A.F. of L. in Toledo. That this result represents the real will of the Toledo voters is evidenced by the fact that 71 per cent of the first-choice votes cast were for the nine men elected to run Toledo's municipal affairs for the next two years, while 90 per cent of those who cast valid ballots helped elect some choice.

It is a fair statement that Toledo starts its ninth year under its city manager-P.R. council charter with the best council and the best administrative cabinet to date.

An incident of the election was the importance given in the pre-election campaign to opposition to P.R. Ten of the eighteen candidates were definitely opposed to this method of election, and one candidate made opposition to P.R. the chief plank in his campaign platform. However, this candidate got less than 500 first-choice votes and was the first candidate dropped in the count. Furthermore, of the eight candidates not definitely opposed to P.R., all were elected, and the ninth successful candidate, who was definitely opposed to P.R., has not yet been willing to state his alternative method of election.

Another interesting feature of this pre-election campaign against P.R. was the prediction that not more than 45,000 or 50,000 votes would be cast because, it was claimed, P.R. discouraged voting. This argument was answered rather forcefully by the voters themselves, who turned out more than 68,000 strong on election day.

The persons who were quite positive there would be a repeal amendment to oust P.R. shortly after election, are now not so sure, because when they draw up a specific proposal to replace P.R. they are astonished at how many people who oppose P.R. also oppose their specific alternative. It apparently had not dawned on them before that you do not vote out P.R.: what you must do is vote in another system. It happens that Toledo, with three of its 21 wards east of the Maumee River and with the two Polish wards three miles apart, finds that P.R. meets its peculiar problem of adequate representation better than any other system yet proposed.

O. Garfield Jones
University of Toledo

Hamilton's Ninth P. R. Election

The 1943 P.R. election for City Council in Hamilton, Ohio, brought two new developments. A woman and a definite representative of organized labor were elected for the first time.

The pioneer woman councilman is Miss E. W. Frechtling, a business woman prominent in the Women's City Club who had been a member of the charter commission which presented the P.R.–manager charter to the voters of Hamilton in 1926. Her election was greeted with general satisfaction.

Representation for Labor

The labor representative is Joseph Spaulding, who is also well regarded. In previous P.R. elections Hamilton organized labor has taken no official part, though various candidates regarded as friendly to its interests have been elected. This time the C.I.O. put up one of its members, Edwin L. Brendel, the A.F. of L. put up Mr. Spaulding, and the two groups each campaigned for second choices for the candidate of the other. Mr. Spaulding started in ninth place, with seven to be elected, and was still in ninth place when Mr. Brendel was defeated. At this point 344 of Brendel's 590 ballots were found to have next choices for Spaulding and the latter jumped to second place as a result of their transfer. He was the third candidate to complete his quota and be declared elected.

In the school board contest held the same day by plurality vote at large, labor polled a good vote but did not elect anyone.

The principal Council contest was between a "Non-partisan League," successor to the charter commission group which sponsored a good government ticket and elected a majority of the council for five of the first P.R. elections, and a "Present Council Club," which supported all but one of the outgoing members. The charter commission group had "come a cropper" at the 1937 election, when in spite of generally excellent government it tried unsuccessfully to purge some of its own councilmen over the issue of a slot-machine racket which it regarded as menacing. Since that time, though the slot-machine racket was later eliminated, it had elected only a minority of the councilmen and this time claimed only one member of the outgoing Council, Howard P. Wilson — one having resigned to go into military service and another to become state senator.

'Non-Partisan' Ticket Elects

Mr. Wilson headed the poll at this election and two others on the Non-Partisan ticket were elected, Miss Frechtling and a new businessman of good standing, Edwin J. Bartels. In the other camp Councilmen John A. Schwalm, Joseph H. Toerner, and Leo J. Welsh were re-elected.

The resulting 3-3-1 division is not regarded as ominous locally. The members are, generally speaking, able, cooperative and independent, and not expected to divide along group lines.

Russell Price, who has served as city manager ever since the present charter went into effect, has been occasionally criticized on matters of policy but is recognized as a highly efficient administrator. Hamilton's publicly administered utilities—water, electricity, and gas—have been largely cleared of debt at the same time that rates have been repeatedly reduced and plant and services expanded. One issue in the campaign this fall was a proposal by Councilman Wilson that rates be further reduced, on the strength of known savings, by an amount which Mr. Price considered unwise at this time.

The P.R. count of 11,890 ballots—more than had been expected in present circumstances—was carried out without misadventure of any kind in one long day by an experienced staff under the direction of the editor of this department. At the very end of the transfers Councilman Welsh, the only man to be elected in all nine of the city's P.R. elections, defeated Councilman Andrew W. Bruck by a margin of only three votes. Mr. Bruck, who was present, accepted the verdict without asking for a recount.

Of the 11,389 who cast valid ballots, 9,640 (85 per cent) helped elect candidates for whom they voted and 6,266 (55 per cent) helped elect their very first choices.

The election was somewhat remarkable for the small number of blank ballots cast, 27 in all, or one-fifth of one per cent. Of the 11,863 who marked their ballots, 474 or just 4 per cent marked them incorrectly.

Soldier Vote Adjustments in Yonkers

As explained in this department last month, the Yonkers P.R. count was carried through just after the election this fall with the understanding that the results were subject to adjustment when a few ballots came back from Yonkers citizens in service overseas. These ballots, under the New York State war ballot act, did not have to be received by the Secretary of State till December 10, and they were not turned over to the Yonkers City Clerk till several days later.

Fifty-six such soldier ballots were returned—not one of them invalid or blank. They were counted on December 23, along with 47 other ballots (three of them invalid) which had been put in the wrong containers by election district officials and turned up late in the original count. Thus adjustments had to be made throughout the count for 100 additional ballots, which changed the quota slightly and the disposition of a few of the original ballots. It was probably the first time that such an adjustment had been carried through.

No important changes were made in the results. The final official figures corresponding to those given last month for the original count were as follows: Total valid ballots, 41,972; total invalid ballots, 2,051, or 4.7 per cent of the ballots marked; total blank ballots, 434; quota (five to be elected), 6,996; number who saw first choice elected, 27,150, or 67 per cent of the valid ballots; number who helped elect Councilmen, five full quotas or 34,980, 83 per cent of the valid ballots; number who saw at least one of their choices elected to the Council, 40,310, 96 per cent of the valid ballots; final-count vote for Mayor, Frank 21,735, Sullivan 14,955.

Cambridge Story Next Time

An account of the second P.R. election in Cambridge and of the first complete P. R. recount which followed it, has been held over until next month. This will complete the stories of the eight American P.R. elections held on November 2, 1943.

Coos Bay Charter Fails

As reported in another department in December,[1] the proposed consolidation of the cities of Marshfield and North Bend, Oregon, into the city of Coos Bay under a P.R.-city manager charter was defeated on November 2 by a total vote of 1,237 to 972.

The rejection was brought about by a heavy adverse vote of 1,079 to 186 in North Bend. The small strip of land separating the two cities also cast its vote against the plan, 12 to 11. Marshfield voted for the proposed consolidated charter by 775 to 146.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW December 1943, p. 612.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Portland Improvement Program Depends on Federal, State Aid

Moses Survey Group Prepares $75,000,000 Postwar Program

THE most impressive job to date of planning for a community's postwar public works program is that done by Robert Moses, Commissioner of Parks for New York City, and a staff of engineers for the city of Portland, Oregon, and the overlapping units of local government serving the city.

Rather wide newspaper publicity appears to have been given to the physical aspects of the improvement program, and it is the fiscal aspects which are to be dwelt on chiefly here. However, it is not amiss to recall that the study was financed jointly by Portland, the Portland Commission of Public Docks (a semi-autonomous city department), School District No. 1 (which serves the city and adjacent area), the Port of Portland (a separate and independent district coterminous with the county), and Multnomah County. The Moses staff recommended for these agencies an improvement program to provide for the postwar expenditure of $60,000,000 for construction, as well as for the spending of $15,000,000 for land acquisition and $800,000 for designs, specifications, etc. The scheduling of construction is based on the expectation that about one year following termination of the war against Germany the Japanese will have been subjugated, and proposes a two-year work program beginning with the end of the war in Europe, to reach a peak employment of 20,000 men about one year later, then gradually taper off. The major purposes of expenditure are summarized in Table I.

The financing of this large program has posed obvious difficulties, and the Moses staff indicates that a large dependence on state and federal grants will be necessary. In general, the cost of acquiring land, rights-of-way, etc., will be the responsibility of the local units, while federal or federal and state participation is expected for actual construction. In a few instances more than one local agency will participate in a single project. From the report of the Moses staff, Table II has been prepared to indicate the major financial responsibility suggested by those who formulated the program.

Striking is the fact that of the $60,000,000 proposed for construction, $28,000,000 or nearly half is for projects

TABLE I
ESTIMATED COST OF PROPOSED PORTLAND IMPROVEMENTS

	Construction	*Land*	*Design*
1. Arterial highway and bridge program	$20,000,000	$10,000,000	Available
2. Major municipal improvements	20,000,000	1,500,000	$381,000
3. Minor municipal improvements	12,000,000	3,500,000	419,000
4. Projects within commuting distance (benefit to Portland)	8,000,000	500,000	Available
	$60,000,000	$15,500,000	$800,000

About half the major municipal improvements are for a sewage disposal and treatment system, the remainder for buildings, water improvements, etc. Minor municipal improvements are park and street improvements, etc., suitable for force account or small-job treatment. Projects within commuting distance are three highway improvements and a reforestation project, all state-managed.

which will be financed entirely by the federal and state governments. These consist of the entire arterial highway program and the program of projects within commuting distance of Portland, part of which are already scheduled by the State Highway Department. Federal aid is anticipated for all remaining construction costs.

Obviously, the extent of federal aid which may be forthcoming is of first importance if the program is to be carried out. The Moses staff based its estimates on the expectation that federal grants will run to perhaps 50 per cent of construction costs. On this basis, the City of Portland would not be able to sell bonds for its entire share of project costs at once. State statute limits the general indebtedness which may be contracted by cities to 5 per cent of the last assessed valuation. The Multnomah County Tax Supervising and Conservation Commission, a public agency which supervises the budgets of the local units in Multnomah County, computes the unused borrowing capacity of the city of Portland at $6,381,444 for general purposes, as of June 30, 1943. This includes the debt margin for docks. More than half of this margin would be consumed by the sale of city bonds to meet the cost of land acquisition for projects in which the city is concerned, as reference to Table II shows. Of the $25,700,000 of city-sponsored construction costs, $10,300,000 is for the sewer system, bonds for which would be exempt from the 5 per cent debt limit. Another $1,750,000 is for water improvements, also outside the limit. This leaves $13,650,000 of construction to be financed within the debt limit, however, or $6,825,000 after 50 per cent federal aid. This latter sum is at least twice the unused legal borrowing capacity remaining after sale of bonds for land acquisition, and part of the borrowing would have to be done later, as bonds now outstanding were paid off.

For the other local units, it appears that present legal borrowing capacity is ample to permit sale of bonds to meet the local share. The county's unused capacity is over $14,000,000, that of the school district nearly $14,400,000, and that of the Port of Portland nearly $18,000,000.

As to whether Portland and its overlapping governmental units can afford to issue bonds to meet their shares of the program, it may be noted that the community is one of the more conservatively indebted of the larger cities. The burden of that part of the public debt serviced by property taxes stands

TABLE II

FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR PORTLAND IMPROVEMENTS

	Construction	*Land*	*Design*
City of Portland alone	——	$ 3,200,000	$469,000
City with others[a]	$25,700,000	500,000	——
County (with state)	——	10,000,000	85,000
Schools, alone	——	300,000	150,000
Schools, with others	3,800,000	——	——
Port District, alone	——	500,000	66,000
Port, with others	1,750,000	——	——
Dock commission, alone	——	500,000	30,000
Dock, with others	750,000	——	——
Federal and state	28,000,000	500.000	——
	$60,000,000	$15,500,000	$800,000

[a] City includes $5,000,000 construction and $500,000 land in which county shares, not included in county total above.

comfortably below the average for cities of this size and suggests that the $25,000,000 of new bonds probably to be required might be issued by the local units without unduly straining the ability of the community to meet debt requirements and current operating costs.

Naturally the submission of the program by the engineers is merely the first step, since ratification by the local governing bodies as well as by the voters—who must approve most of the bonds involved—will be necessary. The program is striking evidence, however, that few cities are going to be in a position, as some observers are now urging, to meet the entire cost of postwar public works without federal aid—and lots of it.

South Dakota Municipalities Tap Liquor Business for Profits

The South Dakota League of Municipalities recently conducted a survey of the 97 municipal liquor stores in the state. Responses were obtained from 50 of these and the results showed a range of net profit from 15 per cent to 45 per cent. Some towns operate both on-sale and off-sale stores while others operate only on an off-sale basis. In one small town the liquor store is run by a local beer tavern and the city pays the proprietor a salary of $55 per month. Even here the net profit to the city treasury was nearly $2,000 in 1942.

For the on-sale and off-sale groups, the towns between 1,500 and 4,000 population showed a range of net profit from $5,768.97 to $24,176.74. In the same type of store, towns with 2,000 to 8,000 population showed a range of profit from $648.11 to $18,100.07.

Off-sale stores produced the highest amount of revenue because the cost of overhead operation was considerably less. One town in the 1,450 to 4,500 population bracket has paid off all bonded indebtedness on 160 acres bought for sewage disposal. It has a surplus in the general fund and no tax levy for debt retirement will have to be made in 1944.

In towns from 100 to 700 population no store showed a net profit less than 6 per cent and the general average was nearer 18 per cent.

The survey does not indicate what other problems of administration are involved in the operation of municipally-owned liquor stores, but it has demonstrated that this new source of revenue, at least up to 1944, has provided hard-pressed municipal treasuries with a valuable source of new income.

R. F. Patterson

University of South Dakota

New Jersey Investigates Fire and Police Pensions

A committee of the State League of Municipalities, under the chairmanship of Mayor Charles R. Erdman, Jr., of Princeton, has been appointed to work with special committees of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association and State Chamber of Commerce on the problem of municipal police and firemen's pension funds. Municipalities throughout the state are currently appropriating about two million dollars annually for pension fund deficits. The purpose of the several committees is to develop a statewide plan to correct the insolvent condition of the local pension funds. Governor Walter E. Edge made this a major platform plank in the last election. At present the plan is to work out the actuarial cost of a retirement plan after twenty-five years of service, whereas the state employees system offers retirement after thirty-five years of service. George B. Buck has been engaged as actuary.

William Miller

Princeton Surveys,
Princeton University

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Two South Dakota Counties Consolidate

Shannon, Washington Counties Combined by Legislative Act

THE 1943 South Dakota legislature enacted several statutes affecting counties in the state. It reduced the number of counties by one when provision was made for the consolidation of two of the state's five unorganized counties. Shannon and Washington Counties in the southwestern part of the state were combined into one county to be known as "the unorganized county of Shannon." For governmental services the consolidated county is attached to Fall River County.

Also the legislature enacted a statute making it possible for county boundaries to be changed if a town or city extended into two or more counties. Upon petition of 15 per cent of the electors of such a town, an election may be held on the question of altering county boundaries to include the entire municipality in one county. A favorable majority vote of the total electorate of the municipality is necessary to carry the proposition. Inconveniences involved in securing automobile and hunting licenses, and more recently ration permits, led to the passage of this statute.

R. F. Patterson
University of South Dakota

Budget Plan of Monroe County Manager Charter Works Well

The Rochester, New York, *Democrat and Chronicle* reports that the budget plan incorporated in the Monroe County manager charter has been followed courageously and wisely, and that the result has been very satisfactory.

The cash basis requirement in budget planning, which meant that appropriations had to be governed by estimated tax collections rather than tax levies, thus making realistic allowance for anticipated tax delinquency, necessitated the always-unpleasant duty of imposing higher tax rates. It was done, however, and now that the town improvement district debts are being liquidated, the tax burden is being eased.

It is reported also that the quarterly allotment plan of appropriations under control of the county manager appears to be having a salutary effect on county expenditures.

Township Consolidation Stressed in Indiana

The recent financial predicament which has threatened Decatur Township, Indiana, serves to direct attention once again to a plan for governmental improvement urged in that state—the consolidation of townships. Various groups interested in good government have sought such laws over a period of several years.

A recent decision by the State Supreme Court, in a boundary dispute concerning some 42 acres between Decatur and Perry Townships, placed the $10,000,000 property of the Indianapolis Power and Light Company, the plum around which the litigation centered, in Perry Township. Decatur Township had had undisputed possession of the land for more than a hundred years, until 1933, after the utility improvement had been made. The decision means that Decatur has lost 70 per cent of its taxable valuation. Harassed officials are seeking ways and means to keep the township schools open and to meet a big deficit for the current year.

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

Iowa City-County Health Unit Opens Center

The consolidated health unit of Des Moines County and the city of Burlington, Iowa, has moved into its new $50,000 health center, construction of which was recently completed. Des Moines County is the first in Iowa to have a county health unit, and now it becomes also the first to have a specially designed building. The building represents a joint project by the city, county, and the Federal Works Agency.

The current budget of the consolidated unit amounts to approximately $40,000. Des Moines County pays $4,800, Burlington $5,200, and the remainder is paid by the Social Service League of Burlington, the Des Moines County Tuberculosis Association, the Burlington Board of Education, the state of Iowa, and the federal government.

The consolidated health center is a pioneer among Iowa counties in meeting the multiple health problems of the area. Various health services are performed for six surrounding counties, including the supervision of venereal disease clinics in nearby cities and the provision for consultation services to neighboring county nurses and local boards of health. Physicians are permitted to use microscopic slides and culture media at the laboratory without charge, and milk samples are tested regularly for butterfat content, bacteria, and sediment. Supplies of serum, vaccines, and blood plasma are maintained and readily available to physicians. Also the center has participated in blood donor clinics, diphtheria immunization, small pox vaccination, and the inspection of water supplies and sewage and garbage disposal. After a survey of the sanitary condition of the schools in the county, it made numerous recommendations regarding proper water supplies and the disinfection of drinking water, wash rooms, and showers.

Tennessee County and City Health Units Consolidate

Clark County, Tennessee, and the city of Winchester have united in establishing a full-time health unit to service both the urban and the rural area in the county. The appropriations by the local units will total only slightly more than current expenditures for present health operations. These funds, however, will be supplemented by state and federal appropriations.

Bureau of Census Estimates County Population Trends

Based on the number of registrations for War Ration Book Two, the Bureau of the Census has issued a map indicating the county population trend from April 1940 to March 1943. The estimates necessarily exclude military and naval personnel living at their posts.

Nearly a third of the counties in the United States lost 15 per cent or more of their civilian population in this period. These losses occurred mainly in the agricultural areas, particularly in the Mississippi Valley and on the Great Plains. In 120 of the more than 3,000 county units, the population loss was approximately that of the nation as a whole, namely 2.4 per cent. In 449 county areas there were population increases in spite of inductions into the armed forces. The Bureau identified these areas as centers of war industries, shipbuilding, or mining, or as the location of large military and naval posts. Remaining counties showed population losses somewhat in excess of that for the nation as a whole.

A statistical report just released by the Bureau reveals that the civilian populations of metropolitan counties in the south and west have increased substantially during the war period, while those of the north have decreased. The period covered is from April 1, 1940, to March 1, 1943. In this period southern metropolitan counties increased

12.2 per cent, western 12.5 per cent, and northern counties decreased 1.5 per cent. Furthermore, the report indicates that size of the metropolitan area does not appear to be an important factor in governing population growth.

These estimates also are based on registrations for War Ration Books One and Two. Metropolitan counties are defined as those which had at least 50 per cent of their population in metropolitan districts according to the Bureau of Census report of 1940.

San Bernardino County, Calif., Operates Victory Garden

San Bernardino County, California, faced with possible food shortages, planted a victory garden eighteen months ago which has not only supplied all the necessary fresh vegetables to all county institutions, but has furnished free vegetables to private charitable institutions and nearby army camps. In addition it has made a neat profit of more than $4,000. This has meant the production of almost a million pounds of vegetables.

Originally 60 or 70 county indigents were used as gardeners, but because of mental, physical, and other handicaps they proved to be of little value. They were supplemented by a few trained, paid employees and by prisoners transferred from county prison road camps who proved to be exceptionally good workers. The labor for canning surplus vegetables was provided by penitentiary inmates, with the pack being equally divided between the prison and the county.

The "garden" consists of a hundred-acre tract which, because of the favorable climate, can be cultivated intensively throughout the year. Work stock and machinery include two teams, a tractor, and the other necessary agricultural tools and equipment.

CITY HALL AND COLLEGES

(Continued from page 74)

do in these times you refrain from wasting our time in this way."

Perhaps the best yardstick for measuring the internship program's value is the steadily increasing number of requests for studies. Nine city departments suggested 36 research topics in 1939. In 1942 fifteen departments asked for 53 studies. All but four city departments have at some time sought the assistance of an intern. The demand has been so great that almost half the requests could not be filled.

Even after five years it is still too early to judge the program's success in attracting the most talented students to public service as a career. Most men interns are, of course, now in the armed services. Many have only recently graduated from professional schools. Of the former interns who are employed, however, the vast majority have entered some branch of public service. How much of this is due to the internship program and how much to the abnormal wartime demand for government personnel is difficult to determine.

The internship program has meant increased work for the students, the college faculties, and public officials, but the results have more than justified the additional effort. To the student and faculty member it has brought a better appreciation of public officials and government service; to the public official it has given a better understanding of the contribution which the colleges can make to good government. City Hall and the colleges make an effective team.

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Measuring Municipal Activities. (Revised Edition). By Clarence E. Ridley and Herbert A. Simon. Chicago, International City Managers Association, 1943. xiv, 75 pp. $2.

When you get right down to it, just what is this "good government" that everybody's shouting about?

The question might well be posed by any citizen who is asked to get out and battle for the right but who has no way of telling whether he's getting a raw deal or a new one. To help cut away this fog, Messrs. Ridley and Simon began in 1938, with the first edition of *Measuring Municipal Activities,* to summarize the progress of municipal administrators everywhere in attempting to measure their own work. The second edition provides a remodeled bibliography, of great importance to anyone who wants to use specifically the measurement techniques which are reported. It also brings the text somewhat up to date, and offers a new introduction summarizing the measurement progress of the past five years. To the four types of measurement units previously enumerated the authors now add a fifth, "service needs" or "problem magnitude." In other words, they stress the need for measuring not only the service but the extent of the need for the service.

The new introduction strikes a somewhat pessimistic note. Mr. Ridley and Mr. Simon find that little change has occurred in the measurement field since they first wrote their monograph, and they continue to buck the apparently insuperable question mark of measurement—namely, how to measure "adequacy" of service.

An important question of basic philosophy remains unmet by this pamphlet. Nowhere is a clear-cut distinction made between measurement for the benefit of the citizen and measurement for the benefit of the administrator. By implication, at least, the authors seem to find these one and the same thing. But any realist knows that no matter how refined the techniques for measuring performance, it is a rare citizen who has the knowledge, the data, or the opportunity to use such techniques. Granting, then, that only the administrator can utilize such measuring rods—how's John Q. to find out what the readings were? Perhaps we need two monographs on measurement, one for department heads, one for those who pay the bills.

M. R.

Monthly Administrative Reports for Cities. Chicago, International City Managers Association, 1943. 32 pp. $1.

Fiction makes much of the type of executive who seems to keep his talented finger on the pulse of his organization simply by strolling through his establishment at unexpected moments and chatting briefly with the most obscure slavey he can find. Since such psychic administration probably is limited to the fiction which reports it, it is just as well that the International City Managers Association has brought out a series of fact-crammed report forms by means of which a city's administrator may find out what is going on in his city hall. Forms provided for every municipal function are intended to be presented by department heads every month, and are neatly designed to give the city manager a detailed measure of how much is being done and even of how good that much is. There is no waste verbiage in *Monthly Administrative Reports for Cities.* A pithy introduction, and then the report forms are allowed to speak for themselves, a thing which they do most eloquently.

M. R.

Action for Cities. A Guide for Community Planning. Published under the Sponsorship of American Municipal Association, American Society of Planning Officials and International City Managers Association. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1943. vi, 77 pp. $1.

Though most cities are convinced of the great need for adequate planning of both present and postwar activities, many of them have not been able to prepare detailed programs. To help in the solution of these problems, Public Administration Service has published *Action for Cities* as a guide to assist municipal officials and civic leaders in carrying out a comprehensive planning program without heavy reliance on trained personnel.

The volume tells how to start a community planning enterprise which will enlist the services of existing groups; how to survey the situation as it is now; how to make plans for present and future improvements; and how to put these plans into effect.

This blueprint for action should prove of immense value to those concerned with the challenge which our cities face.

Current American Government: Wartime Developments. By L. Vaughan Howard and Hugh A. Bone. New York City, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1943. vii, 357 pp. $2.75.

This volume describes how the organization, powers, and relationships of the national government of the United States have been affected by the impact of World War II. The survey draws heavily on government documents and source material not readily available to the layman. It explains in separate chapters the impact of the war on the presidency, the national administration, the federal service, Congress, the party system, and pressure groups; and discusses such matters as wartime controls in the field of civil liberties, relationship of government to industry and labor, problems of financing the war, changes in military policy and organization, and wartime developments in relations between national, state, and local governments. Finally, it reviews what the United States has done in the field of postwar planning. Each chapter is summarized in a concluding paragraph and a full index facilitates reference.

The book provides information on the changes which have been brought about by the war in the American system of government for both the student of government and the interested layman.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Building

Building Codes—An Essential Tool in Urban Development. By Construction and Civic Development Department. Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1943. 15 pp.

Public Policy on Construction. By Eric A. Johnston, Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1943. 8 pp.

Education

The Improvement of Public Education in Michigan. A Statement of Policy. Report No. 1. Lansing, Michigan Public Education Study Commission, 1943. 20 pp.

Federal Government

Our Form of Government. Fifth in a Series of Reports Prepared by a Committee of Editors of *Time, Life,* and *Fortune.* New York 20, *Fortune,* November 1943. 13 pp.

Highways and Transportation

Here's How You Can Help Redevelop Your City with Modern Highways. Washington, D. C., 5, Conference Committee on Urban Problems, 1944. 32 pp., illus. 15 cents.

Public Control of Highway Access and Roadside Development. By David R. Levin. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1943. v, 103 pp. 15 cents.

The Speed Problem. A Library Research. Saugatuck, Connecticut, The Eno Foundation for Highway Traffic Control, Inc., 1943. 71 pp.

The Transportation Problem. Statement of the Transportation Problem in the United States and Suggested Changes in National Policy. Chicago 3, Transportation Association of America, 1943. 31 pp.

Transportation: War and Postwar. Edited by G. Lloyd Wilson. Philadelphia, The American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals,* November 1943. vii, 258 pp. $2.

Housing

The St. Marks Neighborhood (Revised). A Study of Housing and General Property Conditions in a Congested Urban Area. By the Staffs of the Department of Real Estate, School of Commerce, Accounts and Finance, New York University, and the Committee on Housing of the Community Service Society of New York. New York City, Community Service Society, 1943. 51 pp. 50 cents.

Juvenile Delinquency

Controlling Juvenile Delinquency. A Community Program. By Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1943. 27 pp. 10 cents.

Understanding Juvenile Delinquency. By Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1943. 52 pp. 10 cents.

Municipalities

The Ordinances of the City of Ames, Iowa, 1943. Arranged under the Order and Direction of the City Council. Ames, Iowa, 1943. 326 pp.

Roster of Municipal Officials in North Carolina, 1943-1944. Raleigh, North Carolina League of Municipalities, 1943. 20 pp.

Second Wartime Conference on Municipal Problems. Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Conference of the American Municipal Association, October 27, 28, 29, 1943, Chicago. Chicago, The American Municipal Association, 1943. vi, 120 pp. $2.

Personnel

Supervision of Governmental Employees. By Alfred M. Cooper. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1943. viii, 202 pp. $1.75.

Planning

A Selected List of References on Colonial and Early American Town Plans. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, Harvard University, 1943. 3 pp.

Population

Estimates of Future Population of the United States. 1940-2000. By Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton for the Committee on Population Problems of the National Resources Planning Board. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1943. iii, 137 pp. 35 cents.

Estimates of the Civilian Population of the United States, by Counties, March 1, 1943. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1943. 22 pp.

Postwar Planning

Lost, One Trillion Dollars in Goods and Services That Might Have Been

Produced Between 1929 and 1943. We Can Achieve Full Employment to Prevent Losses After the War. By Thomas R. Amlie. New York City, *The Nation,* Special Supplement, November 27, 1943. 32 pp. 15 cents.

The Political Aspects of Social Programs in the Immediate Postwar Period. Address by Harry Girvetz. San Francisco, California Housing and Planning Association, 1943. 8 pp.

Swords into Plowshares That Will Turn Up Jobs. Address by Robert W. Kenny. San Francisco, California Housing and Planning Association, 1943. 4 pp.

Your Business After the War. New York 17, Research Institute of America, 1943. 61 pp.

Public Works

A Civic Guide to Economy in Municipal Government. No. 5—Public Works. New York City, The Tax Foundation, 1943. 20 pp.

Salaries

A Salary Policy to Win the War. By Lewis Merrill. New York City, United Office and Professional Workers of America, Congress of Industrial Organizations, 1943. 42 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Can We Raise $10 Billion in New Taxes in 1944? New York 10, Tax Institute, 1943. iv, 44 pp. 50 cents.

Excess Profits Taxation. Durham, North Carolina, Duke University, *Law and Contemporary Problems,* Winter 1943. 183 pp. $1.

Federal Contributions to States and Local Governmental Units with Respect to Federally Owned Real Estate. Message from The President of the United States. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1943. v, 50 pp.

Federal Taxation II. Revenue Bill as Passed by the House. Chamber's Committee on Federal Finance Testifying on H.R. 3687 Before Senate Committee on Finance December 3, 1943 Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1943. 54 pp.

The Fiscal Growth of the States. Edited by Mabel L. Walker. New York 10, Tax Institute, 1943. 5 pp. 25 cents.

Total Tax Collections in 1943. Edited by Mabel L. Walker. New York 10, Tax Institute, 1943. 5 pp. 25 cents.

Water Supply

Study of Considerations Relating to Future Water Supply for the Cincinnati Area. By Fosdick and Hilmer. Cincinnati, The Stephen H. Wilder Foundation, 1943. 38 pp.

Miscellaneous

The Pennsylvania Legislator VI. Political Essays Written for Members of the General Assembly. By George Woodward. Philadelphia, Harris & Partridge, Inc., 1943. 219 pp.

Statistical Abstract of the United States 1942. Compiled under Supervision of Morris H. Hansen for Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1943. xxvi, 1097 pp. $1.75.

Tax Figures for Pueblo Corrected

In the article entitled "Tax Rates of American Cities," appearing in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for December, the following corrections should be made in certain tax rates listed for Pueblo, Colorado (No. 191): School rate, $17.00; total rate, $61.70; adjusted rate, $43.19. The school rate given is for School District No. 1. Property in School District No. 20 pays the same rate this year but has in the past paid rates different from that of District No. 1.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

Whose Responsibility?

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Kansas City, Mo.

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Training for Public Servants

William A. Ross

Cities Get 'Out of Red' Together

Chester Biesen

London Plans City of the Future

H. V. Lanchester

March 1944 Vol. XXXIII, No. 3

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Whose Responsibility?

THE Civic Research Institute of Kansas City, which has won nation-wide attention for its practical techniques in citizen education, was promptly rebuffed recently when it attempted to interest the city's Board of Education in a plan to enlist the coöperation of school children in "an effort to promote citizenship interest and understanding, both among the children and adults."

A count of the number of adults eligible to register as voters in the home of each pupil in third grade and above, together with a report of how many actually were registered, was to be taken. At the close of the registration period there would be another count. Prizes would be given to the schools achieving the highest percentage of registration among the eligible adults and to the schools achieving the greatest increase in the percentage of registration. Following the city primary election, another count would be taken of those who actually voted and additional prizes would be awarded.

Accompanying the operation of the program would naturally have been appropriate instruction on the qualifications for voting and the nature and function of registration as part of the election process. The educative possibilities and the soundness of the plan are obvious. Indeed, there are few teaching methods which are as effective.

In rejecting the proposal, the board said it feared the survey might cause partisan political differences in the schools, the teachers might take sides on issues, and, finally, "we did not feel it was in the province of the schools to engage in that type of activity."

This suggests the rather obvious question: Just whose province is it to develop better citizens? Obvious answer: Everybody's. Tragic result: Everybody's job is nobody's job, and it isn't polite to point.

If we are not yet ready to recognize that it definitely is the responsibility of the schools to do something much better than has been done in the past in the way of producing better citizens, we might as well give up right now and admit the correctness of Hitler's opinion that the democratic idea lacks courage and sense of direction. The board's excuses sound just like excuses. It is quite apparent that these anticipated dangers are not inherent in the plan. Indeed, the operation of the plan itself presumably would be controlled by the school authorities.

By way of contrast, the public, parochial, and private secondary schools of Philadelphia coöperated enthusiastically with two campaigns developed by the Philadelphia Committee of Seventy, with splendid results.[1] The Philadelphia plans might well have been looked upon as much more "dangerous" than the Kansas City plan, for they were avowed campaigns to *persuade* citizens to vote, not inquire whether they could or did. Teachers and students went to the Committee's offices for intensive instruction not only on voting but also on illegal practices. Upon completion of the course, the students went back to their schools and instructed classes in the social sciences, civics, problems of democracy, etc. There are plenty of professional educators who would be horrified at this intrusion of ordinary citizens into their sacred preserves, but the Committee of Seventy went even farther—students actually visited the polling places on election day and watched the process!

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[1] NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1942, p. 633; January 1944, p. 37.

The logical, conservative plan proposed in Kansas City looks a bit pale by comparison but it would unquestionably have achieved good results. Philadelphia's results included not only a large turnout of voters but also, as a result of the presence of the students around the polling places, "one of the most orderly and peaceful municipal elections held in Philadelphia for 50 years." More important, the study of civics will have deeper meaning hereafter for every youngster who had any contact with the program.

The object of football, as any schoolboy knows, is to get touchdowns. The object of citizen education or the teaching of civics or the social sciences is to develop citizens who are as fully aware of their responsibilities as they are of their "rights." If the present system is not doing the job adequately—and it is not!—we had better try a few plans like these.

Good Men and Good Machinery

AT LEAST once a year some editor falls into the old pitfall which Pope dug in the process of earning his living as publicist-apologist for the reigning monarch whom he was hired to defend against revolutionary trends. Herewith is the most recent example from the *Fort Wayne* (*Ind.*) *News-Sentinel*:

"The pros and cons concerning the city manager form of government sweep all the way from the Mexican border to Alaska, according to a roundup of 'council-manager plan' news in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, with elections having favored and rejected the arrangement in various communities. A committee of the El Paso (Tex.) Chamber of Commerce is now studying the manager plan. If it goes thoroughly into the matter, it is likely to discover that all things being equal, the specific *form* of municipal government is relatively unimportant. There can be, and often is, as much inefficiency under the supposedly-streamlined manager form of government as under the standard mayor-council setup. The ultimate results of any governmental setup depend more upon what is in the minds and hearts of officials than upon the manner in which they are organized to do their jobs. And, in the last analysis, an informed, alert, conscientious, and public-spirited citizenry can get just as good a grade of administration under one municipal system as it can under another. On the whole, in actual practice, however, there seems to have been a *more genuinely representative* brand of government under the mayor-council than under the manager system."

The writer misses several fundamental points. First, in "actual practice" it has been demonstrated that, "on the whole," executives chosen on the basis of a popularity contest are neither as able nor "more representative." They usually don't get a chance to run in the first place unless they get the private nod of powerful influences, good or bad. And they don't get elected unless these influences can, frequently arbitrarily, swing important blocks into line. So they are representative of what?

In saying "the specific *form* of municipal government is relatively unimportant" is he not denying the basic fact that democracy demands a government of laws, not of men?

Recognized students of government are virtually unanimously agreed that the council-manager form of government is the best that has been developed for American cities, that it attracts better men to public office, that it usually is nonpolitical and gives the taxpayer greater value for his tax dollar, that it has rescued many, many cities from the financial and political doldrums. They do not deny, however, that other cities have occasionally done remarkably well with good mayors. But it is almost too obvious a fact that a good workman does better with good machinery.

The League's Business

James W. Clise Elected Vice President

At a meeting of the Executive Committee on January 20, James W. Clise, Seattle civic leader, was elected a vice president of the National Municipal League to fill the vacancy left by the retirement some time ago of Miss Marguerite M. Wells. Dr. George H. Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, will continue as the other of the two vice presidents provided by the League's constitution.

Mr. Clise, who is president of the Asbestos Supply Company and secretary-treasurer of the Washington Securities Company, is a past president of the Municipal League of Seattle and has been a member of the National Municipal League's Council for the past year.

The Executive Committee also confirmed the election as members of the Council of former **Governor Charles Edison** of New Jersey, **Berry Fleming,** president of the Citizens Union of Augusta, Georgia, and **Wilson W. Wyatt,** mayor of Louisville.

Other action by the Committee included the approval of the budget for 1944, the appointment of Carl H. Pforzheimer and Arnold Frye as a subcommittee on methods of financing governmental surveys, and a decision to investigate the desirability of reconstituting a committee on citizen education and training.

Present at the meeting were: Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Council, presiding; George Arents, Frederick L. Bird, George H. Gallup, C. G. Hoag, John S. Linen, and Lawson Purdy, members of the Council, and Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary. Major Howard P. Jones, secretary (on military leave), now with Allied Military Government, attended briefly enroute to an assignment.

Half Century—Half Measure

With state help Metropolitan Boston made good start toward solution of its regional problems, but more recent proposals for either comprehensive or piecemeal measures have failed.

By **RICHARD A. ATKINS**
Boston Municipal Research Bureau

FIFTY years ago cities and towns in metropolitan Boston overcame their individual differences and accepted regional administration of sewerage, water supply, and recreation. While large achievement marked the original metropolitan solution, the effort quickly spent itself. Interest in further progress toward regional government sank to the level of abstraction.

Why this should have been so is full of lessons, and no better time could be chosen for a review of experience. A cloud has arisen, like a man's hand, which may signify a change. Lopsided growth and unequal tax resources characterize the metropolitan region. Recent trends have weakened the central city, the postwar outlook is uncertain, and many are disturbed over the economic strength and well-being of the entire Boston area.

Urban decentralization is an old story in Boston. Residential development outside the city goes back a long way. Commutation was an established habit by the time the railroad network was completed in essentially its present form during the 1850's. Hardened commuters who have endured a half century or more of travel to and fro from nowhere are a common sight.

It is doubtful whether any municipal satellites have a longer tradition of their own than numerous Boston suburbs. Reasons have been traced to the topography of the Boston area and also to the religious organization and politics of colonial times. Through some accident of fortune the limits of Boston were tightly confined at the start to a small peninsula narrowly joined with the mainland. River barriers and tide water separated the city from its neighbors. The dozen or so colonial settlements surrounding Boston split into eighty towns which began an independent development as early as the seventeenth century. Political decentralization of metropolitan Boston has been described with great care in a study by George H. McCaffrey[1] which is fundamental in all respects.

Reintegration, as McCaffrey labels the process, never had a fair chance. At the outset Boston could grow only by filling tidal flats. Annexations did not occur until the 1860's and 1870's, when five communities were annexed in rapid order. Then the movement came to an abrupt halt. Interestingly enough, one of the last barriers was set up by Brookline—a town which has always typified the cleavage between Boston and its favored suburbs. Consequently, Boston was unable to absorb more than a fraction of the area comprising the metropolitan district. Only Hyde Park has since been added; and now, of course, even the thought of annexation is extinct.

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[1] *The Political Disintegration and Reintegration of Metropolitan Boston,* by George H. McCaffrey. Harvard University Library, Cambridge, 1937. (Manuscript).

With this background it is possible to understand why the land area of the city is so low in proportion to the regional total, and why its population is lower in proportion to the metropolitan total than in any similar area.

Annexation was governed in each case by a balance of self-interest and necessity. Boston itself was reluctant to take in unpromising or impecunious communities. No town took the step without being persuaded of advantages which had to be practical and specific. As soon as these advantages were outweighed by possible dangers the suburbs drew back.

In drawing back, however, they left a number of hard questions unanswered and for their own good they had to act in common. During a period when "urbanization for the first time became a controlling factor in the national life" it was hardly to be expected that political reasoning and local sentiment should be allowed to interfere with basic needs of the metropolitan area. Official inquiry had proved that a pure water supply and removal of river and harbor pollution could not wait upon individual decision by cities and towns.

Therefore the commonwealth stepped in and found a method for dealing with regional issues. Shortly after the Civil War the state conducted an experiment in what would now be called urban rehabilitation by filling in the miasmatic reaches of the Back Bay and parcelling off the real estate. Since the project cut across preserves of Boston, Roxbury, and Brookline, a state-administered commission was set up to carry forward the work and quiet local interests. Here was ample precedent for the adventure in regional government which followed. Administrative districts were created on a metropolitan scale — sewerage in 1889, parks in 1892, and water supply in 1895. Commissioners appointed by the governor held day-to-day authority, final responsibility rested with the General Court (legislature), capital and operating expense was assessed upon member cities and towns.

Special Purpose Districts

These districts set out at once to do for the metropolitan area what Boston had already had the vision to do for itself. Boston's celebrated park system, as conceived by Frederick L. Olmsted and his associates, was an immediate forerunner of the metropolitan district reservations. The city's elimination of drainage nuisance through interceptors and pumping was before state health officials as they sought a parallel answer for the metropolitan district. Boston's own water supply sources in the Cochituate section were taken over bodily as the nucleus of the regional water supply.

By any standard the rewards of the metropolitan solution are impressive. Under regional auspices such magnificent tracts as the Blue Hills and Middlesex Fells have been preserved free from encroachment. The whole Charles River basin enterprise, which once caused pain to contemporaries of the late George Apley, has been entrusted to metropolitan authority. Extensive ocean beach areas are safe in parks district hands. Pollution of inland water courses and Boston Harbor has been greatly reduced through trunk sewerage and disposal works, and plans are under way to remove the last traces of objectionable conditions. The metropolitan water supply, which includes the vast Quabbin project, can only be described as an engineering prodigy.

Metropolitan boulevards were first designed as pleasant means of access to the district reservations. With the coming of the automobile, planning and construction of regional traffic arteries were a natural outgrowth of the metropolitan parkways. These facilities have enjoyed popular favor and constitute an open admission that traffic planning and control are quite properly a metropolitan function.

Another departure has been regional intervention in the field of public transportation. Mysteries of Boston Elevated Railway finance lie beyond the limits of this narrative, but it should be observed in passing that transit district support has not only assured single-fare transportation in fourteen communities at the heart of the metropolitan area but has also been responsible for gradual public acquisition of the Elevated properties.

Regional government, on the other hand, put the finishing touches on the annexation movement. Thanks to the metropolitan district device, Boston suburbs were able to satisfy their most pressing demands without accepting one shred of domination by Boston. There is every reason to believe that they have favored metropolitan government chiefly as a means of drawing upon the wealth and taxable resources of the central city to promote their own growth without involving themselves in municipal consolidation or federation.

Once adopted, the principle of state control has never been deserted or compromised. It still remains the one solvent capable of containing the conflicting elements of the Boston area. No serious demand for direct local participation in metropolitan affairs has been voiced within recent years. The only concession to local interest as such occurred in 1929, when the Boston Metropolitan District was organized to acquire and extend rapid transit facilities. One of its features was a metropolitan transit council composed of mayors and selectmen from member communities. A system of voting was evolved, so based on valuations as to afford Boston the dominant but not the controlling position. In actual practice the transit council has rarely functioned; the purposes of the district have been limited to lending the collective credit of members to the elaborate financial operations of the Boston Elevated Railway.

Failure of Visionary Plans

Years ago there was at least a chance that metropolitan government would follow a different course. During the 1890's pioneering individuals sought the adoption of a borough form of government. With European experience fresh in their minds, they drew plans for "greater Boston" — a federated metropolis which would strike a balance between local autonomy and claims of the whole area. One ambitious proposal went to the legislature, where it was debated for a decade before sinking from sight in 1906.

A most convincing appeal for union of metropolitan cities and towns came from Mayor Andrew J. Peters in 1919. His argument was a restatement of all that had gone before and it merits a brief summary. Union now was sought on grounds of commercial advantage. Administrative improvement was to have resulted from "the gains that go with concentration in ordinary business." Mayor Peters wanted a more representative citizenry, and saw in federation the means for compelling non-residents to accept some measure of responsibility.

Mayor Peters' analysis of the things which kept Boston and its satellites apart still holds true: "first, a fear of contamination and exploitation by a city which objectors believe to be badly and expensively governed, and second, a sincere attachment to local traditions and a reluctance to lose local identity." Writing when he did, he was able to pitch the debate high and declare that "the impelling motive of this union does not spring from the necessities of municipal finance."

The hopelessness of the outlook stultified serious thinking, however, and nothing persuasive has since appeared, although in one form or another the subject has been kept alive down to the present day. Amid the expansive atmosphere of the 1920's many believed that Boston was doing itself an injustice by failure to unite with the suburbs. Incorporation of populous nearby cities and towns would have raised Boston in its own estimation and in the eyes of the world. More than once Mayor Curley lent his vocal gifts to the cause of greater Boston. Showing old currents still at work, the Urban Land Institute not long ago urged a union of Boston with a few of its weakest neighbors—a proposal which could only have been based upon literal acceptance of the belief that misery loves company.

Halfway Measures Falter

During recent years there has been a tendency to soft pedal comprehensive schemes. It has been felt that the metropolitan issue should be handled gingerly, although results have not been such as to recommend the technique. A Division of Metropolitan Planning was created, representing the commonwealth, the city of Boston, and the Metropolitan District Commission. It was directed to survey the needs of the area and foster its development—a step much in keeping with the thought that metropolitan Boston is a natural economic unit. While the planning division never lacked for plans and projects, it withered away and there is no intention of reviving it.

For reasons of its own Boston threw away an opportunity to construct the traffic tunnel under the harbor with full regional support. Out of sounder considerations the city upset the original purpose of the metropolitan transit district by refusing to surrender its municipally-owned transit facilities.

Ten years ago a broad-gauged plan for metropolitan police was beaten down in the legislature not by Boston or suburbanites as such but rather by local police officials throughout the metropolitan region.

No one since has had the courage to suggest functional expansion of metropolitan authority.

In 1938 the General Court set up a recess commission to study metropolitan affairs and explore the outlook for more joint activity by cities and towns. As an illustration of the spirit in which the assignment was made, any mention whatsoever of police and fire administration was excluded from the scope of the inquiry. The commission went ahead, nevertheless, and did some good work in the traffic field. It demonstrated a bias against congested areas in use of motor vehicle revenue and helped secure an increased allowance from the state highway fund for metropolitan boulevard maintenance—a quest in which metropolitan legislators joined with a will. Otherwise the commission was unable to advance. Its effort to establish some relationship between use of metropolitan parks and assessment of their expense failed. Other attempts to place metropolitan levies on a more reasonable basis have also been laid aside. Backing by the Governor was not enough to gain success for a recent plan to widen the membership of the water district in the hope of increasing the use of its ample water supply.

Several attempts to transfer local facilities to control of the Metropolitan District Commission have been rejected. Even the most trivial and innocent moves by Boston are suspect. Growth of population in the Mystic River Valley, entirely outside the corporate limits of the city, resulted in a surcharged condition of metropolitan sewer lines. Relief sewerage costing millions was built by the north metropolitan district. Boston shared the cost proportionately without objection. On the other hand, when Boston and Cambridge wanted to transfer the maintenance of two Charles River bridges to the parks district, legislators sensed a plot—Boston was trying to unburden itself at district expense. It made no difference that both bridges were joined at each end by metropolitan boulevards or that Cambridge and Boston were district members who had always paid their dues and, in addition, stood most of the expense of the Charles River basin.

A Metropolitan Impasse

Metropolitan government in Boston has worked and worked well through special purpose districts under state control. Perhaps the severest criticism would be that it has stood still—there has been no progress toward extending regional government in new directions. Public works have been added, to be sure, but always in line with existing functions. Advocates of more inclusive metropolitan government in the Boston area have had a hard time enlisting popular support. Lofty proposals for consolidation may have excited a certain amount of speculative interest but they have been barren of results. Piecemeal measures have been equally disappointing.

It might be well to let the subject alone were it not for the impact of recent urban changes. Movements of wealth and population are sapping the vitality of those places which are a means of livelihood for the whole metropolitan region. Boston's ills are shared by adjacent municipalities, and their combined weakness is a drain on the strength of the area. A major metropolitan issue today is one of finding adequate support for all local government within the Boston district.

Existing machinery of metropolitan government is unequal to the task. It has no authority to extend financial relief and it lacks power to broaden its service function in such a way as to lift part of the load from hard pressed cities and towns. Admirably suited for constructing public works to accommodate growth of population on the outskirts of the area, it has fallen down whenever there has been any question of equalizing the costs of government at the center of the area. The six counties in metropolitan Boston have nothing to offer, restricted as they are under Massachusetts procedure. Coöperative effort among individual localities has not advanced beyond mutual assistance in fire-fighting.

The metropolitan impasse has already compelled the commonwealth to take direct action. Thus the state has been mainly responsible for development of the port of Boston, which is a prime asset of the metropolitan region. It has purchased and is now expanding the Boston airport despite the fact that it is primarily a terminal for the metropolitan district. Probably the commonwealth will continue to intervene when large issues are at stake and local initiative is paralyzed by factional strife or financial incapacity.

Any help from metropolitan quarters over the near future will doubtless be confined to street traffic improvements. Correction of traffic bottlenecks and provision of broad arteries appeal to the commuting motorist, and in his anxiety for speed and convenience he is almost as willing to see good roads in Boston as in his own town. Expansion of the highway program in the metropolitan parks district seems likely when the war is over.

Prospect of a Way Out

At the moment it would be unwise to count on anything more. Few would deny the desirability or even the justice of putting other services on a regional basis, particularly those where expense can be traced to metropolitan factors. Police protection, street traffic control, heavy pavements, high pressure fire service, unemployment relief, numerous phases of public health and hospitalization—these are costs of government which invariably concentrate at the hub of a populous metropolitan area and which shade off at the rim. Metropolitan government from such a viewpoint parts company with Mayor Peters' plea, since the "impelling motive" springs directly from the necessities of municipal finance. Chances of securing action, however, are remote, and another course must be found.

It seems impossible to brace the vulnerable communities in metropolitan Boston without taking measures to spread the burden of taxation and equalize the cost of government within the region. Corrective moves should have the advantage of being statewide. Local property tax reform, coupled with a system of state aid and revenue distribution which frankly reckons with the taxpaying ability and governmental needs of

(Continued on Page 132)

Training for Public Servants

More than 80,000 governmental employees—local, state, and federal—are enrolled in federally-aided training classes in 37 states; 55,000 others receive instruction.

By WILLIAM A. ROSS
Consultant, Public Service Occupations
Vocational Division, U. S. Office of Education

AS OUR nation has developed, the functions of government have greatly enlarged and expanded on all levels—local, county, state, and national. The duties and responsibilities of persons engaged in public service occupations, therefore, are progressively more varied and complex. Wartime conditions resulting in a manpower shortage, due to the flow of persons from all walks of life into the armed forces and industrial pursuits, further complicate the situation.

Operating efficiency should be the chief consideration in government at all levels, as well as in industry, both in time of war and in time of peace. Skilled and qualified administrators, supervisors, professional workers, office workers, maintenance men, and mechanics are just as essential to public work as they are to private enterprise.

Training of various kinds, both formal and informal, has been provided to some extent for a limited number of public employees ever since the republic was founded. Only recently, however, has any nationwide attempt been made to develop organized, systematic training programs to meet the needs of large numbers of workers in the field of public service.

The George-Deen Act of 1936, supplementing the existing Smith-Hughes Act, made definite provision for including in the trade and industrial part of the vocational education program training in public and other service occupations through established vocational educational channels. With the passage of the act came certain financial support for a plan to better equip and upgrade public employees.

Lack of funds and a limited knowledge on the part of public officials as to how to organize training programs have been the important factors limiting the development of training programs for public service. Actual experience in establishing and operating vocational training programs for public service occupations is still rather limited. Thus far "in-service training" has been productive of more satisfactory and practical results than "pre-employment training."

Although some public service training had been provided through vocational education prior to the enactment of the George-Deen Act, its passage made possible the further extension of such training opportunities to workers in a greater number of occupations in all parts of the United States. In some instances, the training needs are similar to those of workers in private employment; in other instances, these needs are substantially peculiar to public employment.

The interest in such training, carried on as a phase of vocational education, is evidenced by the total enrollment during the past five years in vocational education classes conducted for these servants of the public.

Year	*Enrollment*
1938-39	50,723 persons
1939-40	62,303 persons
1940-41	81,784 persons
1941-42	89,466 persons
1942-43	81,264 persons

Occupations Covered

For the year ended June 30, 1943, the 81,264 persons enrolled in federally-aided training classes of 37 different states were classified into occupational groups as follows.

Bus and truck drivers	2,704
Clerical workers, stenographers and typists	963
Custodians, janitors and building engineers	4,578
Finance officers and assessors	838
Firemen	47,266
Inspectors	659
Librarians	547
Municipal administrators and officials	1,354
Park rangers and foresters	105
Peace officers	10,627
Power plant operators	496
Public health employees and hospital attendants	2,052
Public welfare employees	205
School board members	234
Water and sewage plant operators	1,417
All others	7,219

In addition to the 81,264 enrolled in regularly organized and conducted public service training classes, approximately 55,000 other persons also received some instruction in public service. It is recognized that public workers although competent may need additional training in order to carry out their responsibilities. This training is necessary, from time to time, in order to keep them abreast of new developments, and to enable them to handle new duties properly.

The question is often raised, "In connection with what kind of jobs is public service training offered?" The list below indicates the wide scope of such training.

Accountant
Assessor
Administrator—city
Attorney—city and county
Building custodian
Building engineer
Building guard
Bus operator
Bus mechanic
City manager
Clerk—city and village
Conservation supervisor
Correctional institution employee
Employment service supervisor
Finance officer
Fisheries supervisor
Fireman—regular, volunteer, auxiliary
Fire guard and warden
Foreman
Forest fire fighter
Game warden
Highway employee
Highway patrol officer
Hospital attendant
Hospital dietitian
Hospital cook
Housing official
Immigration agent
Interviewer
Inspector—building, electrical, food, health, meat, milk, motor vehicle, paving, safety, sanitary, water, weights and measures
Janitor
Juvenile court officer
Labor law administrator
Librarian
Lunchroom manager
Motor vehicle examiner
Municipal administrator
Nurse
Old-age pension clerk
Park official
Park supervisor
Park ranger
Personnel officer
Personnel clerk

Plant protection official
Plant guard
Planning official
Playground supervisor
Police officer—patrolman, traffic officer, auxiliary
Power engineer
Prison officer
Prison guard
Purchasing agent
Public administrator
Public works official
Public health official
Recreation director
Sanitary officer
School board secretary
School board treasurer
School census enumerator
Sewage plant operator
Sheriff
Social insurance clerk
Streetcar operator
Truant officer
Unemployment compensation employee
Watchman
Water works operator
Welfare worker
Welfare and recreation director

How It Works

An insight into how training is carried on in various states may be secured from the following material taken from the 1942-43 annual descriptive reports of State Boards for Vocational Education:

ALABAMA—"Because of the inability of local boards of education to replace transportation facilities, a program of considerable scope, the training of school bus drivers in methods of conservation of equipment, has been inaugurated. One instructor training course was held on a statewide basis and eighteen instructors were qualified for conducting such schools in various centers of the state. It is the purpose of the state department to follow this with a similar program of training for the mechanics who must repair and maintain this equipment."

COLORADO—"The whole program of peace officer training has been very well received in every community. The city and county officials realize the great need for such instruction for their law-enforcement agencies and are very desirous that it continue on an even greater scale." Instruction was given in 33 towns and cities.

MASSACHUSETTS—Thirty-six fireman training classes were conducted in 22 centers during 1942-43. In these classes, 962 persons were enrolled and trained as fire fighters.

MICHIGAN—"In the field of public service training there has been an expansion in the services rendered to the training of librarians for the smaller communities through area workshops. This is the result of an experimental program carried on during the previous year."

NEBRASKA—The state fire engineering instructor conducted 26 meetings attended by 2,939 civilians and 633 firemen. Subjects included: fire fighting evolutions, civilian defense, fire prevention, and bombs and incendiaries. The state fire instructor also gave illustrated talks on fire prevention and war emergency to 10,270 pupils in the public schools.

OREGON—"Several public service occupations are showing a need for training work. Chief among these is the county assessors group, the finance officers group, public building janitors, and several fire departments. . . . The Oregon Finance Officers Association voted in their annual conference to begin training on a long range two-year program submitted for their approval, at the end of the war. The Tax Assessors Association has asked that an immediate training program based upon plans made for a vocational program should be offered."

PENNSYLVANIA—"The following programs of in-service training are being conducted in Pennsylvania: police service, fire service, workers in correctional institutions, assessors, school board secretaries, building custodians, public health inspectors, administrators and supervisors of governmental agencies, and borough officers."

VIRGINIA—"The program of training school janitors that was inaugurated during the previous year continued with excellent results. In the training of school janitors the state is divided into four zones and one instructor is assigned to each zone. The instructors' salaries and traveling expenses are paid through Richmond City, Harrisonburg, and the counties of Giles and Dinwiddie respectively. Through previous arrangement the itinerant instructors arrange to meet the janitors in some central point in a given school division to give them general instruction covering the technical phases of janitor work. . . The itinerant instructor follows up this instruction by visiting each school and giving individual instruction to the janitors. The nature of this individual instruction depends upon the types of floors, boilers, ventilation, school equipment, and other factors. The instructors devoted considerable time to giving demonstrations. A total of 1,383 janitors received instruction last year."

WASHINGTON—"One full-time and one part-time itinerant fireman trainer were employed during the year. The full-time trainer operated on a statewide basis confining his activities largely to problems of urban fire prevention and control. The part-time trainer's activities were devoted to fire prevention and control in the grain-raising areas of eastern Washington."

WISCONSIN—"During the past year, four part-time assistant instructors were selected and trained from various fire departments in the state. A plan for the organization of fire training schools on a county basis has been completed and it is anticipated that from 25 to 30 such schools will be in operation within a year in order to accommodate the rising need for instruction for volunteer fire departments."

Training on Local Basis

Much of the work done in vocational education is organized, financed, and conducted on a local basis. Classes and instruction are planned to meet local needs, and the enrollments are confined largely to local workers. In most instances the training is organized only when the local group is large enough to justify a class. Under such conditions, public service training can operate best in the more densely populated areas; even then the requirements of all persons who need, want, and can profit by such instruction cannot be met fully.

In many public occupations for which training is badly needed there are few employees in a single community, and it is not practical to organize classes for the small number which can be served. Training, if offered, therefore, must be set up on other than a local basis. Several different plans have been inaugurated to meet this situation. Among them are: (1) the zone school with either local or itinerant instructors; (2) the institute where intensive courses of two to five days are provided; (3) the state board for vocational education or other designated institution acts as the agency to organize and conduct training. Such plans when properly operated make it possible to extend opportunities beyond the local community.

Although certain federal funds are available to assist in defraying the costs of training employees engaged in public service, much of the training is conducted without direct federal reimbursement. In many instances assistance is given by members of state vocational education staffs in connection with the organization and planning of courses, as well as in the training of teachers. The actual training of workers is often carried on by employees already engaged in public service work without additional compensation. In a few states, public service training is carried on entirely from state funds. Training is thus made possible for a larger number of people.

Many tangible results have been realized through the vocational education in-service training program for public employees. Efficiency in public office has been improved, lives have been saved, fire loss reduced, crime and delinquency curbed. Less tangible, though no less important, results have been the raising of employee morale, opening the door of opportunity to advancement, establishing greater coöperation among public officials, and securing a better understanding of the operation of public agencies.

The adequacy of a training program can be measured by such factors as existing training needs, available facilities, the organization of training content, teaching methods used, and supervision or follow-up work with the learners.

Public service training administered through the U. S. Office of Education is maintained for one chief purpose—the improvement of the work performed by public employees. It is organized for persons who are employed by the public, and is planned to increase their knowledge of and ability on the jobs in which they are engaged. In every state there is a state director of vocational education, usually located in the capital city, who can supply more detailed information on how public service training operates for the upgrading of public servants.

Let's Give

RED CROSS
WAR FUND

BUY
United States
War
Bonds
and
Stamps

Cities Get 'Out of Red' Together

Some two hundred municipalities, organized in 1933 as the Association of Washington Cities, help to develop a well rounded tax structure and thereby strengthen local finance.

By **CHESTER BIESEN**
Executive Secretary, Association of Washington Cities

IN THE state of Washington we have the idea that "money talks" —if essential municipal services are to be rendered they must be paid for and the municipal treasury must receive the revenue necessary to assume their cost.

Washington cities find that a dollar in the budget is worth a barrel of talk and advice on how to cut expenses. This is not to decry improvements in administrative management, so highly touted by many as the way out of a financial dilemma. We believe in such improvements, and probably have gone as far as the average group of cities in cutting corners, eliminating lost motion, improvisation, and the like. At the same time, if a city's insurance rates are increased because the town has failed to obtain an extra pumper for the fire department or to increase its water supply, no amount of talk or advice on "administrative management" will reduce the rates or purchase the equipment essential to the proper protection of the community.

In the final analysis local government must have economic foundations to survive—and the development of a well rounded and fiscally adequate tax base to support local services is a major obligation of local government officers.

When the depression struck the state of Washington, cities were among the first jurisdictions to suffer its full impact. Immediately their assessed valuations began to tumble —by 1938 this reduction was approximately 20 per cent. County assessors, over whom cities had no control, elected on platforms calling for reduced valuations, offered little prospect of any immediate change or improvement. Furthermore, with the gradual pyramiding of tax levies by the legislature a rising rate of tax delinquency occurred. By 1932 a flood-tide of popular resentment against the ever-increasing property tax swept in a drastic limitation on tax levies through the so-called "40-mill initiative." These two factors resulted in a drop in the taxes cities were able to levy of approximately 46 per cent. Without sovereign taxing authority, and exercising only those powers specifically delegated by the state, the prospect of finding new revenue sources locally was more than circumscribed.

In many instances city expenditures were reduced by about one-third. In five municipalities of the first class alone, over 1,000 employees were dropped from the payrolls. Police protection became inadequate, crime rates tended to increase, and municipal services suffered generally. Many economies were made but they were not sufficient. It should be noted, too, that certain municipal expenditures were mandatory by state law and could not be reduced by local action.

As a result, unbalanced budgets and deficit financing became prevalent.

Municipalities, of course, were not alone in this predicament, and it is well to note how closely their welfare is associated with that of the state. The state jurisdiction saw its property tax completely wiped out, except for 2 mills for higher education (50 per cent valuation) and the authority to levy for previously-incurred indebtedness. Hunger marches on the capitol and increasing pressures for relief appropriations helped to crystalize opinion for a new tax system.

Tax Base Expanded

By 1935 the legislature was ready to act, and that year it brought about what is probably the most extensive system of sales and excise taxes of any of the 48 states. These included multiple classified gross sales taxes (business and occupation tax, public utility tax, etc.), retail sales and compensating taxes, and selected sales and excise taxes (cigarette, fuel oil, admissions, conveyance, automobile excise, etc.).

It should be noted, however, that this broad expansion of the tax base developed concomitantly with the reduction in the property tax, so the total tax burden for the most part has not been unduly greater than it was in 1931. Of course, with the increase of the retail sales tax from 2 to 3 per cent in 1941, the revenues from this source did increase materially during the past two years.

The dollars again began to roll into the state treasury. Counties were almost immediately benefited by the new fiscal position of the state, for the state itself took over a large share of the relief load and hundreds of miles of county roads. Schools, likewise, were given extensive state assistance, which for example increased from about $4,000,000 in the 1929-31 biennium to $25,000,000 during the 1935-37 biennium. Cities alone were left in a bad way.

While rendering basic and essential services to over two-thirds of the population of the state, local government found it difficult to find an answer. The reasons were probably four-fold:

1. There was a definite lack of statutory authority for cities to seek out new revenue sources locally, and to otherwise meet changing conditions.
2. The courts had consistently construed municipal powers narrowly.
3. The local sharing of state-collected revenues was a new idea, and the public generally neither realized its advantages nor possibilities. Coupled with this apathy was the opinion of certain legal authorities that the constitutional prohibition against the state levying a tax for local purposes was a bar to this procedure.
4. Lastly, municipalities had no effective voice at the state capitol—there was almost a total lack of municipal representation at the legislature. The larger municipalities of course maintained lobbies of their own, but with the anti-urban feeling on the part of many members they did not function effectively. Occasionally two or more cities did attempt to coöperate on a common problem only to find themselves stymied by a third or fourth.

This condition has now happily been changed, and local government has been enormously strengthened by the effective organization of some two hundred cities and towns in their own Association of Washington Cities. The first attempt to organize after a previous association had died a natural death many years before, was made in 1933 by a few far-sighted municipal officials, one of whom is Hon. John E. Carroll, president of the Seattle City Council and chairman of the Association's Executive Committee for many years. The American Municipal Association, with Spelman Fund assistance, provided the financial means for an initial field program, the University of Washington supplied office space and important research assistance, and a full-fledged league of cities was on its way.

Finance Problems First

While the services such leagues normally offer were gradually developed over a period of years, particular emphasis was early placed on the solution of the financial problem and the development of a well rounded tax structure. Consistent as well as "persistent" educational efforts were made to bring to state legislators and other officers a picture of the inadequacy of municipal resources together with other city needs and problems. The term municipal coöperation was translated into action as cities, big and little, worked together in a common task.

This educational campaign did not bring results overnight, but little by little gains were made. The old concept of road-user taxes for state and county highways only was broken down and "those roads called streets" were finally recognized to be of statewide importance; as local law-enforcement problems were better understood, cities were given shares of state liquor profits; when the property tax on automobiles was abandoned the legislature was made to see the justice of giving cities a definite percentage of the new motor vehicle excise tax; when it was understood that small towns had neither the equipment nor the funds to maintain primary state highways through their limits, the necessary authorization for the maintenance of such primary streets by the State Highway Department was obtained; when the legislature saw the need for broadening the local tax base in addition to granting local shares of state funds, the state completely vacated one field of taxation, the admission tax, and made it available to cities; when problems of the war emergency were presented, a special appropriation was made to help meet civilian defense and increased operational costs, as well as to help offset declining liquor and gas tax revenues; by indicating the special problems faced by cities with war industries where populations had zoomed upwards, special assistance was given on the basis of population increases since 1940.

Summarizing these achievements more specifically, cities now receive the revenues listed below as a direct result of active municipal coöperation.

With the benefits of this financial program, many cities are now in a better position than they were prior to the depression of the thirties. Even before the 40-mill tax limitation was initiated, many cities were limited to 15 mills (50 per cent valuation) by statute. This meant that many with low assessed valuations had been having a tough time to do a proper job. While no municipality is now "rolling in wealth" the tables are definitely turned. Practically all are

	Official Estimates for 1944 per capita
All Cities	
15% of State Gasoline Tax	$1.89
52% of State Liquor Profits	2.84
50% of New 10% War Liquor Tax	1.23
15% of Motor Vehicle Excise Tax	.30
War Emergency Appropriation	.47
Admission Taxes up to $1.00	1.00
Total	$7.73
Cities Below 1500	
Value of state-maintenance of primary highways	.58[a]
Total	$8.31
Cities with War Industries	
Probable allocation based on population increase only since 1940	$1.85[b]

at last on a cash basis and many are setting up reserve funds for postwar improvements.

Such achievements were not happenstance, nor were they easy; they required intelligent direction, planning, and educational activity. At the same time, old-style high-pressure methods were not used and legislators have come to think of Association representatives as "the cleanest bunch of lobbyists at Olympia." Each measure has had to stand or fall on its own merits.

Another factor of special importance has been the sympathetic understanding of local government problems by Washington's able and energetic Governor, Arthur B. Langlie. Up from the ranks of local government as mayor of Seattle, the state's largest city, Governor Langlie's vision and belief in the need for strengthening local units of government toward a better ordered state government were factors in achieving the present position. It was the Governor's view, as well as that of legislative members, that cities should not only break even during the present war emergency, but should have sufficient funds to build up some reserves and take their proper place in carrying out a postwar public works program.

Such a record of achievement would, of course, have been impossible had the state's fiscal position not remained sound. If cities are to retain their present advantages, much will depend upon the continuance of such a sound fiscal position. For this reason city officials may consider it an obligation to "stick their necks out" from time to time in upholding the state's tax base. This is never an easy thing to do politically, but the question may be raised as to how far a municipal "lobby" should seek to secure or maintain favorable shares of state-collected revenues unless it is willing at the same time to raise its voice for the maintenance of a tax structure on the part of the state which will permit such sharing.

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[a] 125 miles of highway in towns with total population of 93,479—estimated maintenance cost by State Highway Department—$55,000.

[b] $500,000 allocated per year for present biennium, distributed to cities in direct proportion individual increase bears to total increase on per capita basis. Check is made by Census Board every six months to allow for shifts in population and estimates of Board are final.

Secondly, it is commonly assumed that so-called dependence upon the state results in a loss of municipal independence. A keen observer of both British and American governmental policies recently said: "Make no mistake about it, however, if experience almost universal is any guide to you, a subsidy from a superior to a subordinate political unit does carry with it a voice in the use of the money."[1]

We do not subscribe to this theory in Washington. Instead of local sharing of state-collected revenues increasing state control, there has been a gradual tendency toward decentralization and the reduction of state control. While it is true that most of the state-aid funds are earmarked for particular municipal purposes, such as city streets, police and fire protection, public health, and the like, these provisions were specifically written in the statutes at the cities' request to avoid possible constitutional question being raised. Since no city finds it difficult to spend the moneys for the purposes earmarked, no burden is involved.

HALF CENTURY—HALF MEASURE

(Continued from Page 122)

municipalities, is the right place to start. It means a wrench with the past and calls for more thought and driving force than has been displayed thus far. Slow as such a program is likely to be, it is apt to come more quickly than some visionary metropolitan arrangement. And under certain circumstances it could come very quickly indeed. Another period of severe strain for municipal finance might bring the change.

Yet any program of tax relief, however necessary or beneficial, will never settle the matter. There are other things which count—orderly growth, efficient administration, industrial and commercial advancement. As long as metropolitan Boston is rent by political division there will always be an uneasy feeling that these essentials are not being met and that the full energy of the area is being held back. In just such uneasiness lies the real promise of effective regional government.

Meanwhile the attitude of suburban sections toward what is taking place in the area from which they draw their livelihood brings to mind a caricature by Low, where he pictured the democracies adrift in violent seas of the Munich era. At one end of the craft, the weaker nations were trying to bail out the boat and plug the leaks. Huddled at the other end were the strong powers. "How fortunate," they agreed among themselves, "the leaks are not at our end of the boat."

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[1] "Some Observations on American City Government," by Arthur Collins. *Public Management,* September 1943, p. 260.

— **Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps** —

London Plans City of the Future

Governmental authorities, professional and welfare groups cooperate to study traffic congestion and develop better housing, open spaces, ideal location of homes and industry.

By H. V. LANCHESTER
Town Planning Institute, England

THE story of the need for improvement of Britain's great cities from the social point of view starts rather more than a hundred years ago. Previously the aspect studied was mainly that of architectural embellishment, the instinct for which, it is curious to note, tended to lapse as the sociological demands took a more prominent place in the picture.

It is not an overstatement to affirm that the larger towns showed themselves as less orderly and dignified at the end of the nineteenth century than at its beginning; whilst all through the latter half efforts were being made, somewhat tentatively it is true, to improve living conditions within them.

After 1880 these efforts began to take shape in the founding of such communal groups for workers as Port Sunlight and Bournville, followed in London by the extensive housing program of the London County Council and by the initiation of garden cities such as Letchworth and Welwyn to draw people away from the too densely occupied central areas.

With the revival of a broader view of improvement, under the title of town planning, the subject began to take the form of a scientific synthesis of all the component factors, extending the rather concentrated attention that had been given to housing conditions towards the other components needed for a satisfactory plan, such as the demands of administration, education and recreation, communication, and even amenity and beauty.

Still, progress was not rapid; the war of 1914-18 intervened and after this housing was once more the major activity.

The Barlow Commission was appointed in 1937 with a view to clearing the ground for an effective scheme of replanning, and by its report opened up the question of distribution of industry and population, and the relative values of centralization and decentralization, but before any action could be taken on its recommendations the war was upon us, and though this gives us, in a way, breathing time, it has also added new problems to the old ones.

Actually it is the present war, particularly the feature of destruction from the air—the "blitz" as it is popularly termed—which evoked an almost universal consciousness that drastic reconstructions were possible and desirable.

In conjunction with the need for expanded agricultural production this moved the Government to form the Uthwatt and Scott committees in the hope that these would help them to define a program for the future.

The reports of these two committees, together with the subsequent one by Sir William Beveridge, although the latter did not affect actual physical replanning, certainly give plenty of material on which to base a policy, but so many views and interests are affected by the proposals that it is hardly to be expected that these will all be implemented in the near future.

In the meantime the extensive destruction in the very heart of London and in other large cities made such a vivid impression on all sections of the community that the possibilities of reconstruction on better lines became a dominant feature in the activities of municipal authorities, professional bodies, and numerous welfare societies. Many municipalities are preparing provisional plans, while the societies are studying the principles which should be observed in order that these may afford the maximum benefit to all classes.

Professional Groups Draft Plans

Professional groups have been especially active in this direction, having made their own representations to the government committees and in some cases prepared comprehensive plans. London naturally received their first attention. The Royal Academy produced a plan for the central area, directed mainly towards its artistic embellishment, though the economic and social demands also received consideration.

The Royal Institute of British Architects formed a Reconstruction Committee which coördinated the work of about a dozen subcommittees dealing with various sections. It held an exhibition to illustrate the general scope of town planning, and another, in conjunction with the Architectural Association, which displayed a very closely studied program for the redevelopment of the whole of the London region, aiming at the coördination of all the remedial measures desirable for this aggregation of eight and a half million people.

The Institution of Civil Engineers has held a series of conferences on the problems of reconstruction; the surveyors and other bodies have also given close attention to these.

The City, which has had a larger percentage of damage than any other part of London, probably presents for its limited area one of the most difficult problems resulting from the "blitz." Land values are high, traditions of utilization are strongly held, and the links between administration, ownerships, and finance very close; at the same time there has been a tendency in some branches of business to move out of the City area and, taking all these factors into consideration, the Corporation has not felt it desirable to publish any improvement scheme up to the present.

Surrounding the City lies London County stretching from Hammersmith on the west to Woolwich on the east, Stoke Newington on the north to Dulwich in the south, and containing a population of four millions.

The London County Council authorized the preparation of a plan for the remodelling of this area and entrusted the work to Professor Patrick Abercrombie and its architect, Mr. H. J. Forshaw, who had the support of a very competent staff.

The position in regard to this plan, as defined by Lord Latham, is that the London County Council, while determined to carry out the replanning of London to the fullest extent practicable and on the best principles, is not at this stage asked to adopt the plan in its entirety. It will be necessary to enlist the coöperation not only of the central government departments but also of the City Corporation, the Metropolitan Water Board, and many professional and other bodies.

The importance of the statement by Lord Latham in his speech at the opening of the exhibition of the London County Council plan justifies the following quotation:

> With the best will in the world no satisfactory planning, whether on the lines of this plan or otherwise, can ever be achieved unless there are far-reaching extensions of town planning powers and unless fair and reasonable financial arrangements are made between local authorities and the Exchequer.
>
> This planning must be nation-wide; and just as a new ministry has been set up to harmonize all the local and regional planning efforts, the cost must be fairly spread between the rates and the taxes. Do not think, however, that we have a choice between cheap reconstruction without planning and reconstruction to which planning has been added as an expensive luxury.
>
> Planned reconstruction looks expensive when you set down in a column the cost of projects up to a big sum. But haphazard reconstruction where you never add up the sum, and where you never think about the effect of fulfilling one need on the ability to fulfill another may well cost far more on the long view in wasted effort, abortive expenditure and thought, and intangible but real leakages of time, money, and energy that spring from inconvenient housing, badly arranged industry, inadequate roads and obsolete communications. We rightly plan labor-saving houses; well, let us also plan a labor-saving city.

There is a remarkable similarity between the general lines of the London County Council plan and those of the plan by the Royal Institute of British Architects' Committee for the more extended area. As might be expected the LCC, with its large staff and resources to information and statistics, has dealt with many features more intimately and in greater detail; it is also as might be expected more cautious as regards proposals involving acquisition or other expenditure; but the subdivisions into townships and their separation by parkways indicate that the same view is taken as to how this great agglomeration should be treated.

Plans Compared

The differences are more a matter of degree than of principle and, while the RIBA plan may be thought to go rather beyond what is possible even in 50 years, that of the LCC may yet require further measures of improvement in some aspects. For example, the provision of four acres of open space per 1,000 persons, as much as it is thought practicable in many areas, might as in the RIBA scheme be increased to seven acres or, alternatively, be supplemented by acquisitions further out, provided these were easily accessible.

This and other questions, such as the future plans for rail and road communications, are clearly matters for further investigation as they involve many related problems, both practical and economic, which cannot be claimed to have reached solution at the present time.

As Lord Latham has said, only Government can take such action as will bring the various interests and authorities into one coöperative group qualified to decide how the problems of industry, traffic, etc., can be organized to give the maximum efficiency and economy.

Though the three plans which have

been shown to the public all possess features which it may be hoped will take a place in the London of the future, that exhibited by the LCC is the only one entitled to be called "official" and that merely to the extent of its preparation under civic auspices, as the extent of its implementation is still an open question. All three, therefore, are open to review by the public in general, and the opportunity for criticism should be taken advantage of by all who have qualified themselves to contribute to the conception of the best possible form for the future of our capital city.

Remedies for Defects

The defects arising from past neglect and the destruction due to the "blitz" provide but two among the many reasons why an all-embracing scheme of reconstruction should be visualized, and what has been done so far must be regarded, and is in fact regarded by all who have borne a share in their inception, as studies for such a scheme in forms as stimulating as possible to the imagination, not necessarily covering all the details of every problem that has arisen.

The attempt must here be made to describe what these plans propose, so as to convey some idea of the type of city they visualize. It has been affirmed that there are at present four major defects for which fundamental remedies must be devised: traffic congestion, depressed housing, inadequate and maldistributed open spaces, and the confused location of homes and industries. To these might be added the disorganized growth of the outer fringes of the area which is year by year adding to the confusion and disorganization of London as a whole.

The Bressey road plan made a start with the problem of traffic congestion, but since then we have learned a great deal as to the necessity of separating high speed arterials with specially designed connections to the service road system at points perhaps a mile apart.

Then again the Bressey report did not deal with the various types of railway serving the London area which are also in urgent need of systematic coördination. The view is taken that so far as practicable both arterial roads and surface railways should take a "reticulated" form not intersecting but enclosing the subsidiary civic groups or "townships" into which the amorphous mass of London would thus be divided.

These traffic routes might, it is thought, be screened in a measure by parkways. Bearing this general pattern in mind we find ourselves resuscitating the traditional village centers such as Paddington, Islington, or Clerkenwell with the advantages of their communal sentiment which they still retain, combined with the advantages of membership of a great capital.

Such centers would be provided with all the usual features characterizing provincial towns of from fifty to a hundred thousand, their own local administration, clinics and medical services, libraries, schools, nurseries, etc.

They would be larger than the "precincts" advocated by Mr. Alker Tripp and would need division by "sub-arterial" roads, this dictating the planning of each section with its own shopping center, minor clinic, primary school, and nursery.

Distributed among these townships where sites and communications are found suitable, but separated from them, would be districts allocated to the larger and noisier industries; the smaller ones could be grouped within the townships without inconvenience; "flatted" small factories are suggested for such groups, with their own canteens and nursery accommodation.

Traffic Plans

In a plan such as this the communication between the residential sections which would number nearly a hundred would be by the suburban railways, fast traffic arterial roads on the marginal strips, and tubes or underground lines passing through their centers.

The fine system of fast traffic arterial roads both on ring and radial lines, without any building frontages and only open to second grade "sub-arterial" roads at a limited number of points, would provide traffic communications hardly less speedy than the railways. The latter with a little remodelling would be operating on somewhat similar lines, and it may be fairly estimated that transit would be speeded up by one-third thus doubling the number who could reach central districts in a given time.

In addition the underground and tube lines can be reorganized to give a better balance between north and south than at present and this would enhance their usefulness. The plans also visualize the separation of long distance traffic from the local services, reserving the terminal stations for main line trains only and reducing these from fifteen to five or six only.

It is generally agreed that the existing location of retail trade along the main traffic routes is obsolete under present conditions and it is advocated that the shops should be gathered into groups near but not on these routes, with accommodation for parking cars.

The position of the wholesale and retail markets has also been considered and while some of the former are definitely tied to docks and goods stations, others, such as Convent Garden, ought undoubtedly to be transferred to more suitable positions.

It is held as illogical that goods in bulk should be brought into the congested center to be dispatched in small quantities to all parts of the river banks with continuous open frontages with embankments on both sides extending eastwards at least as far as London Bridge, which would involve a substantial transfer of riverside industrial concerns lower down the Thames.

The improved amenities which this proposal would afford are indubitable, and it is to be regretted that its repercussions on industry have not yet been investigated in order to secure economic justification.

There are possible qualifications, such as an embankment at a higher level allowing for a limited number of small docks behind the embankments or the extension and enlargement of the Surrey Canal to give additional water frontages in South London.

As might be expected the LCC plan gives particular attention to the distribution and grouping of flats and houses in the replanned area. It is

(Continued on Page 158)

Contributors in Review

BOSTON is probably as good a vantage point as any from which to consider the afflictions of a metropolitan city," writes **Richard A. Atkins** (*Half Century-Half Measure*). Mr. Atkins has been with the Boston Municipal Research Bureau since 1935; he has served as its secretary since 1942. On his graduation from Hamilton College he taught school, then did advanced work at Harvard and at Syracuse University's Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs. He has contributed numerous articles to the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW on Massachusetts local government.

EXECUTIVE secretary of the Association of Washington Cities, **Chester Biesen** (*Cities Get "Out of Red" Together*) is consultant on municipal problems for officials of some two hundred member cities and manager of their statewide association. Mr. Biesen's background is that of research and teaching. He was formerly executive secretary of the University of Washington's Bureau of Governmental Research and an instructor in the University's Political Science Department, teaching municipal government and personnel administration. He has had two terms as a member of the Washington legislature. Since its organization in 1933 the Association he represents has become a recognized force for better local government and a major influence in placing the financial affairs of cities on a firm footing.

A WELL known British architect, **H. V. Lanchester** (*London Plans City of the Future*) has been adviser on town planning in various parts of the British Empire. Some of his principal works include the Council Hall at Lucknow, H. H.'s Palace at Jodhpur, and town planning schemes for Delhi, Madras, Gwalier, Lucknow, Rangoon, and Zanzibar. Mr. Lanchester is a member of the Council of Britain's Town Planning Institute and is well acquainted with plans for the rehabilitation of British cities.

CONSULTANT to Public Service Occupations, U. S. Office of Education, **William A. Ross** (*Training for Public Servants*) has had a varied career in the public service. Starting as a teacher and school administrator in Colorado, Mr. Ross travelled to Wyoming where he was, successively, state rural school inspector, state supervisor of agricultural education, and state supervisor of rehabilitation. Later he became subject matter specialist for the Federal Board of Vocational Education and Office of Education, and executive secretary of the (national) Future Farmers of America.

News in Review

City, State, Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Congested Areas Committee Helps Meet Many Needs

Education, Housing, Sewerage, Transportation Investigated

THIRTEEN urban production centers in different parts of the nation are receiving the direct attention of the Committee for Congested Production Areas, which was created about a year ago to coördinate activities of various agencies having to do with such localities. The committee consists of Harold D. Smith, Director of the Budget, as chairman, and representatives of the War Production Board, National Housing Agency, War Department, Navy Department, War Manpower Commission, and Federal Works Agency.[1]

According to a recent report to Chairman Smith by Corrington Gill, director, committee representatives are working in the following areas: Hampton Roads, Virginia; Portland-South Portland, Maine; Charleston, South Carolina; Brunswick, Georgia; Mobile, Alabama; San Diego, California; San Francisco Bay, California; Portland, Oregon-Vancouver, Washington; Puget Sound, Washington; Los Angeles, California; Detroit-Willow Run, Michigan; Orange-Beaumont, Texas; and Pascagoula, Mississippi. The last four areas were designated as congested by the Committee on December 3.

The committee and its functions have been influenced by the Congested Areas Subcommittee of the House Committee on Naval Affairs. This subcommittee has conducted investigations in various areas, and has stressed the need of coordination of efforts and anticipation of the problems created by the rapid development of war industries in specific localities. It recently issued reports on certain Pacific Coast areas—one on Los Angeles-Long Beach, another on Puget Sound; a third, on Portland-Vancouver will appear shortly.

The area representatives of the Committee for Congested Production Areas, and also the federal supply agencies, emphasize the importance of accurate and current population data as a basis for distributing scarce commodities and materials equitably; as a result funds have been allocated to the Bureau of the Census for making sample census studies beginning in February in San Diego, Los Angeles, San Francisco Bay, and Mobile, with Hampton Roads, Charleston, Detroit-Willow Run, Portland-Vancouver, and Puget Sound to follow. Information gathered includes age, sex, race, employment, and family status.

Among specific recent activities mentioned in Director Gill's report are:

Formation of a committee on minimum necessary fire protection in the various communities in the San Francisco Bay area, including members from the CCPA, FWA, OCD, FPHA, California State War Council, and the Office of Civilian Requirements; the resultant program to be submitted to the WPB as a basis for allocating fire-fighting materials and equipment.

Relieving the transportation problem in Seattle, Washington, and Portland, Oregon, by arranging through coöperative efforts for bus parts, replacement motors, and tires, and even some new buses and trolley coaches (for Seattle).

Reviews of the housing situation, in coöperation with NHA, FPHA, and others, in the Puget Sound and Portland-Vancouver areas. Coöperation in public housing programs there and at San Diego.

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[1] NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1943, pp. 331-2.

Development of a recreation program in Pascagoula, in coöperation with the Community War Services and the city council.

Realization of school construction programs in Vancouver, Washington, and in the San Diego, Brunswick, Charleston, and Hampton Roads areas.

Hospital program, Hampton Roads area, with six FWA projects completed and eight more to be provided.

Provision of sewer facilities at San Diego and Portland.

Two Committees Collaborate on New Baltimore Charter

An official charter commission and a larger advisory charter committee, both appointed by Mayor Theodore R. McKeldin of Baltimore, Maryland, on January 17, are at work on the preparation of a revised charter for that city.[1] The charter commission is a seven-member judicial body which will decide the content of the charter. All members but one are lawyers, including the city solicitor and a judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City. The chairman is Harry N. Baetjer, a prominent attorney. The one layman is the head of a large department store and member of the Citizens League. Dr. Horace E. Flack, head of the Department of Legislative Reference, is secretary.

The advisory committee consists of 25 members representing various organizations, groups, and special interests. It is headed by William T. Childs, investment banker and former deputy city comptroller, and includes spokesmen for business, finance, labor, women's organizations, the Negro population, and the lawyer viewpoint. Dr. C. I. Winslow, professor of political science at Goucher College and president of the Citizens League, is a member, as are also Dr. G. W. Shaffer, dean of arts and sciences at Johns Hopkins University, and Dr. Katherine J. Gallagher, professor of history at Goucher.

Mayor McKeldin referred to several suggested changes, including tax reform, structural reorganization, proportional representation for the Council, school board powers, etc.

Both bodies are bipartisan in composition. Together they represent a unique arrangement. The *Baltimore Sun* says, editorially: "Mayor McKeldin's dual scheme has the merit of providing an adequate hearing for proposals of infinite variety, and further of seeing that these proposals get the full and careful consideration of an official body. Yet by limiting the commission itself to a membership of seven competent and disinterested men, there is every prospect that the work of revision will proceed promptly and effectively."

Council-Manager Plan News

Further details of the defeat of a proposed substitute for the council-manager plan now in effect in **Rapid City, South Dakota,** are furnished by R. F. Patterson of the University of South Dakota at Vermillion. He states:

"For the second time in two years, the voters of Rapid City, South Dakota, 15,000 population, refused to abandon the city manager plan. At the special election on January 4 the proposition to replace the present plan with a commission of three or five, was defeated 894 to 325. The vote was light yet was 300 more than the votes cast in the recent regular city election. Defenders of the present system carried every voting precinct in the city by ratios that ranged from two to one up to four to one.

"The *Rapid City Journal* vigorously urged the defeat of the commission plan and chided those supporting the move for 'not coming out in the open.' It stated:

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, February 1944, p. 93.

> The fact that no one seems willing to do that must lead all good citizens to suspect that the motive behind the movement is not for the good of the community but in the selfish interest of some individual or individuals.

"Critics of manager government complained that eight of the present commission were residents of the same ward. Others attacked the manager plan as 'unwieldy and unworkable' for a growing city and pointed to the abandonment of the plan in Huron several years ago. Still others seemed to have been irritated at recent 'purity tactics' of the present administration. The Junior and Senior Chambers of Commerce took no official stand in the matter but made a strenuous effort to get the voters to go to the polls.

"The annual financial report of the city on January 1 showed that Rapid City was in the best financial shape in its history. The gross bonded debt had been reduced $155,000 and the cash balance was more than twice as large as in 1941. At one time there were $52,000 in registered warrants outstanding but none were issued in 1943."

Three Maine towns have been added to the list of manager municipalities. **Skowhegan,** stated last month to be considering the manager plan, is reported to have adopted it unanimously at a special town meeting on January 8, with a board of selectmen to be elected at the regular town meeting in March. **Eastport,** which has been managed by the state since 1938, reverted on January 1 to its home rule manager charter of 1936. The commissioner for the state was appointed manager on January 3. **Monticello** is reported as having adopted the manager plan in March 1943.

Lewiston, Pennsylvania, adopted the council-manager plan by ordinance last August; a manager was appointed October 4.

Neosho, Missouri, adopted the manager plan February 15 by popular vote.

Mason City, Iowa, discarded the manager plan by a vote of 2,615 to 2,480 on January 21. Election of a mayor and aldermen will not take place until March 1945. Including Mason City, only 28 cities in 36 years have abandoned the manager plan by a vote of the people.

The city commission of **Benton Harbor, Michigan,** voted on January 24 to submit to the voters at the April election a proposal to rewrite the city charter. If approved, election of a charter commission of nine members was also provided for. Benton Harbor has the commission-manager plan, which was adopted in 1921. The plan at that time called for five commissioners elected at large, who chose the mayor as well as the manager. Later, however, commissioners elected by wards were added to those elected at large, and the mayor was also made elective by popular vote. The *Benton Harbor News-Palladium* comments editorially that the charter revision plan will afford an opportunity to return to the original commission-manager plan.

The city commission of **Battle Creek, Michigan,** voted January 31 to place two questions on the ballot at the April 3rd election, one on whether the charter should be revised, and the other on approval of the manager plan. A charter commission of nine members is to be elected at the same time. The council-manager plan is advocated by Mayor B. E. Godde and by the *Battle Creek Enquirer and News.*

A special election on adoption of the manager plan will be held in **Pulaski, Virginia,** on March 21.

Citizens of **Garfield, New Jersey,** are showing interest in the manager plan.

Cities in Four States Hold Planning Institutes

A four-day planning institute was held in St. Paul, Minnesota, late in January, sponsored by the League of Minnesota Municipalities, the American Municipal Association, and the American Society of Planning Officials. Its main purpose was to assist municipalities of that state which are unable to employ full-time planning technicians and which can designate some appropriate official to perform or coördinate local planning research work who could attend the institute.

Three similar institutes were organized in Pennsylvania to be held in February and March at Harrisburg, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh, under the auspices of the League of Cities of the Third Class, the State Association of Boroughs, and other local government associations, the Local Government Commission, the Allegheny County and the Philadelphia Planning Commissions, and the Institutes of Local Government of Pennsylvania State College and the University of Pennsylvania.

A planning institute is scheduled for Illinois, March 6-10; one in Los Angeles, California, March 13-17; and one in San Francisco, March 20-24.

Los Angeles Uses Arbitration for Contract Dispute

A controversy recently arose between the Water and Power Department of the city of Los Angeles and a contractor because of the forced cancellation, due to WPB restrictions, of certain public construction contracted for. Of the alternatives facing the Department as a means of adjusting the controversy arbitration was chosen, and an enabling act was passed by the city giving the department authority to enter into a submission agreement. According to *Arbitration in Action* two hearings before three arbitrators—a structural engineer, a building contractor, and a lumberman—decided the amount of the credit for work omitted.

Wartime Law Enforcement Course in New York City

The Court of Special Sessions, New York City, is sponsoring a third in-service training course in law enforcement, from February 16 to May 3, with one session each week. It is for employees of the city and state law enforcement agencies and departments, including Special Sessions and other criminal courts. Among the law enforcement problems discussed are methods of dealing with juvenile delinquency, adolescent and adult crime; prison, probation, and parole problems; techniques of handling sabotage and espionage; and problems presented by economic controls in wartime.

Detroit Air Raid Wardens Attack Juvenile Delinquency

The Municipal Defense Council of Detroit, Michigan, has asked the city's air raid organization to help in the anti-juvenile delinquency campaign. The Council emphasized that it was not trying to compete with regularly organized youth programs but to use their facilities and assist them whenever possible. Detroit's Office of Civilian Defense continues to keep its organization ready for any emergency; nevertheless, its incidental anti-delinquency efforts have had excellent results so far, according to the American Municipal Association.

Youth programs, sponsored by various air raid warden sector groups, already under way include skating rinks, hiking, archery and rifle clubs, classes in photography, woodworking, art, music, dancing, sewing, and hobbies; and home parties. Most of the 350 air raid warden sectors in Detroit are planning softball teams for the summer also, and are making a survey of the vacant property in their sectors to determine what can be made into playgrounds.

The air raid wardens were asked to help in the juvenile programs because of the vital need for supervised youth programs, and because the wardens had done an excellent job in training and guiding eight thousand messengers—boys belonging to the OCD messenger service.

Civilian Defense Shifts Emphasis

The Office of Civilian Defense believes that states and communities other than in coastal regions and highly industrialized areas can now properly make adjustments in the protective services of the defense corps. It points out, however, that in states on or near the Atlantic and Pacific coasts the threat of air raids still exists, and that more distant industrial communities are still such important targets as to warrant the present plan of civilian defense organization.

In the other areas the adjusted plans will have as objectives: to maintain trained personnel for availability in case of a raid and capable of being rapidly expanded; to keep at full active strength the protective services now equipped to deal with fires, explosions, wrecks, floods, major industrial accidents, and similar catastrophes that interrupt production and menace life; and to aid wherever possible the war services work of the defense councils. Any adjustments effected are to take into consideration the relative degree of hazard from air raids, fires, explosions, floods, hurricanes, and other disasters, with emphasis on protection against those most likely to require action, recognizing the depleted state of regular police, fire, and medical forces from losses to the armed services and industry.

39 Statewide Proposals in 1943 Elections

Thirty-eight constitutional amendments were submitted to popular vote in five states in 1943, 35 being approved; and one other proposal, the New Jersey referendum to authorize the legislature to revise the state constitution, was voted on and adopted, according to a survey by the Bureau of the Census. Few of the amendments were of national interest, two exceptions being the Georgia amendment lowering the voting age to 18 and the New York amendment establishing a tax-stabilization reserve plan.

Twenty-eight amendments were proposed in Georgia, six in New York, two in Kentucky, one in Missouri, and one in Pennsylvania. One in New York and the two in Kentucky were defeated.

Committees Draft Changes for Missouri Constitution

In the five months since the Missouri constitutional convention convened various committees have been hard at work and have shown unexpected willingness to relinquish hoary state policies in favor of modern governmental ideas.

The committee on the executive department has reported in favor of cabinet government instead of a group of elected administrative officers as at present. It recommends election of three executives—governor, lieutenant-governor and auditor; the entire administrative work of the state government will be under the governor, organized in possibly fifteen departments, headed by his appointees constituting the cabinet. The merit system was not recommended, however, except for technical and professional employees; adoption of a comprehensive merit system would be up to the legislature.

The committee on the legislative department has recommended three major changes to increase efficiency and discourage lobbying. The size of committees is to be closely limited; they are not to hold measures more than a certain period; votes of committee members are to be made public.

The highways committee has proposed that the state be authorized to construct city streets that are a part of the state highway system; it has refused to limit the gasoline tax rate, but recommends earmarking it for highway purposes.

The committee on taxation has approved proposals for classification of property, with intangibles to be assessed on the basis of earnings.

Details of home rule plans for the larger counties and for cities of 10,000 population or more are being worked out by two committees on local government.

It has been expected that floor action will be deferred until all committees have reported, but this may be changed inasmuch as some committees have taken longer than expected, and the convention wishes to finish its work by early summer.

Postwar Planning by Government and Industry

A nation-wide survey by regional business consultants of the United States Department of Commerce shows extensive postwar planning activities at all levels of government, and in commerce and industry, without coincident letdown in prosecution of the war. Information shown for various regions includes the following:

New England: All six states are studying their separate problems and 36 cities and towns have taken up the question of public works reserve programs. Local chambers of commerce and service groups have been coöperating with 63 committees for economic development.

New York, northern New Jersey, southwestern Connecticut: The state governments have definite programs well under way. An increase of 25 per cent in postwar over prewar employment is looked for, and if restrictions are relaxed the reconversion period is expected to be short.

Eastern Pennsylvania, southern New Jersey, Delaware: Nearly all large companies have postwar programs. Shipbuilding and airplane construction are expected to keep industrial activity high until the end of the war.

Southeastern states: All legislatures have established planning boards.

East Central states: Although this area is largely dependent on plans of industries in other states 84 per cent of companies canvassed reported some postwar planning.

Central states (Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, and Wisconsin): Programs of unemployment insurance are being provided.

155,148 Governmental Units in United States

The Bureau of the Census has issued a preliminary summary of *Governmental Units in the United States; 1942*, based on the 1942 census of governments. By governmental unit is meant a geographic subdivision or population concentration that maintains a distinct legal existence and is politically organized for the conduct of local affairs. The federal government is also counted as a unit, in addition to which there are the 48 states, 3,050 counties, 18,884 townships or towns, 16,189 municipalities, 108,644 school districts, and 8,332 special districts (drainage, fire, road, or bridge districts, chiefly). Counties in Rhode Island and a few others elsewhere are omitted as unorganized. Likewise unorganized townships are not counted. The school districts included are those that are distinct from other governments in their organization and financing.

Citizen Action

Seattle City Council Asks Citizen Groups to Draft New Charter

Advisory Commission to Make Recommendations for Change

THE City Council of Seattle has passed a resolution asking each of eight civic organizations to designate three representatives to serve on a charter advisory commission "for the purpose of reviewing the present charter of the city of Seattle and reporting as to the advisability of a new or revised charter."

Councilman David Levine, who drafted the resolution, pointed out that under the present law a freeholders commission may revise the charter but that the law does not "permit them enough time in which to make a proper study and preparation. A freeholders commission is given 60 days to make their study and report," Councilman Levine stated, "and that is not long enough."

The groups which have been asked to participate, as listed by the *Seattle Municipal News,* organ of the Municipal League of Seattle for Governmental Research, one of the groups chosen, include in addition: The Central Labor Council, CIO, Chamber of Commerce, Federation of Women's Clubs, Associated Clubs of the North End, Central District Community Clubs, and Associated Clubs of the South End.

In addition three representatives are to be designated by the City Council, two from the Board of Public Works, and a representative of the corporation counsel's office, who will act in an advisory capacity only with the commission.

As soon as the various organizations have notified the City Council of the persons selected to work on the charter, the president of the Council is authorized to call a meeting of the commission, "at which time the commission shall select their own chairman, secretary, and such other officials and committees as they may select and adopt such rules as they may deem necessary for their own government."

Council President Carroll stated that he hoped the study could be made and amendments or a new charter drafted in time for next year's election. At that time the voters would elect a freeholders' commission which, in turn, would present the new charter to the people for their approval.

Cleveland Citizens Form Bureau of Research

A **Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research** to take over and expand the research work of the **Cleveland Citizens League** has been organized, with fifteen incorporators who will constitute the Bureau's first Board of Trustees. Mayo Fesler, director of the Citizens League, has been appointed director of the Bureau also. The two organizations will share offices and staff; expenses will be apportioned on an equitable basis to be worked out by a joint committee of the boards of the two groups.

The work of the Bureau of Governmental Research, as stated in its constitution, will be: "To study the problems of public administration, finance, and government; to collect and supply to public officials, interested citizens, civic organizations, and the public schools, accurate and unbiased information concerning the local government in Cleveland and Cuyahoga County; and to coöperate with public officials in the improvement of local governmental procedure, in order to secure greater economy and efficiency in the administration of local public affairs in the Cleveland metropolitan district. But no part of its activities shall be directed to carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislation."

The Bureau will take over the fact-finding and research work formerly performed by the Citizens League. It will make some of the more extensive and much needed studies and surveys which have not been made by the League because of lack of funds—salary schedules and salary standardization covering the nearly one hundred units of government in the county, the machinery for law enforcement in the community, new sources of local revenue, etc. The Citizens League will continue in its field of critical and constructive work.

According to *Greater Cleveland,* bulletin of the Citizens League: "Many will ask, Why two organizations? The answer is largely because of the legal limitations on contributions to civic organizations in state and federal laws. For long years the Citizens League has been the one civic agency in the community doing the three types of work—critical, informational, and constructive. Both the critical and constructive work are regarded as 'political activity' under the state law, and as promoting legislation and carrying on propaganda under federal income tax laws. . . . Since the Citizens League was doing all three, then the fact-finding and research work, which is not political activity, came within these prohibitions through association. . . . The committee of attorneys found a solution by proposing a plan of separating the fact-finding and research work from the political activity work."

The plan was laid before the Commissioner of Internal Revenue in Washington and approved late in 1943.

"There will be one additional advantage," adds *Greater Cleveland,* "to the success of the new Bureau in this arrangement with the Citizens League. Bureaus of research, by the nature of their organizations, confine their work to the finding of facts and placing them with appropriate recommendations before the public authorities. They cannot carry on a campaign for their adoption. As a result many of the timely and excellent reports of many of the bureaus in the different cities are filed with the proper officials and go on the shelves to gather dust. But under the setup of two separate and independent organizations as herein outlined, the Citizens League, as a militant organization, can take up the recommendations and press for their adoption in administration and their enactment into laws and ordinances if desirable."

Nebraska Taxpayers Group Studies Its County Government

The **Washington County (Nebraska) Taxpayers League,** organized five years ago, has been working to develop better methods of administration in county affairs and thus produce an improved government at less cost to the taxpayers.

The League is affiliated in its work with the Nebraska Federation of County Taxpayers Leagues. It employed the Federation to make a survey of the government of Washington County as a basis for a study of county administration and recommendation of improvements in procedures and expenditures of county funds. The immediate results have been more than we dared hope for.

For the first time in the history of Washington County, through the analysis of their county government, the citizenry has a complete picture of local affairs. With the published report they may study every detail of their county's business.

The League has been successful in stimulating citizen interest. Among the activities which it has undertaken are these:

1. In the promotion of the survey, the League held meetings in almost every locality in the county, explaining its work and the benefits of the survey. This resulted in an expansion of the membership and increased financial support.

2. When the survey was released, the League held a public meeting which filled the courtroom of the courthouse to capacity. Local papers reported the meeting in detail, commenting favorably on the League's work.

3. About a thousand copies of the survey were distributed throughout the county.

4. The League's board has held monthly meetings to discuss bills allowed by the county board and other matters of importance.

5. Representatives of the organization meet with the county board whenever anything of special importance is to be considered.

6. The League has made an intensive study of the county budget, especially for the past two years, and expects to continue to do so.

7. Total county expenditures are also studied. Savings on actual expenditures are considerably more than estimated savings as shown in the budget. The county is accumulating surpluses instead of a deficit.

The survey emphasized particularly the need for improved budgeting, accounting, and purchasing methods. It declared that much could be saved if purchasing were placed on a businesslike basis. We cannot tell conclusively what improvements have been made in administrative methods as a result of the survey until we have another which will probably be in about a year.

The 1942 budget of Washington County was $200,715. The 1943 budget was $164,714. This reduction in one year of 18 per cent shows what can be done through the efforts of informed citizens. The reduction is for one year only, but with the installation of better business methods still further reductions can doubtless be expected.

The work of the taxpayer leagues in each county is part of a statewide movement to gather and publish facts on federal, state, and local government. These facts have been the basis of many constructive laws in Nebraska controlling public expenditures and administrative methods. The county, city, and village budget laws are typical examples.

We realize that the goal we have set means a long-time program, but we believe implicitly in the slogan so often used in Nebraska—"Knowledge of facts by the citizens is the basis of all good government."

John Kunnemann, *President*
Washington County (Neb.)
Taxpayers League

"For THIS We Fight"

So widespread has been the demand for the illustrated booklet entitled "For THIS We Fight," which was published last year by the **Civic Research Institute,** 711 Waltower Building, Kansas City 6, Missouri, that the Institute has decided to republish the volume in a slightly reduced size. Orders will be taken, at cost: single copies, five cents; $4.50 per hundred.

The booklet, written in primer fashion and cleverly illustrated, analyzes the voting misbehavior of citizens in a Kansas City election and preaches a powerful sermon, in words and pictures, on the dangers of voter indifference. The text of the booklet was reproduced as an editorial in the September 1943 National Municipal Review.

Grand Rapids Manager Government Studied

Our City Government, Grand Rapids, Michigan, is a study of some 160 mimeographed pages made by the **Grand Rapids League of Women Voters.** Its editor states in the preface that "An informed, responsible citizenry is the objective of the League of Women Voters. Believing that democracy has its grass roots in local government, we have prepared this book . . . to (1) provide the citizen with facts about our city government ; (2) stimulate the citizen to think about city government problems; and (3) spur the citizen to action.

One chapter is devoted to "Current Problems in Our City Government," in order to avoid the danger of creating in the mind of the reader the idea that all is static and perfect in his city government. This is followed by the last chapter, "The Citizen and His Job in Grand Rapids," which seeks to show how well the citizen has done his job—does he vote?—does he support citizen groups?—and what he can do to make democracy work in his community.

The authors have attempted to adjust the form of the study so that it may be used advantageously in the local schools.

Mrs. Dorothy Leonard Judd is editor of the book. Mrs. Merle C. Baker, Mrs. Harold S. Shaw, Mrs. James C. Parker, Miss Marian James, Miss Nellie Hayes, Mrs. Martin Robinson, Mrs. Roger Wykes, Jr., and Mrs. Collins Brooks are authors of various chapters.

Here and There—

Postwar Planning

The **Portland (Ore.) City Club** has been discussing the so-called "Moses Plan"[1] for postwar Portland. One meeting, marking the publication of the Club's eighteen-page report on the Moses plan, was attended by 211 persons, an all-time high for report discussion meetings. The following week a "Gridiron" session was held at which members of the Club's committee authorized to evaluate the plan were present to answer questions. At the time of its appointment each member of this committee had been given a specific assignment for study so that each became something of an authority on a particular phase of the report.

The **Citizens Planning and Housing Council of Rochester, New York,** has called an informal conference to which some 30 offices and agencies have been asked to send representatives. The conference is to aid in solving some of the immediate problems created by the necessity of housing war workers and service men, especially those with families of young children, but it is also hoped that it may furnish some data for future plans.

* * *

Angels in Disguise

Two charming angels, complete with derby hat, halo, wings, spats, and cigar—one bearing a basket labelled "food," the other a bag labelled "favors"—decorate a recent issue of *Civic Affairs* published by the **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy.** The illustrations are in connection with a story entitled "Your Committeeman" which warns the citizen: "Consider what *your* committeeman is supposed to do. Now look him up and find out what he actually does and what he knows about city, state, and national government. Remember, HE IS YOUR REPRESENTATIVE! If he does not measure up to the standards you set, if he does not have the qualities of the man you want to represent YOU in governmental affairs, then you should not support him in the primary election, Tuesday, April 25th."

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[1] See "Portland Improvement Program Depends on Federal, State Aid," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, February 1944, pp. 103-5.

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Women Voters' Activities

Backed up by months of planning in local Leagues throughout the state, one of the most intensive voters' information campaigns ever initiated by the **New York State League of Women Voters** got under way in January. It will continue until the presidential election in November is over. League headquarters is furnishing local groups information, suggestions, and materials and will serve as a clearing house for questions. The idea is to help every League member know what steps are involved in the coming state and national elections and thus help spread such information among all the voters.

The **Connecticut League** is also conducting a lively pre-election drive. The *Connecticut Voter* sets forth "Our Yardstick for 1944 Candidates," to which every League member will be asked to pledge her wholehearted support. Among local Connecticut groups, the **Mansfield League** recently discussed "How Mansfield Raises and Spends Its Money"; the **Wilton League** has issued a "Know Your Town" booklet.

Continuing its campaign for a new state constitution, the **Illinois League of Women Voters** held a training class for group leaders working for a constitutional convention.

The **Minnesota League of Women Voters**, which led the fight for a state civil service law, is now in the vanguard of the struggle to secure another forward-looking step in good government—a legislative council. The **Bemidji League** has been coöperating with the Public Library in displaying pertinent books and pamphlets on topics of current interest.

A Soldier Vote Plan

The **Citizens Union of the City of New York** has sent to every member of both houses of Congress a simplified plan of soldier voting which its subcommittee on elections has evolved. The plan calls for a single ballot distributed to all in the armed forces by the Army and Navy, to contain the presidential and vice-presidential candidates. All other offices—federal, state, and local—would be voted for by write-in votes cast with the aid of booklets of candidates supplied by the states and distributed to all the posts where members of the armed forces are located. Ballots would be returned to the states for counting and each state would be the judge of the qualifications of its own voters.

* * *

School Finance

The **Citizens Budget Commission of New York** is taking issue with the City's Board of Superintendents in recommending the immediate appointment of 769 teachers in the city school system. The Commission points out the great drop in pupils—at the rate of 50,000 per year—and argues that appointment of this great number is not sound administrative policy.

Once a month the **Port Huron (Mich.) Education and Finance Council** meets to discuss the city's schools. Recent discussions have centered around the exhaustive Moehlman School Survey, the purposes of which are to develop information to enable formulation of a long term, over-all, coördinated plan for school development. Acting as a sounding board only, the Council began some fourteen months ago with two delegates each from seven representative local organizations. This year, however, it has enlarged its membership.

Help for the Legislator

The **Wisconsin Taxpayers' Alliance** has been selected to serve as the agency to collect and coördinate tax and financial information for two important joint interim committees—on the state budget and on state aids and shared taxes—appointed by the 1943 Wisconsin legislature. The Alliance is currently publishing a series of articles on the latter subject in the *Wisconsin Taxpayer.*

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Transit and Sewage

The **Chicago City Club's** Local Transportation Committee has drawn up an outline for the study of problems incident to public ownership of the transit system of the Chicago area. The project has been divided among four subcommittees on scope of transit district and services, organization and management, financing, and operational control.

The Club warns of the dangers of epidemics which, it declares, will continue as long as untreated sewage is dumped into Lake Michigan and adequate filtration is not available. Its Public Health Committee has studied and endorsed in principle a bill now in Congress which provides for government assistance to colleges and universities for extensive research into the problems of better utilization of sewage and industrial wastes.

The Club is coöperating with the **Illinois League of Women Voters** in its campaign for a constitutional convention to revise the state's outmoded constitution.

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Birthdays

The Fiftieth Anniversary Number of the bulletin of the **Philadelphia Civic Club** carries a list of achievements of the organization over the last half century. The list includes coöperation in inauguration of the playground movement, the first movement for a city parkway, organization of the Octavia Hill Association, agitation for pure water for the city, movement for safe and sane Fourth of July celebrations, inauguration of annual Public Health Day, zoning acts, anti-noise ordinances, etc.

With its January issue *The Taxpayer,* organ of the **North Dakota Taxpayers' Association,** enters its tenth year of continuous monthly publication. Throughout 1943 *The Taxpayer* carried a series of articles dealing with recommendations made in a survey by Public Administration Service for the reorganization of the state's government. These articles will be continued in 1944.

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Strictly Personal

James W. Walden has been appointed executive secretary of the Phoenix Citizens' Good Government Council. Mr. Walden succeeds **W. J. B. Schimfessel,** now in the armed forces.

Dryden Kuser, director of the Nevada Taxpayers Association, has been appointed a member of the Tax and Legislative Committee of the Reno Chamber of Commerce, to take the place of his predecessor, **S. W. Crosby,** on leave of absence.

William Pitkin, president of the Citizens Housing and Planning Council of Rochester, has been appointed City Superintendent of Parks.

Lieutenant C. S. Holloway, chief statistician for the Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, is on leave of absence with the armed forces.

Ronald E. Gregg, formerly secretary of the Toledo Municipal League, is serving as economist for the National Association of Manufacturers; he is secretary to their committees on war contract termination and on disposal of surplus war materials.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Cambridge Holds Second P. R. Election

First Complete Recount Leaves Result Unchanged

THE results of the second P.R. election in Cambridge, Massachusetts, held November 2, 1943, have now been counted and recounted. This was the first recount[1] under Plan E—the new Cincinnati plan charter adopted in 1940—and although it resulted in no change in the choices for Council, the order of the candidates, both elected and defeated, was slightly shifted.

In the original count a mistake was made in distributing the ballots of the candidate having the largest surplus. In the recount, therefore, the fifth man declared elected originally became seventh man, the number of votes of the ninth and last man elected was slightly increased, and the candidate originally declared defeated third from last rose to the top of the defeated list. The recount cost about $8,000 but was perhaps worth it to satisfy all the citizens that the count was absolutely fair.

Thanks to the good teamwork of a majority of the Council and the City Manager, John B. Atkinson, the first two years of administration under Plan E showed striking improvements in city government. The tax rate was reduced by more than six dollars, the city was put on a pay-as-you-go basis, the debt was greatly reduced, city services and properties were improved, there was no firing but no filling of unnecessary jobs, pay of city employees was increased, and a fair, impartial job-classification system was adopted.

Basing its campaign on this excellent record, the Cambridge Committee for Plan E—the nonpartisan, self-constituted, good government committee which had fought for the new charter—endorsed a slate of nine and waged as active a campaign as the man- and woman-power shortage permitted. Pre-election work on registration of voters was tardy and incomplete. It was possible this year to canvass house to house and by telephone only a little more than four of the eleven wards, but two mailings of literature went to each house in the city, and a sample ballot was mailed to each voter. Special letters were sent to home-owners and to city employees. Due largely to shortage of newsprint and of volunteers, publicity was inadequate. Two large public rallies and a number of house rallies were held with the Plan E endorsed candidates as speakers.

Despite the brilliant record of administrative achievement in the past two years, the voters in Cambridge failed in 1943, as in 1941, to elect a majority of Plan E Committee endorsees to the Council. As in 1941, there were elected four Committee endorsees, one short of the majority of the Council membership of nine. Subsequently, when the Council was organized early in January 1944, a Plan E councillor, John H. Corcoran, was re-elected mayor, and thus becomes ex-officio chairman of the School Committee. Three Plan E Committee endorsees were elected to the School Committee out of a total of six elected, so that, with the Mayor, Plan E forces have a clear majority on the School Committee.

The following statistics may be of interest:

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[1] Also the first complete P. R. recount in a public election ever held in the United States.—EDITOR.

	P.R. Elections	
	1941	*1943*
Percentage of registered voters who went to the polls	68	55
Percentage of total ballots declared valid	98.4	96
Percentage of voters represented on Council	87	89
Percentage of valid ballots declared ineffective (exhausted)	13	11
Percentage of voters whose first choices were elected	47	60
Number of candidates running	83	39
Number of transfers required	76	33
Percentage of first-choice votes received by *elected* Plan E Committee endorsees	35	36
Percentage of first-choice votes received by *defeated* Plan E Committee endorsees	12	9
Percentage of first-choice votes received by Plan E Committee endorsees	47	45
Percentage of total valid ballots received by non-Plan E Committee candidates on final count	47[a]	50[a]
Percentage of total valid ballots received by Plan E Committee endorsees on final count	40[a]	39[a]

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[a] The exhausted ballots above are the balance of the final-count ballots. It will be seen that the final-count ballots of the two groups are roughly in the proportion of 5 to 4, which are the numbers of councillors they elected.—EDITOR.

While the 1943 drop in the percentage of voters who went to the polls seems large, most of it may be explained by war absences, both military and civilian (estimated by the election commission to be about 20 per cent of the total number of qualified voters). In comparing the two P.R. elections, the Cambridge voters have lost skill in marking ballots correctly, since the percentage of valid ballots dropped by 2.4 per cent; but they have learned better by 2 per cent to mark choices for a sufficient number of candidates to avoid exhausted ballots. Lack of volunteers due to the war prevented a thorough pre-election campaign of education in marking ballots.

Mistakes in tactics on the part of the Plan E Committee as well as war-loss in interest and workers doubtless brought about the drop in support of Committee endorsees.

Cambridge is Democratic by more than 50 per cent. Its taxpayers amount to about 15 per cent of its registered voters. In both elections it has been the policy of the Plan E Committee to try to give realistic representation on its slate to political, racial, and geographical groups. In 1941 eleven candidates were endorsed, seven Democrats and four Republicans; three strong Democrats and one strong Republican were elected. In 1943, nine candidates were endorsed, six Democrats and three Republicans. Elected were two Democrats and two Republicans. All five of the non-Plan E candidates elected were Democrats.

One lesson to be learned from the campaign is that only a well known candidate can be elected in an at-large election. Six of the successful candidates in 1943 were re-elected, and of the three newcomers, one had run in 1941 and two were well known politicians and officeholders. Of the Plan E endorsees elected in 1943, three were re-elected and one had run in 1941.

At present it seems likely that the City Manager, who has made such a good record, will be retained. However, he cannot count on the consistent support of a majority of the Council. The opposition now has astute, experienced, and "political" leadership, which it has lacked somewhat in the past two years, but it is divided into factions. If good government is to continue in Cambridge, its backers, including groups such as the Cambridge Committee for Plan E, must become more active in citizen education, and the achievements of the City Manager must be better publicized.

Amelia W. Fisk
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Another Attack on P. R. in New York

On January 17 two bills[1] were introduced in each house of the New York legislature to prohibit the use of P. R. anywhere in the state. Both had New York City Democratic sponsorship and the Democratic leaders of the two houses, Senator John J. Dunnigan of the Bronx and Assemblyman Irwin Steingut of Brooklyn, issued a joint statement in their behalf.

The bills are identical in their purpose with the P. R. ban which was proposed by the constitutional convention of 1938. At that time it was repudiated by the conventions of all three recognized parties and voted down by a majority of two and a half to one, with adverse majorities in every county in the state. One of this years' bills is a similar constitutional amendment, so worded as to rule out not only P. R. but any scheme for assuring minority representation. The other is an amendment to the election law, which could be passed by a simple majority in each house and the Governor's signature without even a vote of the people of the whole state. Both bills would take P. R. away from New York City, Yonkers, and Long Beach without a vote of the city concerned.

The reason this general proposal was introduced instead of a specific repeal for New York City is that a bill affecting the property, affairs, or government of a particular city cannot be passed under the new constitution without a request for it either from the Mayor and a majority of the Council or from two-thirds of the Council. Mayor La Guardia has declared since the last election that he is still for P. R. and the Democrats do not control two-thirds of the Council, so there is no likelihood of such a request.

It does not seem probable that the bills will emerge from committee. Their obvious purpose is to reduce minority representation in New York City and to restore the near-monopoly formerly enjoyed by the Democratic party in the Board of Aldermen. This purpose is not lost on the Republican legislature, quite aside from the bills' flagrant violation of the well accepted principle of municipal home rule.

William Allen White

In the death of William Allen White on January 29, 1944, not only the American people but the cause of P. R. lost a good friend. The Emporia, Kansas, editor was world famous for his advocacy of common sense and during most of his long life exerted a powerful influence on democratic institutions and political thought. He had long been a believer in P. R. and in 1941 accepted a place on the Advisory Council of the Proportional Representation League.[1] He was a member of the Council at the time of his death.

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[1] Senate Introductory Nos. 148 and 149, by Senator John J. Dunnigan of the Bronx; Assembly Introductory Nos. 217 and 216, by Assemblyman Roy H. Rudd of Brooklyn.

[1] Since 1932 operating as a department of the National Municipal League.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

New York Authorities Win Bond Tax Cases

Tax Court Rules Such Units Are Political Subdivisions

THE United States Tax Court, in decisions handed down January 29, 1944, upheld contentions of the Port of New York Authority and the Tri-Borough Bridge Authority that interest on their bonds is exempt from federal income taxes. The question was decided solely on the basis of the applicable statutes, the court holding that until the Congress changed the revenue acts any consideration of constitutional questions was unnecessary and premature. The court divided ten to five on the ruling, one judge not participating.

The cases have been followed with interest, not to say anxiety in some quarters, because they are generally regarded as climaxing the Treasury Department's present efforts to open the way to taxation of income derived from the obligations of state and local governmental units.[1] In one, the so-called Shamberg case, bonds of the Port of New York Authority were involved, while the other, the White case, involved bonds of the Tri-Borough Bridge Authority. The major burden of the defense, by agreement, fell to the Port Authority, and a considerable part of the late spring and summer of 1943 had been devoted to the taking of testimony.

In making the defense great emphasis was placed on the constitutional issue involved, that of intergovernmental immunity from taxation, and much of the expert testimony revolved around the question of whether or not the benefit of the exemption fell chiefly to the governmental agency or the holder of the bonds. The defense also argued, however, that the Authorities were clearly exempt under the applicable sections of the revenue act exempting interest on obligations of the states and their political subdivisions from the federal income tax. With this latter contention the court agreed, after a careful examination of the revenue act and the statutes authorizing creation of the Authorities. Wrote Judge Clarence V. Opper, who delivered the opinion:

"The interest in question is free from tax because it falls within the express exemption contained in the applicable revenue acts. Needless to say, the necessity of discussing the constitutional question being thus eliminated, it will not be further considered. Similarly, any conclusions, whether considered as fact or law, with respect to the weight or ponderability of the burden which the imposition of federal income taxation upon the interest on local governmental obligations might impose generally or in particular situations, or to the balance of benefit and burden as between federal and local government, concerning all of which the present record contains several thousand pages of testimony, must, we think, await a proceeding in which the necessity for their formulation is apparent. When and, of course, if, Congress sees fit to remove the protection afforded by the statutory immunity, such an occasion may arise. It cannot, in our view, occur sooner."

In holding the Authorities political subdivisions, the court made a fine distinction as compared with the ruling of the U. S. Supreme Court in Chief Justice Stone's opinion in the Gerhardt case, in which income of a Port Authority employee was held subject to federal income taxation. In this connection, it is of interest to note that the court concluded: "It is hard to conceive that a statute tending to encourage and assist in the contribution of public improvements by debt-burdened localities should have been intended to stop short merely because the method selected for financing such accommodations to current needs is the issuance of obligations secured by facility revenues, as opposed to the levy of special assessments upon benefited properties."

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[1] Cf. "Tax Exemption Cases Come to Trial," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1943, page 340.

It would of course be premature to regard the matter as settled until the avenues of appeal have been exhausted (the Treasury has announced its intention of appealing at once, in the Circuit Court for the Second District in New York), but there is a disposition in some circles to hold that the present decision will stand, there having been a recent tendency for the United States Supreme Court to refrain from disturbing the rulings of the Tax Court except on matters of law. Final decision is not expected, however, for probably another year, since the appeals cannot come to argument before the Circuit Court of Appeals much before next fall.

Those who regarded the cases as a test of the tax exemption of bonds of all state and local governmental units were undoubtedly taking in too much territory, for the Tax Court's decision clearly tends to limit the question to that of whether authorities, lacking the power of ad valorem property taxation, are political subdivisions within the meaning of the federal law. Even with the implications of the test thus limited, however, the ruling is of great significance. There are relatively few authorities carrying out proprietary or quasi-governmental functions without benefit of the power to tax property ad valorem, but there are relatively a great number of municipalities which have departments or semi-autonomous commissions, agencies, and the like engaged in providing proprietary services which derive their income solely from service charges and are not eligible to support from property taxes.

If, in the eyes of the federal courts, it were held that authorities were not political subdivisions, then by extension it would appear that municipal water departments, light and power departments, street railway and rapid transit departments, etc., when financed by revenue bonds and deriving their sole income from service charges, are not political subdivisions either, and it would be possible to foresee numerous chaotic conflicts between state and federal courts in matters involving municipal public service enterprises. The decision in the Port Authority case is encouraging, if only for the reason that once again[2] the federal courts have shown a disposition to look at local government whole and entire, without attempt to break it up into unrelated entities co-existent but not complementary.

$15,000,000,000 Urged for Postwar Public Works

At a hearing before the House Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds on February 2, Mayor F. H. LaGuardia of New York City urged that the federal government immediately organize a $15,000,000,000 program of public works to provide employment for a maximum of 5,000,000 men for two years after the war in Europe ends. The federal government was asked to make half the total available, the other half to come from the state and local governments.

The alternatives to such a program, Mr. LaGuardia said, are "greatly increased soldier bonuses, pensions, insurance and other allotments, another WPA program on a very large scale, an American security program approaching the British scale recommended by Sir William Beveridge but . . . on the basis of our enormously higher scale of living, and finally, as a last resort, home relief and the straight dole, with all of its crushing implications of failure and futility."

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[2] Cf. NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, July 1942, p. 412; *ibid.*, July 1943, p. 404.

The Mayor's statement to the committee was based on a memorandum prepared by Park Commissioner Robert Moses, patterned closely on the assumptions made by the Moses staff in its survey of postwar improvements for Portland, Oregon, and other Multnomah County units.[3] It was assumed, that is, that the war in the Pacific would come to a close about one year after the termination of the European conflict, with about two years of acute employment needs. Mr. Moses held it would take at least two years for private industry to convert to a peace-time basis, and in the meantime governmental construction must provide the work.

As evidence of the need for heavy federal participation in the local programs, New York City's billion-dollar postwar program was cited. This program can be carried out only with federal participation, about $400,000,000, as well as with nearly $200,000,000 of state aid. Immediate action was urged, in order that local units might be able to prepare their plans and specifications so as to be in a position to begin work promptly as needed.

Municipal Bond Market Firm in 1943

The scarcity of new bonds issued bv state and local subdivisions, increased value of immunity from federal income taxes, and the strong position of the money market as controlled by the Treasury Department for federal financing all contributed to a spectacular record for municipal bond prices during 1943. According to *The Daily Bond Buyer's* index of municipal bond yields, prices of municipal bonds advanced more or less steadily during the year, reaching an all-time high in November, from which a slight recession was shown in December.

The index of yields (the lower the index figure, the higher the bond price) for twenty representative municipal bonds dropped from 2.17 per cent January 1, 1943, to 1.69 per cent November 1, 1943, rising to 1.82 per cent at December 1, 1943. For January 1, 1944, it was 1.77 per cent and for February 1, 1944, it was down to 1.70 per cent. For eleven first grade bonds the decline was from 1.80 per cent at January 1, 1943, to 1.35 per cent on November 1, 1943, with the increase to December 1, 1943, to 1.49 per cent and January 1, 1944, down to 1.44 per cent. February 1, 1944, was 1.37 per cent. The highest yields were for May 1, 1933, when the twenty-bond index was 5.69 per cent and the eleven-bond index 4.90 per cent.

Dominant factors in the continuing high prices for municipal bonds, which of course reflect a situation favorable to the local units when they go into the market for capital financing or refunding, naturally are the low interest rates generally as maintained by the Treasury and Federal Reserve Banks to facilitate federal war financing and the increased value to private investors of tax-exempt bonds due to higher personal income taxes. Increasing scarcity of municipal issues, however, is playing its part also.

Again referring to figures in *The Daily Bond Buyer,* bonds authorized by state and local units at elections in 1943 totaled only about $64,000,000. In 1942 $95,000,000 had been voted, in 1941 $172,000,000 and 1940 $156,000.000.

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[3] Cf. NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, February 1944, p. 103.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

County Government in Illinois Studied

Recently Published Monograph Traces History Back to 1778

THE history of county government in Illinois has been characterized more by continuity than by diversity, is a conclusion reached by Professor Clyde F. Snider in his recent monograph, *County Government in Illinois*, published by the Illinois Tax Commission. He demonstrates that this is true even though county government in Illinois antedates statehood by many years by tracing the rudiments of county organization back to the establishment of "Illinois County" by the Virginia legislature in 1778. The area became successively Northwest Territory, Indiana Territory, and Illinois Territory, and subsequently county government continued to evolve under three state constitutions.

With each change the institutions of the preceding era were continued, with only such modifications as conditions seemed to require. Thus counties became more numerous and smaller, new functions were added, new offices created, and new sources of revenue developed.

Even in the first territorial period, a comparatively elaborate system of county government was developed, with the influence of English precedent clearly evident. Even township government in this territory was provided in a law enacted as early as 1790, although it shortly disappeared as a unit of local government.

The admission of Illinois to statehood in 1818 saw an acceleration of the rate at which counties were created by subdivision, but after several decades the trend was reversed with the last subdivision occurring in 1859. The same period was marked by expansion of democratic beliefs, manifesting itself in county government through the trend toward direct election of officeholders.

The adoption of the constitution of 1848 brought the township to the fore once again by providing that it was the duty of the general assembly to provide by general law for a system of township organization "under which any county may organize, whenever a majority of the voters of such county at any general election shall so determine." This provision undoubtedly developed from the influence of recent settlers from regions such as Michigan and New York as distinguished from the earlier settlers who had come from the south. To the present time, 85 of Illinois' 102 counties have adopted the township system.

The present constitution, adopted in 1870, was the first to place taxing and debt-incurring limitations on the powers of counties, although statutory limitations had been imposed previously. In the following decades there developed also administrative controls over expenditures, usually in relation to grants-in-aid or state-collected locally-shared taxes.

The constitution makes no provision for county consolidation, but although legislation on the statute books has permitted this through annexation for the past 70 years, no county consolidation has as yet taken place. County boards vary in size from four to 67 members, with the average being approximately 25.

Two recently acquired functions of counties that reflect recent trends in local government are those of coal processing and the operation of airports. Coal processing plants are to be used for the treatment of coal to render it smokeless to meet the standards of municipal smoke ordinances in Illinois and other states. The plants are to be financed by revenue bonds, but the airports may be financed by either revenue or general obligation bonds.

A county budget law, in effect since 1933, is not complied with fully by all counties, but it has improved financial administration. There are constitutional and statutory limits on aggregate county tax levies, but no "overall" limit on all taxing units. Also there exist various limitations on the power to borrow.

The primary special districts especially related to county government are the forest preserve districts and the tuberculosis sanitarium districts. The former were authorized in 1913 and seven have now been formed. Although the latter type was authorized in 1937 only one has been organized to the present time.

Mo. Constitutional Convention Considers County Home Rule

The *Kansas City Star* editorializes that "Nothing before the Missouri constitutional convention is more important to this city and county than the chance for an independent county charter." It declares, furthermore, that the idea of providing such independent charters for the four largest counties appears to have taken a strong hold on the convention.

The *Star*, however, opposes the method of adopting county charters apparently favored by the convention. Instead of permitting the circuit and probate judges to appoint a commission to draft a charter, it proposes the people be permitted to elect such a commission. Although admitting the advantages of streamlining, the editorial believes this proposal to be more democratic. Final ratification of the charter would be by vote of the people under either plan.

LONDON PLANS CITY OF THE FUTURE

(Continued from Page 137)

advocated that these should be included in both the inner and outer districts, but as it seems to be accepted that the open fire will still be permitted for heating, it should be pointed out that experience has shown that the smoke from two story cottages will make the upper floors in the block dwellings very dirty.

Under this scheme the proper complement to it would be the general adoption of central heating or even the expansion of this on a district basis which has been warmly advocated.

Provision for an up-to-date air field within a convenient distance from the central area was found to be a difficult problem. The area of ground necessary together with the restricted heights around it was unobtainable south of the Thames; by removal of the docks the Isle of Dogs might be made available, but a plan has been prepared and is regarded as suitable on the land immediately to the north of this which has been heavily "blitzed." In this case nearly all that is left of Poplar would, however, be required.

There still remain a great number of suggestions for taking advantage of this opportunity to improve the architectural dignity of London, and to convert it from the present rather haphazard conglomeration of buildings into an orderly and impressive city, retaining its typically British character but exalting this to a degree which would make it worthy of its position as the national capital.

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Governmental Data for Small Council-Manager Cities. Chicago 37, The International City Managers' Association, 1944. iv, 28 pp. $1.50.

This report fills an urgent need in its publication of statistical information on small municipalities—under 5,000. It covers 126 council-manager cities. Material is tabulated so that inter-city comparisons may be made. Facts covered include number, term, and salary of councilmen; revenues, expenditures, and indebtedness; number of employees; and utilities owned and operated.

The Constitutional Governor. By Casimir W. Ruskowski. Boston, Bruce Humphries, Inc., 1943. 61 pp. $2.

Administrative changes over the last 25 years have almost always been in the direction of increasing the governor's importance as the state's chief administrative officer. This book represents an investigation of the constitutions of the various states on provisions affecting the chief executive and a presentation, frequently in tabular form for easy reference, of the important facts regarding him. Charts cover the governor's election, qualifications, term, compensation, succession in office, the governor and the legislature, the veto power, powers on pardoning, etc., and a list of other duties and powers, for all 48 states.

Power Unleashed. By M. M. Samuels. Foreword by William E. Mosher. New York City, Dorset House, Inc., 1943. 300 pp. $3.50.

Dr. Mosher shows a sure instinct in recommending this splendid piece of popularization which certainly fulfills its subtitle, "The Story of Electricity and Power." To comprehend modern urbanism one needs the background this book gives concerning a most important factor in our civilization—electric power. Samuels gives anyone whose education in what the physicist calls "energy" was the regulation "liberal arts course" a meal of science packed with nourishment as well as one extremely easy to digest.

We not only learn about "energy" but we learn something more important—what a "law of nature" really is. The first three paragraphs of Chapter II should be recited repeatedly for those unfortunate enough—including most members of Congress for the last three decades—to confuse the meaning "law" has in a courtroom and the one it has for the men whose work is discussed in Chapter VIII to X.

Not only the factual material but also the "method of his mind" makes this book important.

WALTER J. MILLARD

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Congested Areas

Investigation of Congested Areas. A Report of the Congested Areas Subcommittee of the Committee on Naval Affairs. Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1943. iv, 28 pp.

Constitutions

Speeches on the Constitution of New Jersey. By Governor Charles Edison. Trenton, N. J., 1943. 29 pp.

State of New Jersey, Proposed Revised Constitution (1944) Pending Before Joint Legislative Committee to Formulate a Draft of a Proposed Revised Constitution for the State of New Jersey Constituted under Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 1, Adopted

January 11, 1944. Trenton, New Jersey State Library, 1944. 26 pp.

County Government

County Government in Illinois.[1] By Clyde F. Snider. Springfield, Illinois Tax Commission, 1943. vii, 132 pp.

Municipal Government

Directory of Tennessee Municipal Officials. Knoxville, Governmental Reference Service, University of Tennessee, 1943. 43 pp. $1.

Personnel

Final General Summary of Public Employment in July 1943. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1944. 13 pp.

Political Activity of Public Officers and Employees. Laws and Rules Administered by the United States Civil Service Commission. Washington, D.C., Superintendent of Documents, 1942. 49 pp. 10 cents.

Public Service Recruitment in Australia. By R. S. Parker. Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1942. 296 pp. 10/-

Planning

A Selected Bibliography on Planning in South America. By Caroline Shillaber. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, Harvard University, 1944. 6 pp.

Police

Salary and Working Conditions of Police Patrolmen in 214 Major Cities. Basic Schedule, Step-rate Increases, Emergency Bonus Payments. Washington 6, D. C., The United States Conference of Mayors, 1943. 3 pages, tables.

Population

Population, Unincorporated Communities—United States, by States. Total Population of Unincorporated Communities Having 500 or More Inhabitants for Which Separate Figures Could be Compiled. By Bureau of the Census. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1943. 15 cents.

Regional Shifts in Population, Production, and Markets, 1939-43. By K. C. Stokes. Washington, D. C., Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Department of Commerce, 1943. 69 pp.

Postwar Planning

Farm People and the Land After the War. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1943. 26 pp. 25 cents.

It's Up to You. Clayton 5, Missouri, St. Louis County Planning Commission, 1943. 20 pp. illus.

Municipal Postwar Reserves. Legal Authorization for Such Reserves. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1944. 4 pp. 25 cents.

Postwar Highway Planning. A Selected List of Pamphlets, Books, and Articles. Washington 5, D. C., Automotive Safety Foundation, 1943. 18 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Recommendations Concerning the Finances of New York City. New York City, Committee of Fifteen, 1944. 18 pp.

Report on a Survey of the Financial Structure and Operations of the City of Newport, Rhode Island. New York 4, Norman S. Taber and Company, 1943. v, 60 pp.

Transportation

Intercity Buses at War. The Story of Highway Passenger Transportation. Washington 5, D. C., National Association of Bus Operators, 1944. 32 pp.

An Ordinance Providing for a Comprehensive Unified Local Transportation System for the City of Chicago and Its Metropolitan Area. Chicago, City Clerk. 95 pp.

Units of Government

Governmental Units in the United States: 1942 (Preliminary Summary). By Richard C. Spencer. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1944. 5 pp.[1]

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[1] For a review of this publication see p. 157, this issue.

[1] See also p. 144, this issue.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

What's Wrong with Our System?

Editorial

Louisiana Clings to Reform

Harlan W. Gilmore

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

Occupancy Taxes in Britain

Arthur Collins

Model County Faces Problems

Julian Cary Houseman

What Price City Government?

V. J. Wyckoff

Controversies between Cities and Organized Labor

H. M. Olmsted

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

What's Wrong with Our System?

MOST of us are pretty sure Hitler's opinion of democracy is wrong. Yet we are uncomfortably aware of serious faults in our system and we wish, albeit vaguely, we knew what to do to correct them. We sometimes think we WOULD do something about exercising our responsibilities as citizens—if only we had more time.

The place to begin to do something is in the primary cell of self-government—right in our own home town. How? First, by carefully examining public affairs and identifying the faults which need correction.

The distressing experience of one man who went from business to part-time public service in a small town is described in a letter he wrote to the National Municipal League. His penetrating observations on conditions which are all too common are set forth in the following excerpts:

> During my four years as supervisor of this township I have frequently felt doubt as to my own good judgment in my analysis of the functioning of democratic government in these small units of the state. This is largely prompted, I believe, by the apparent complacency of my associates in office. Is it possible that I alone expect too much?
>
> Taxpayers are always complaining, yet they return to office year after year the same personnel—usually those officials who say little, straddle the fence, and are all things to all men. With few exceptions the people's representatives are content with the status quo. Often this attitude is due, I think, to inability to understand the machinery of government. There is seemingly no premium on courage and competence.
>
> For many years I earned a substantial part of my livelihood through accounting—through attention to those smaller items influencing costs—and there are many of them in industry—which in the aggregate can mean profit or loss. It has been necessary to be thrifty. Thus, the disappointment and indignation from my recent contacts with county, township, and village government.
>
> Just how inefficiently we manage our common affairs is not apparent to many of our multitudinous jobholders. Their backgrounds leave little hope for much insight on their part. If their number could be reduced we would have an opportunity to make better choices and we would be encumbered with less dead wood in rebuilding as the times require.
>
> As in probably all other communities, we have some very nice people holding down public jobs. In their personal affairs they are honest and economical and outstanding citizens, but on civic bodies their standards of intellectual honesty and aggressiveness undergo changes of which, with great generosity, I will say they may not be fully conscious.
>
> As these boys grew into manhood and began to assume the so-called responsibilities of citizenship, they developed, perhaps reluctantly, an acceptance of the idea that there MUST be a considerable degree of these shortcomings—that it is part and parcel of democracy, that all this is "politics." They lack any broader understanding of the term than that it is a scramble for easy jobs in which conscientious workmanship is not expected.
>
> The great satisfaction some of our elected and appointed officials obtain from the title of their office, with so little to support that pride, is an inter-

esting commentary on human nature. Surely we should at least UNDERTAKE to make government a business and not a grab bag for supplementing private income.

If I could present some concrete plan the people would understand and appreciate, I might render my community a real service.

Study City Finance, Then Go into Action

(Editorial from *The Toledo Times*)

THERE is a human quality to city financing. It overspends, then plunges into a thrift drive, often pulling the purse strings too tight, then lets the spending roll again until we go far into debt.

The reason is obvious. Cities as a whole react as individuals because they are made of people. They spend too much and too little, never quite living exactly on their incomes.

There should be a sensible way in which to look at city finances.

Politicians love to spend. It is not that they wish to squander the people's money. Instead they really want to be efficient. But they must be elected. And they like to give the people all the city can buy with all of the money available, and all of the money they can borrow, to win the good will of the voters.

They want to remain in office, often not for their salaries but for the prominence and prestige attached to public office. So they buy improvements for the people—parks, repaved streets, public buildings, water systems, garbage disposal plants, sewer lines, and other usual municipal projects.

They are influenced by politics, or human behavior. This is well, in a way, because the citizens should be pleased by officeholders.

But officeholders overdo it. They spend too much. They borrow too much. They run up a debt against the taxpayers and leave that debt for later generations to pay. Toledo, for example, is so far in debt that about half the city's income goes to retire the city's debt. This means the city must operate at about half speed.

Toledo should have, as do many other cities, an independent, nonpolitical, research organization to study municipal costs and make sure we are getting full value for our taxes.

This organization should be highly respected by all citizens because it has nothing but common sense and thrift to sell.

Such an organization should be in a position to study impartially the model governments of the country and to recommend such improvements as the city's operating routine may need.

The services of such a research bureau should not end there. Digging up the information and getting it to the people are two separate problems. So there should be another kindred organization to educate and put recommended improvements into action.

This second organization would be political. There is no disputing this. But it is the only means whereby the impartial recommendations of a

(Continued on Page 178)

Louisiana Clings to Reform

New administration under "Jimmie" Davis pledges itself to continue policies initiated by Governor Sam H. Jones; many unsolved problems offer challenge to new executive.

By **HARLAN W. GILMORE**
Tulane University of Louisiana

CONTRARY to national press and magazine notices, the election of James Houston ("Jimmie") Davis as governor of Louisiana for the next four years indicates a great deal more than the mere approval of his hillbilly band and music. In fact, it was generally agreed in Louisiana that the issue was whether or not the state would return to the "liberal" government which characterized Louisiana from 1928 to 1940 or whether it would retain the "reform" government exemplified in the administration of Governor Sam H. Jones, whose term expires May 10, 1944.

Jimmy Davis' music was incidental; to most voters the issue was substantially the same as that in the last gubernatorial campaign (1940) when the "reform" elements of the state combined with other forces to elect Sam Houston Jones[1] over the heirs of the Huey P. Long machine led by then Governor Earl K. Long.[2] With the end of the first reform administration in two decades fast approaching, the writer has attempted to evaluate its contributions to the cause of better government in Louisiana and its failures.

Perhaps the greatest single achievement of the Jones administration[3] has been the change in the concept of government from an instrumentality of personal enrichment to one of public service.

It is not contended that all the members of the administration have been lily white in their motives nor that politics has been absent from the scene. Many appointments to key positions which should have been filled by professional administrators have gone to professional politicians instead. With rare exceptions, however, the state government has been largely free from dishonesty, graft, corruption, double-dipping, deadheading, and widespread use of the public treasury and public office as a means of personal profit. Those who had been on the "Louisiana Hayride" from 1928 to 1940 found that it was abruptly cut short, and although they fought Jones for four years at the polls, in the courts, and in the legislature, voters still turned them down in 1944.

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[1] See "It Won't Be Long Now!" by S. S. Sheppard, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April 1940, pp. 228-231.

[2] Louisiana Governors are prohibited from succeeding themselves. Governor Earl K. Long was eligible in 1940 because he was serving out the unexpired term of former Governor Richard W. Leche.

[3] As Louisiana has a one-party system, the term "Jones administration" is used in this article to identify those political leaders in both the executive and legislative departments who established and carried out state policies in the past four years.

Some of the more important concrete accomplishments of the past four years which promise permanent improvement are:

1. *Establishment of Merit System*

The spoils system developed in Louisiana during the Long regime equaled any ever developed by political machines in other states and municipalities. Few public employees in any jurisdiction—state, parish, or city—were free from pressure and political servitude if they were to retain their jobs. One of the most vicious of these was the system of "de-ducts" or forced contributions at fixed percentages of salaries received from the state or other public agency to the political slush fund.

The adoption and successful defense in the courts of comprehensive civil service systems for both the state and city of New Orleans give promise of a better type of civil servant for the future, and of even more importance, the restoration of reasonable economic security and the ordinary privileges of citizenship to the public employees.

2. *Administrative Reorganization*

For many years Louisiana was plagued by an administrative organization which virtually defied proper administrative control and direction. Numerous agencies for which the public holds a governor responsible were legally independent of executive control. The gap was bridged through a variety of political and patronage channels during the Long era. Jones sought to consolidate certain of these agencies and in general to establish a more orderly scheme of administrative organization.

An out-of-state group was employed in April 1940 to draft legislation for presentation to the legislature in May 1940, which would improve administrative structure and formalize lines of executive direction and control. The reorganization act and the accompanying fiscal code provided for a vastly improved organization; however, it was attempted in too short a period of time with the consequent omission of the deliberate consideration to which such far-reaching legislation was entitled. The result was almost disastrous for the Jones administration.

Validity of the legislation depended largely upon a constitutional proposal—or rather some forty constitutional proposals presented as one—which was approved by a narrow majority at the polls in November 1940. Immediately this and most of the other important legislation adopted in 1940 was tested in the courts by the group opposed to Jones. Shortly Louisiana was treated to the unique spectacle of having the constitutional amendment(s) upon which reorganization hinged declared unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court on the grounds that the legislature had not complied with constitutional requirements in submitting the proposition to the people. Reorganization was stopped abruptly in 1941 midway of the process of installation.

Most of the objectives of this ill-fated legislation were subsequently incorporated in a series of individual acts adopted by the legislature in

1942. However, numerous desirable objectives had to be foregone due to constitutional limitations. In general, the administrative machinery of the state has been substantially improved; but the compromises forced in the legislature left many rough spots which will continue to be a source of difficulty to the chief executive.

3. *Fiscal Reorganization*

Prior to 1940 the state had a highly decentralized system of financial administration. Budget requests were made by spending agencies without an opportunity for effective review by the governor. Appropriation committees were forced to rely largely upon their own personal knowledge or that supplied by the spending unit for information as to the needs of the agency. Once made, appropriations became the authorization for the treasurer to make monthly payments to the agencies without opportunity to weigh changes in circumstances and requirements during the biennium. No centralized purchasing, pre-auditing, or other financial controls, except a quite delayed post-audit, existed.

The situation was further complicated by the existence of an ex-officio Board of Liquidation of the State Debt composed of chief elective state officials who were empowered to make additional appropriations, transfer balances, incur debt, and otherwise adjust the financial affairs of the state as it deemed necessary.

As already indicated the first fiscal code adopted in 1940 was thrown out by the courts in 1941; however, a second code adopted in 1942 has been sustained. It provides for a Department of Finance in which budgeting, accounting, purchasing, and pre-audit for most state agencies is concentrated. This department has begun to function effectively and now appears to have eliminated the favoritism and graft which characterized so much of the period from 1936-1939. The executive budgets being presented to the legislature biennially now afford both the legislature and the public an opportunity to evaluate trends in state finances.

Unfortunately, the Board of Liquidation's powers were not abolished and fiscal administration continued to be upset by this Board which made loans and appropriations freely. These powers continued until upset by the Bureau of Governmental Research of New Orleans in court action in 1944.

4. *Reduction of State Debt*

Much of the cost of the "Louisiana Hay-ride" was saddled upon the shoulders of the next generation through abnormal expansion of the state's bonded debt. Debt of the state and its principal agencies, exclusive of the Port of New Orleans, rose from $14,201,000 in 1928, to $147,542,000 in 1940. Although the Jones administration issued long term bonds and notes to the extent of some $9,320,000, it has retired $14,924,980 of bonded and some $6,000,000 of floating debt which existed at June 30, 1940. The debt situation is still not a healthy one; but the improvement has been substantial.

5. *Improved Election Procedures*

Plain and fancy vote-stealing in Louisiana, particularly in New Orleans, has characterized many an election in the state's history, and even was the determining factor in the election of one United States president. Complicating the situation have been several antiquated election laws.

Steps were taken early in the Jones administration to improve the situation by: (1) compulsory use of mechanical voting machines in New Orleans with optional use elsewhere in the state; (2) repealing acts requiring that the voter possess two poll "tax" certificates in addition to his registration certificate when presenting himself to vote (the tax part of the "poll tax" had been repealed in 1934 but the certificate requirement lingered on as it aided in eliminating the independent voter who failed in either of the two years next preceding an election to secure the poll tax certificate in addition to his registration certificate); and (3) providing for more equitable representation of competing factions at the polls on election day.

6. *Attention to Economic Problems*

One of the more important personal contributions of Governor Jones to the permanent progress of the state has been the setting of the stage for more intelligent economic development along several interrelated lines, both during the war period and afterwards. In many respects he has become the state's foremost champion of diversified agriculture and its corollary, industrial development. He has likewise emphasized the development of the potentialities offered by a greatly expanded Latin American trade relationship.

7. *New Orleans Port Commission*

To a very substantial degree, the economic life of Louisiana is inextricably tied to the successful operation of the port of New Orleans. A high degree of politicalization of the Port Commission prior to 1940 had created a general lack of confidence on the part of many firms engaged in international trade. This, coupled with the keen competition from other up and coming Gulf ports, particularly Mobile and Houston, indicated that unless drastic steps were taken to restore confidence in the management of the port and to bring about an enlightened policy in port affairs, the flow of commerce through New Orleans would be discouraged rather than encouraged.

To overcome this condition, appropriate legislative and constitutional action was taken, guaranteeing that the port's management would be in the hands of men appointed from nominations made by leading trade and commercial associations in New Orleans. Citizens of the highest calibre have been induced to accept positions upon the reorganized commission, and present indications point to a more active trade through the port under this intelligent leadership.

8. *Reorganization of University*

During the Long era, Louisiana State University became the focal point of much of the infection which later led to the downfall of the machine. Public confidence in the institution suffered greatly and the university was threatened with suspension from some of the more important educational associations.

By constitutional amendment and appropriate enabling legislation, the University Board of Supervisors was reconstituted and given substantial freedom from both executive and legislative control. Also, the faculty was given an opportunity for increased participation in the more important decisions regarding several phases of University management. Under this legislation the groundwork is being laid for a vastly improved educational institution in the postwar world.

Other Improvements

Space does not permit elaboration upon several other important improvements brought about during the four years. Briefly, these have included substantially increased budgets for public welfare recipients, large increases in funds allocated to public schools, repeal of many of the dictatorship laws whereby the state government held the whip hand over parish and municipal governments, abolition of the practice of placing legislators upon state payrolls in order to control their vote during legislative sessions, refraining from interference in the functioning of the state judiciary, and abolition of election payroll padding which in 1940 cost taxpayers $1,100,000 in New Orleans alone.

Shortcomings

These strides toward improved government have not been made without some discouraging failures:

1. Inadequate Executive Coördination

Observers both inside and outside the official administration family are agreed that, particularly in the early years of his term, the Governor did not give adequate executive direction to the day-to-day functioning of the state's government. This failure arose from several factors: (1) The personal background of Governor Jones as a practicing attorney had not afforded him an opportunity to develop as an executive; (2) the most gruelling type of campaign for election followed immediately by a difficult legislative session and an active public campaign for endorsement of administration-sponsored constitutional amendments sapped the the vitality of Jones and put him in ill health temporarily; and (3) several strong administration leaders who were also heads of departments discouraged the development of a well integrated policy emanating from the Governor's office.

These factors together with the unusually small staff which is assigned to the Governor's office (a secretary, an executive counsel, and a clerk and stenographers) resulted in decentralization of much policy determination to the departmental level. Also the Governor was without adequate facilities to determine whether a policy laid down by him to department heads was actually being followed.

Experience as governor tended to develop latent executive qualities in Jones and some improvement was noted during the last year of his administration, yet the staff necessary to the proper functioning of the governor's office was never provided.

2. *Public Relations Unsatisfactory*

Throughout his administration, Jones had the benefit of an almost united press in Louisiana behind him. This helped to offset wide disfavor incurred during the first year of the administration through needless blunders committed by the Governor's office in the handling of correspondence and conferences. Often letters would go unanswered for weeks or even months and callers at times cooled their heels for hours on end due to poor scheduling of conferences. This type of treatment by the Governor's office created great disaffection among many who had contributed generously of both time and money to bring him into office.

3. *Lack of Positive Program in State Institutions*

Various mental and correctional institutions of the state were in a deplorable condition at the time the Jones administration took office. In many instances inmates were being exploited for the personal benefit of certain state employees. Steps were taken to eliminate most of the abuses which had for many decades characterized some of these institutions.

One of the major shortcomings of the administration, however, appears to lie in its failure to develop positive programs of rehabilitation for inmates of these institutions. Late in the administration the Governor realized the need for further development in these programs and appointed a lay committee to make recommendations in that direction.

4. *Politics over Competence*

From time to time during the administration some exceedingly poor appointments were made to positions which should have been staffed by professionally competent personnel. Although civil service laws were adopted in 1940, they did not become fully effective until 1943. It was during this period that many positions were filled without regard to desirable qualifications—particularly in some higher paid jobs. For example, in the appointment of one assessor in New Orleans, citizens found that the appointee knew absolutely nothing about assessing. In fact, when interrogated concerning his ideas on certain assessing problems, the standard reply to all questions was "If anybody wants an assessment reduced he will have to come in person—none of that attorney stuff."

In summary, the Jones administration has done much to improve the formal aspects of the administration and provide for more logical organization and procedures and to improve the financial condition of the state. On the debit side there seems to have been little imagination displayed in the organization of new programs beyond those relating to better administrative organization and procedures. For example, early in the administration the need for new and revised educational programs was recognized in the creation of a Louisiana Educational Survey Commission. However, the report of this Commission has tended to be filed without appropriate action to carry major recommendations into effect.

Dictatorships such as that which Louisiana experienced from 1928 to

(Continued on Page 191)

Occupancy Taxes in Britain

Three centuries of experience with taxes paid by tenant on rental values leave British generally content with steadiness of tax, assessment practices, low delinquency.

By **ARTHUR COLLINS**
Financial Advisor to Public Authorities
London, England

THE United States Treasury's Committee on Inter-Governmental Fiscal Relations has suggested occupancy taxes as a substitute for—or a supplement to—taxation ad valorem on real estate.

This present contribution is forthcoming from one who has some knowledge acquired during twenty years of acquaintance at first hand with local political units in the United States and who has only recently been once again a guest of the American people in their own cities, wherein, as always, he was made so welcome and the recipient of so much kindness and good will.

It is in the light of this knowledge of American local taxation, coupled with a life-long experience with the British "rating" system, that the writer now endeavors to survey some of the essential features of the British system of local taxation. The purpose is to inform and not to teach any lesson for, as all sensible Britons realize, the American people know their own business best and need no instruction from an uppish Englishman.

The first—and perhaps fundamental—difference between the American and the British systems of collecting funds for city management expenses is that the American local tax is charged on real estate, while the British local "rate" is charged on the individual, the business firm, or the corporation occupying real estate.

The British system, like most of our practices in public and private business, is closely linked with history or tradition. The British mind is nowhere near so responsive to new ideas as the American. A change in business practice, which in the United States would be made by a stroke of the pen, would in Great Britain be the subject of long debate and solemn examination, the outcome of a conservative turn of mind. If anybody in Great Britain says that "such and such a thing has been done for generations," the natural reaction is, "Why change it?" On the other hand, from my experience, the American attitude of mind is well expressed by the remark recently made by the head of one of the most extensive corporations in the United States—the General Electric, speaking from memory—who said that if a business was being conducted in these times as it was five years ago, it was going wrong.

Now these apparently irrelevant comments really lie at the root of the subject we are considering—the raising of local levies for public communal activities in our two countries, for the British system is now nearly 350 years old and, though it has been attacked many times, we still "hold the [Elizabethan] line," for it was in the reign of Good Queen Bess that the English local rating system was established. It has stood its ground, not because it is ideal—indeed, in some ways it is illogical, a patchwork of legislation and of decisions handed down in the courts of law.

On the face of it, taxing rules established in the year 1601 have to be mighty elastic to meet the requirements of 1944, and this elasticity has been derived not so much from changes in the law as from verdicts of courts of law ranging from such subordinate tribunals as local Quarter Sessions to the Supreme Court—the law members of the House of Lords. In ways which are the despair of the logical French or the methodical Germans, we adapt the old principle of occupancy value to every conceivable kind of real estate, and somehow or other, although the plan ought really not to work, it does. Nothing which has been suggested to displace it, or radically to alter it, has ever succeeded in establishing itself in Parliament or public opinion, and as far as anyone can see, it is likely to keep its place for a long while yet.

Rental Values—Real and Notional

The British measure of value to which reference has been made is a rental value, artificially computed as often it must be, but nevertheless either a real or a notional rental value arrived at in many cases by judgment rather than by formula, but computed somehow. The taxable value is the rental value, and each occupier is liable for it as long as he is legally the tenant of any real estate. There are, of course, exceptions and qualifications in and surrounding this simple expression of the basic principle of English rating, and some of the more important of these will be mentioned later. In so doing where the word "rate" or "rating" is employed it will be understood that this British designation is the equivalent of the real estate tax collected by units of local government in the United States.

The British system originated in a law passed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, which imposed upon the inhabitants of each of the then political units of local government, known as "parishes," the liability to maintain its own poor in displacement of previous arrangements, almost feudal in their character, which left the poor and their maintenance at the mercy of the local lord or in the hands of the Church, or the charitable amongst the property-owning class.

The inhabitants so made liable were not, it need scarcely be said, children or other obviously inappropriate subjects of taxation but those heads of families or of the businesses of those days who came within this description: "Every inhabitant, parson, vicar, and other occupier of lands, houses, tithes impropriate or propriations of tithes, coal mines, or saleable underwoods."

The cost of maintaining the poor was estimated for a forthcoming term —usually half-yearly—the rental values of all those "rateable" were totted up and the estimated cost was divided amongst them in proportion to their respective rental values.

So it is today, for all expenses of the elaborate program of local public services entrusted by Parliament to the governing bodies in charge of public affairs of counties, cities, towns and villages.

How then is this system applied in modern times? First, let us consider the ascertainment of occupation—or rental—values. A general picture of the system is much more likely to be useful than the scrutiny of the complexities which are inseparable from it. The commencing point is what is known as the "gross value," which is defined in an act called the Rating and Valuation Act, 1925, section 68, as follows:

> Gross value means the rent at which a hereditament might reasonably be expected to let from year to year if the tenant undertook to pay all usual tenant's rates and taxes, and if the landlord undertook to bear the cost of the repairs and insurance, and other expenses, if any, necessary to maintain the hereditament in a state to command that rent.

Do not be misled by this date 1925. It is due to the fact that in that year Parliament consolidated quite a number of laws in various acts of Parliament bearing on the subject and brought them within the compass of one statute. Fundamentally no change was made in the basic principle embodied in the statute of Elizabeth dated 1601.

From the gross value a deduction is made according to a scale contained in the act of 1925, which is reckoned as nearly as may be to represent the amount which the real estate owner, as the landlord, would have to spend year by year in order to keep the property in such a state as to enable it to yield to the landlord a rent equal to the gross value.

The scale of deductions from gross value to arrive at the taxable or ratable value is standardized to simplify the process of appraisement as far as possible. It will be obvious that experience in the cost of keeping any particular property in such a state of repair as to make it worth a rent equal to the gross value, must differ and, perhaps, differ considerably as between one property and another. The value of a simplified and standardized scale is, however, deemed to be worth while, in preference to a separate analysis of the cost of maintaining each parcel of real estate, in a class presenting fewest of the complications—properties such as houses, shops, and what one might call ordinary properties for which a rental value actually passing between a landlord and tenant is ascertainable on the facts, or for which there is no difficulty in judging what the rental value would be, as, for instance, in the case of an owner-tenant occupying a home practically the same as a neighboring property let for rent.

Predominance of True Rentals

In an average town it may be accepted that the taxable value, as measured by an actual or an analogous rental, including most homes, shops, apartment houses, and so on, would comprise between 80 and 90 per cent of the total number of the valuations. The rental values in normal times, as demonstrated by the rents actually payable and collected by the various real estate owners, are quite steady over a course of years. It would take too long to recite the various circumstances and causes of variations in the rental value of an ordinary home in an ordinary town in Great Britain, but the index entries in text books on the technical aspects of this subject would include:

> The rate of interest a real estate owner might expect to derive from his investment in the property, related as it usually is to the earning power of money in a care-free investment like a government bond;
>
> The general state of trade in the city, with wider margins of rental ranges for good and bad times in the towns with a single or greatly-predominant industry, than in towns supported by mixed enterprises with a better diversity factor;
>
> The gradual appreciation or deterioration in the character of a district as its principal features change from, let us say, residential to commercial or industrial, which may lower the value of homes round about, but increase the rental value of the area as commercial buildings replace deteriorating houses;
>
> The impact of newer and outer-area homes upon the values of old types of homes nearer the center of gravity of the town's life;
>
> And last, but by no means least, deterioration due to lack of care and attention to the property by an absentee or indifferent real estate owner.

Taken all in all, however, these factors, of which not many bear simultaneously on the taxable rental values, do not except in rare instances lead to rapid or extensive rises and falls in the aggregate rental values of a city, town, or village. Some of those factors cancel out, and such increases and decreases as may take place in the total valuation roll containing value figures of a political unit, are more often due to a city or town overflowing its legal boundaries as the population spreads over the neighboring countryside, and leaves for a while a surplus of accommodation or a deteriorating type of accommodation within the city limits.

Steadiness, in fact, might be regarded as the key word upon which the British system of founding local taxes upon rental values relies. That it has a better chance of finding reliance upon it warranted by experience in Great Britain than it could have in the United States is in the writer's opinion, beyond doubt. To say so is not to imply that occupancy value taxation is, therefore, an inappropriate or otherwise unsatisfactory plan for American cities. It may be or it may not, but this decision must be left to the American people, who know best.

Less Applicable to States

If anyone asks the present writer what are the reasons which in his opinion make the British system more effectively applicable in Great Britain than in the States, the answer would be that in normal times, which we must assume will return some day, there is not that volume of migration from state to state or from city to city in Great Britain, following the course of industries much less fluid in Great Britain than in the United States, fluidity which has been such a notable feature of the history of many American local political units. Secondly, the rapid rate of growth of so many American communities has left a core—derelict blocks, blighted areas of various kinds—which though not rotten, has been unsuitable for retention as a civic center and downtown district. Hence it has been torn down and not infrequently rebuilt upon a scale visionary or speculative, as proved by the contrast between values in trade booms and trade slumps. And thirdly, if more illustrations be needed, rapid accumulation of family wealth and small fortunes in good times succeeded by collapses in bad times is an element much more pronounced in the States, where, without being tempted to digress into the realms of speculation about social equality, the writer believes that the number of business men becoming million-dollar men is much greater than in Great Britain. These ups and downs in the States result in unsteadiness in values both of real estate and the rentals obtainable from it.

It would, however, be interesting to see the results of research illustrated by curves showing variations in rentals in any American city over a course of years, alongside the variations in capital values upon which real estate taxation for local purposes in the United States is imposed. Upon this point the writer is quite incompetent to formulate any opinion but one would be pretty safe, would he not, in saying that in Great Britain the divergencies between the two curves would not be nearly as wide—or even as dramatic—as in "an average American city"—if such a one there be?

Limitations in time and space bar the writer from considering or examining the legal powers which may or may not be necessary in any state to clothe the city government with the necessary powers to effect such a substitution in whole or in part. Some real estate owner friends informed the writer that the local assessors—in Illinois at any rate—would not need any new legal powers from the State Capitol to enable them to tax on rental values, for, according to them, it was competent for an assessor to adopt one basis or the other—capital ad valorem or rental—provided he was convinced that it was just so to do and provided also that there was not differentiation in principle or practice between the treatment handed out to all classes of taxpayers on a like kind of real estate.

Anyone who reads this contribution will know whether this opinion is or is not well founded in his own state, but as a visitor, passing—perhaps not without a touch of impertinence—an opinion of his own, it would seem more difficult to obtain special powers from any State Capitol to tax on occupation values than it would be to prevail upon the local assessors to adopt this system where it is within their power already to do so if they think fit.

Notional Rental Values

Before closing this review of the conditions favorable or unfavorable to the occupancy tax plan, it should be pointed out that many criticisms of the British system which the writer has heard and read have got the picture out of perspective by dwelling disproportionately upon what one might call the notional or artificial occupancy values of many types of real estate common both to America and to Great Britain. Many of these cases to which American real estate owners or occupiers opposed to the British plan, and tax assessors who think it unworkable, refer, are not cases where the word "artificial" should be prefixed to the words "occupancy value." It seems to be by no means uncommon, even for some good American judges of taxation systems, to suppose that there are so many properties in Great Britain for which a rental value has to be calculated artificially that the system amounts mostly to guesswork.

In this connection properties have been mentioned such as banks, blocks of commercial offices, chain stores, and other non-residential establishments of the owner-occupier class. In fact it is rare to find in any of these categories any necessity to resort to guesswork. So many facets of other real estate valuations where rental passes reflect upon the occupation values in these owner-occupier cases as to present both the assessor and the taxpayer with pretty solid evidence of what a rental value would be.

The records of British appeal cases (for recourse to courts of law is freely available to any taxpayer contesting an assessor's figure) would prove that relatively few are the valuations of owner-occupier real estate rentals which become acutely controversial and require judicial proceedings to settle. Circumstantial evidence in these respects, as also in many industrial plant cases, is at least as strong as visible evidence of rental values, just as it is of crime. There is no bogey here.

Special Types of Real Estate

There are, however, certain classes of real estate which do require artificial computation of rental value, and among these may be named great industrial plants, railways, electricity, gas and water undertakings, docks, and so on. The values in most of these instances, according to verdicts handed down by the highest courts in Great Britain, have to be ascertained by reference to the profits of the business. The net earnings are ascertained as matters of fact, and allocated as between the real estate owner, notionally separated from the occupier, and the occupier, respectively—the technical expression is "the hypothetical tenant." He is allowed out of the net earnings provision for interest on his (tenant's) capital investment for his profit-earning capacity, and for his risks, making a cumulative percentage (1) on his capital employed, or (2) on the net earnings—percentages gauged by many court judgments and by long experience with skilled assessors on each side of the table. This allowance, called "the tenant's share," is subtracted from the net earnings, and the balance is the occupation value, representing a notional rent payable to a notional real estate owner. Properties running over many local government political units, such as public utilities or railways, have their valuations divided amongst the several areas in which they are taxable by various formulae, which—loosely and briefly stated—comprise a percentage charge upon the capital investment in each area, plus a fractional share—based on the local business volume—of the balance of the net earnings, together attributed to rental. The aggregate valuations are termed "the cumulo value," as first ascertained on the profits basis. This "cumulo" is apportioned to each local government unit in that way.

And finally it should be remarked that great commercial undertakings are in a class by themselves, not assessed upon a profits basis as a rule. To some extent there is an element introduced here which does employ a capital valuation upon what is called "the theory of a contractor's return upon capital." It must be admitted that it is complicated, because machinery enters into the question as well as buildings and machinery by itself, like all personal property, is not taxable. Machinery, however, which is sometimes as much a part of the structure of the buildings for the purposes of the business as the structure itself, is judicially held to enhance the occupation value of the premises. Thus a building complete with internal overhead traction gear would have a higher occupation value than the same building unprovided with such gear.

The assessor then says (how difficult it is to express these considerations even loosely with brevity): "What has been the capital cost of these buildings, and what would a contractor erecting them expect to get for his enterprise if he had built them for rent?" It is not to be supposed that he would have been willing to lay out his money without at least deriving from it earnings such as he could have drawn upon an investment of the same amount of money in government bonds.

To that extent there is measurable an annual rental value, and by how much that amount must be increased, having regard to the nature of the business, the supply and demand for such premises, the value of the site, the amount of tenant's capital required to run the business, etc., or decreased if the building is ornate, or badly designed, etc., is to be ascertained upon the facts of each case.

These things are highly controversial, but nevertheless valuations on properties of this kind are numerous if they amount to five out of every hundred valuations of real estate in a city, and the number of disputed valuations which have to be determined by the intervention of courts of law is well below one in the said 5 per cent. Imaginary though some of these valuations may be, they are nearly always solvent by the application of the experience of competent assessors serving the taxing authorities on the one part and the taxpayer on the other. Since 1929 certain industrial properties of business corporations are taxed only on one-fourth of the standard rate payable by all other taxpayers, and agricultural land is not taxed at all.

Delinquency

It remains now to consider one or two further aspects of the British system of local taxation on occupancy value bases which may be regarded as vital, and in marked contrast to American practice. As already stated, all local taxes are levied not upon the real estate owners but upon the occupiers, except for very small homes where the real estate owner pays the taxes and collects them as a supplement to the real rent, partly by law making the owner liable and partly by the voluntary agreement of the owner with the taxing authority at the option of the former, where it suits his requirements in meeting the needs of his tenants.

The local tax being levied upon the occupier, the taxing authority, in the event of delinquency, has recourse only to the occupier's estate, and finds its remedy in the appropriation by foreclosure of the occupier's furniture and other contents of the building he occupies if he fails to meet his dues out of his cash resources. In cases of deliberate default, and the removal of the goods prior to foreclosure, to escape appropriation, the occupier can be brought before a local law court to show cause why he should not be committed to prison, but to bring about other "distraint" (i.e. confiscation of his goods and chattels), or committal to gaol, the court has to be satisfied that the right remedy is being applied and is justified on the facts of the case. Local tax delinquency in Great Britain is so small as almost to be negligible. A loss of one per cent of the taxes by delinquents would almost amount to a scandal.

Moreover, the tax is payable only for the period of occupation, and therefore a vacant property pays no taxes in England and Wales. In Scotland, approximately half the local tax is assessed on the owner—and he covers it by his rents—and the other half upon the tenant, the owner's half being paid or payable whether the property is occupied or not, upon the ground that such services as the maintenance of carriageways and sidewalks, sewers, street lighting and cleaning, police and fire brigade protection, and so on, are maintained for the protection of the property whether it is occupied or not.

The supporters and critics of the Scottish system, in so far as they express themselves in England and Wales, are about equally divided. In the latter countries, however, it follows that a real estate owner can never be deprived of his property for tax delinquency if he is deriving no rent or uneconomic rent from the premises, and if he was the owner-occupier, he is likewise assured of the possession of his property without taxation or confiscation.

Throughout Great Britain there is no separate valuation of the site and the buildings upon it, and if a site is void of property, it pays no local taxation. There are those who argue that this system enables a greedy landowner to evade his dues and even to hold the public up to ransom by withholding his land from development until its market value has risen to his price level. On the other hand, it is contended that one has only to look at the cost to the tax levying unit of acquiring land and tearing down the old buildings upon it to create an open space or "lung" in a congested area, to see that if an owner retains an open space at his expense in the absence of rental, he is cutting off his nose to spite his face, or to enjoy the pleasure of extending his five fingers from the same facial feature in the direction of the community. Wherein truth lies in this respect, who can tell?

Special Assessments

The system of special assessments may also be mentioned briefly, and then this tale is ended. Special assessments are quite few in number in Great Britain, and not nearly so much in vogue as they are in the States. The cost of constructing roads for the development of vacant land is divided among the real estate owners according to frontage, and is either to be paid up by the land-owner on the completion of the job under a prefixed legal contract, or is payable by him in seven years' installments, the real estate owner in those cases giving a charge upon his property as security.

In British conditions this is effective as a check upon an excess of undeveloped lots laid out at public expense. Similar considerations apply to the provision of sewers and electric, gas or water mains. An occupation permit for the property will not be granted by the local council or commissioners unless the lot developer has provided or paid for the roads and so on. Electricity, gas and water mains are not laid until the lot developer has paid for them, and the installment plan is not favored here. In short, it would be almost impossible for any British city to be burdened heavily by undeveloped lots upon which public funds have been expended, in anticipation of recovery by special assessments or improvement taxes, followed by delinquency.

Conclusion

So in matters of valuation or assessment, of the retention of a real estate owner's interest in his property without risk of confiscation, in the reduction of delinquent taxes to amounts really nominal in total, and in the protection of the community from deficits on speculative lot development, British cities and towns seem to have found in their own way a steady and safe financial plan. (No city, county, or town has ever defaulted on its bonds.) That the taxing system works well over here, notwithstanding—or perhaps because of—its antiquity, is in the opinion of most Britishers beyond doubt. It is not without its signs, in the present as in the past, of development by a process of trial and error, but perhaps in the management of human communal affairs in great congregations of people, it is only by trial and error, rather than by formula, that progress in the search for a satisfactory local taxation system is likely to be achieved.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

(Continued from Page 163)

capable research bureau could be passed on to the voters.

Candidates could adopt the recommendations of the research bureau and put them in political platforms. When the candidates are elected, they could put into force the principles of real, long-range economy—not spending too little or too much but weighing the actual value of improvements above their influence in getting votes for their officeholding sponsors.

It would seem that the research bureau and the organization for political action, if in reputable hands, would solve many of Toledo's financial headaches and would remove much of the elasticity in human desire in municipal improvements.

Such a plan for stabilizing city financing deserves study. It is not new. Many cities have it and have made tremendous strides. There is no reason Toledo should not likewise profit from such sensible study and plan of action.

Model County Faces Problems

Annexation of some of its richest tax-yielding territory by Richmond brings Henrico fresh difficulties to solve; but efficiency of manager plan may bear fruit in the city.

By **JULIAN CARY HOUSEMAN**
Richmond (Virginia) News Leader

HENRICO County, Virginia, which has gained fame as one of the seven counties in the United States operating under county manager government, had hardly recovered from its manager plan growing pains when it faced a sterner test. More than eight square miles of Henrico's richest tax-yielding area were lost to Richmond, an adjacent city, through annexation.

The annexation decree was handed down by the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals in June 1941 and became effective January 1, 1942. The Court's decision ceded to Richmond 47 per cent of Henrico's taxable values, including the rich Westhampton section where the manager plan movement was born. It reduced the county's area to about 240 square miles and its population to 30,000 persons. The county retained 80 per cent of its school population but lost were five schools including a large modern high school, a $450,000 sewerage system, some 13,000 citizens, and parts of every magisterial district.

The manager plan of government, which had brought 42 per cent more services at a 3 per cent reduction in cost over the old form of government, now had to uphold this improvement with a greatly depleted income. For the present progress has been slight, due to the war, but the real story of how Henrico's manager plan of government will stand the test lies in the program for postwar development.

Residential areas already are sprouting beyond the boundaries of the extended city lines into Henrico County. Real estate values have been increased by several million dollars by the new homes built prior to the war. Immediately after hostilities cease these subdivisions will be brought into newly created sanitary districts for the purpose of providing sewerage and water systems, trash and garbage collections, and other services that the taxpayers desire.

Wartime restrictions have retarded the growth and development of the subdivisions, but these same restrictions also have provided county officials with an opportunity to catch their collective breaths, survey the annexation problem, and lay plans for the future. A master plan of development is already on paper and the treasury holds a cash surplus large enough to start the program.

Since annexation the Board of Supervisors, the four-man governing body, has not seen fit to make the necessary tax adjustments to bring the budget back into balance. For the past two years a small part of the county's surplus has been used to supplement tax income. The present basic levy is $1.08 per $100. Of this levy one dollar is used to finance the school system, while eight cents is used for general government expenditures. The actual cost of the general government is 30 cents and it is this difference that has been appropriated from the surplus. This is the first time the county has not lived within its budget since the manager plan was installed in 1934.

To Balance the Budget

County Manager Carlton C. Massey has recommended a tax readjustment plan to bring the budget back into balance and put the county on an even financial keel by the end of the war. The budget for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1944, will call for expenditures totaling slightly more than $1,000,000. Mr. Massey explained that the county revenues have now leveled off and his tax recommendations are necessary to guard the surplus, which money will be needed after the war. Even with this tax readjustment, which will bring the county's basic levy to $1.30 per $100, Henrico will remain among the five counties in Virginia with the lowest tax rates.

The only good in the evil of annexation was that Richmond was forced to assume $713,162 of the county's total bonded indebtedness and pay $250,000 for the physical properties taken. Henrico now has only $338,210 indebtedness, all in non-callable bonds which fall due annually until 1965. The bonds were issued for improvements in sanitary and school districts and sinking funds have been created to retire them annually.

Since its installation in Henrico in 1934, the manager plan of government has slashed delinquent taxes to less than 10 per cent while improving current collections to beyond 92 per cent. This would become a twice-told tale if the writer were to reiterate other improvements made by the manager plan. The Virginia General Assembly has just passed a bill which will permit the county to install a personnel merit system.

Mr. Massey is Henrico's third manager in ten years. Willard F. Day, its first manager, had the job of installing the plan of government, "selling" it to die-hard opponents, and putting the county on a sound fiscal basis. This job done, he accepted a call to the federal government and turned over his office to Sterry J. Mahaffey, who left the position of town manager of Franklin, Virginia. Mr. Mahaffey immediately saw the need of a planning engineer and employed one. After annexation he put into effect a small reorganization program of the county's departments. Generally, however, he followed the course set by his predecessor. He was appointed city manager of Durham, North Carolina, last November and Henrico reached to Salem, Virginia, for Town Manager Massey, a 36-year-old engineer.

The most expensive department in the county is the school system which embraces 26 schools and provides 31 school bus routes and buses to transport 5,442 white and Negro pupils. The 208 teachers receive an average income of nearly $1,200 annually with white and Negro teachers receiving equal salaries. School expenditures account for more than $500,000 of the current budget of $972,196.

The general fund expenditures of $469,000 include grants from the state and federal governments as well as local taxes and license fees. This money is used to finance a ten-man police department, a trial justice court, a department of finance, a county jail, a department of public works, a health department, a circuit court, and a department of agriculture and home economics.

Postwar Plans

Sanitary district lines have been drawn in several of the new thickly populated areas of the county and citizens have authorized a postwar bond issue to provide utilities. Civic associations in other sections are circulating petitions requesting creation of sanitary districts in their areas. Referenda will be called for a bond issue vote. Under this sanitary district system citizens can authorize utilities construction in their respective areas. When the bonds are issued the area becomes a separate taxing district and citizens living outside of the district do not have to pay for the services of their neighbors.

Among postwar plans is the construction of a new jail on a 60-acre county-owned farm. Prisoners will then be able to work on the farm and produce food for themselves as well as for the unfortunates listed on the relief rolls. The farm house on this land has been remodeled and is now used to house the police, welfare, and health departments. The present jail which adjoins the courthouse is to be remodeled to provide office space.

The program calls for the construction of one large high school and at least two elementary schools to replace those lost by annexation. The recreation program, which was started before the war, calls for playgrounds to be operated at virtually every school during summer months. These playgrounds are to be equipped with lighting systems and softball diamonds for the organization of county leagues. The county now operates six playgrounds but this number is inadequate.

Other improvements include incinerators for trash and garbage disposal, a police radio transmitter system and two-way radios for all police cars and fire equipment, replacement of worn equipment, community libraries, and beautification of county buildings.

Henrico is among the few counties in Virginia that maintain their own highways. There are 378 miles of county-owned roads. Materials for these roads are produced at a county-owned sand and gravel plant which processes gravel at 35 per cent of the commercial cost. There is no county road tax. The money to finance the highway system comes from the state-collected gasoline tax which is earmarked for road expenditures only. The postwar road program proposes the beautification and modernization of highways. There is little money budgeted for the purchase of rights-of-ways as the property is usually given to the county by citizens. Some bridges must be replaced and many miles of roads must be resurfaced.

Where will the money come from to finance this man-sized rebuilding plan? It has been explained how taxpayers finance the extra services in the sanitary districts by assessments beyond the basic levy. For instance citizens of one of the present sanitary districts pay an extra 30 cents for water, sewerage disposal, street lights, fire protection, and textbooks for school children. Henrico has a surplus of $300,000 all of it saved up by the county's manager government, another $100,000 in earmarked roads and sinking fund investments which may become available for improvement programs.

Citizens Kept Informed

The county has always operated on a pay-as-you-go basis. No financial secrets are kept from the taxpayers. The citizens are given opportunity to be heard before taxes are increased or money is borrowed. A financial statement is prepared monthly and distributed to county residents. Henrico is now operating on a budget based upon 92 per cent collection of taxes imposed, a virtually unheard of practice in other counties in the United States. The tax income has increased slightly since annexation became effective and prospects of regaining a considerable amount of the taxable values lost after the war appear bright.

John Citizen in Henrico knows at all times what his assessment is. Each piece of real estate is described on a card at the courthouse and the file also carries a picture of each house in the county. Real estate is taxed at 45 per cent of a fair market value and this tax is about one-third less than Richmonders pay. This fact has caused many of the city taxpayers to cast longing glances at a Henrico bill.

Richmonders are beginning to talk about the manager form of government and there's a small group of citizens in the recently annexed Westhampton section which is keeping that talk alive.

Some six years ago the Richmond City Council was asked to adopt an amendment to the charter that would permit a referendum on a new plan of city government. Proponents of this measure advocated a unicameral council in place of Richmond's old-fashioned bicameral system. The bill was defeated after strong opposition by the then mayor.

Recently the City Council was again asked to amend the charter to permit a referendum. This time advocates voiced favorable attitude toward the city manager form of government. Again the measure was defeated, but only after a close fight.

In that rich tax-yielding Westhampton area still lives the group of citizens that organized the movement to install the manager plan in Henrico. This group is made up of men, successes in their chosen professions, who seldom seek office. They are staunch advocates of strong, economical, and efficient government.

Yes, it could be that Richmond, in seeking to swell its tax coffers, has annexed a political hornet's nest. A nest of civic-minded men who advocate streamlined, economical, and efficient government.

Or it could be that the words of one of the three trial judges who decreed annexation in 1941 are ringing in the ears of Richmond citizens. This jurist said: "It was shocking to learn that Richmond . . . retained the outmoded, fossilized bicameral councilmanic form of city government."

Already some political observers predict that the mayor who takes office in Richmond in September 1944 will be the last to serve under the bicameral councilmanic government.

Anyhow, Westhamptonites are laying plans.

What Price City Government?

Growing dependence by cities on state and federal aid seen during postwar years because of apparently static or even declining revenues from purely municipal sources.

By **V. J. WYCKOFF**
Bureau of the Census

COMPREHENSIVE, accurate information is now available about recent revenues and expenditures of cities with populations over 25,000. These figures are offered in two current Census Bureau reports, *City Revenue in 1942* and *City Expenditure in 1942*. Both publications are for the municipal fiscal years ending in calendar 1942 and include, therefore, twelve war months.

This is the first time since 1931 that such financial data have been available on a city-by-city basis for the larger cities with less than 100,000 inhabitants.

For the cities with populations over 25,000, revenue in 1942 was $2,600,000,000. Property taxes, of course, dominated the receipts, supplying 65 per cent of the total; aid from other governments (mainly from the state) offered 17 per cent; other taxes, earnings, and miscellaneous items made up the remainder.

Final figures are not yet available from the Census Bureau for all units of local government (counties, smaller cities, etc.), but the cities with more than 25,000 inhabitants probably collected slightly more than one-third of the total general revenue of all local government.[1] Furthermore, the total revenue collected by these cities was approximately 43 per cent of the 1942 general revenue of the 48 states, and 19 per cent of federal receipts in general and special accounts for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1942.

On the expenditure side the total figure was $2,700,000,000, of which 70 per cent was for the operation of the city government, about 6 per cent for capital outlay, 17 per cent for debt service, and 7 per cent for contributions to trust funds and government enterprises.

Several comparisons of importance can be made with these total revenue and expenditure figures. The expenditure of $2,700,000,000 was about 5 per cent more than the total revenue of the same cities, but when New York City was excluded the difference was not quite 1 per cent. Although 1941 figures for all these cities are not available, the four groups of largest cities (populations over 100,000) had expenditure in 1941 almost 5 per cent in excess of revenue, though with New York City excluded the figure was just over 2 per cent. Another comparison of these 1942 Census Bureau reports with those of the previous year shows that for the 92 cities of the first four population groups both total revenue and total expenditure were slightly less than in 1941.[2]

Tables 1 and 2 offer summaries of the 1942 city finances by population groups. As can be seen, group I exerted great influence on the totals. The five cities of this group accounted for about 41 per cent of the revenue and 43 per cent of the expenditure of all cities with more than 25,000 inhabitants. New York City alone accounted for 28 per cent of the total revenues and 30 per cent of the expenditures.

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[1] See Bureau of the Census, *Financing Federal, State, and Local Governments: 1941,* special study No. 20, p. 22.

[2] Bureau of the Census, *Financial Statistics of Cities: 1941,* vol. 3.

It is to be expected that in a general way the larger the city the larger the revenues and expenditures. But population rank is by no means identical with revenue or expenditure rank, because of the many differences between cities both in income and wealth of the inhabitants and in the number and cost of services performed by the city government.

Another consideration of importance in making intercity comparisons based on these Census Bureau reports is the political inclusiveness of the city corporation. In a number of cities all of the functions ordinarily considered to be of a municipal nature are performed by the city corporation itself. In many cities, however, some of the major functions are offered by one or more distinct overlying units of government such as school, park, and sanitary districts. Revenue and expenditure figures for such districts, of course, were not included in these Census Bureau publications on the general finances of city governments.[3]

Tax Revenue

Without going into much detail, certain characteristics of the revenue figures are worth mentioning. For each of the six city population groups taxes played proportionately a similar role, comprising 72 to 77 per cent of the total revenue, though individual cities showed considerable differences. Philadelphia received 91 per cent of all its revenue from taxes which included the profitable income tax; in Los Angeles taxes contributed 66 per cent of total revenue. State aid accounted for many of the contrasts among cities with populations less than 100,000, especially when the states shared their taxes from income or from sales. Under such conditions cities can afford to tap local tax sources less vigorously.

Although there was not much difference between the city population groups in the proportion of property taxes to total revenue—about 65 per cent—substantial contrasts were apparent for individual cities. Also the cities in a number of states relied heavily upon sales and license taxes, or state-shared taxes, or charges for current services. In these states property tax revenue as a percentage of total revenue was below the average for the 397 cities.

As a whole, municipalities do not depend much upon the sales tax, whether charged directly against the retail sale of goods or collected as a license measured by gross receipts. The cities in 1942 collected only 4.7 per cent of their total revenue from sales taxes which totaled $124,000,000 (Table 1). New York City's general sales tax alone contributed a full half of the $124,000,000 though only about 9 per cent of its own total revenue. Certain cities, however, such as St. Louis, Washington, New Or-

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[3] Previous to 1941 the Census Bureau reports on city finances were for consolidations of the transactions of most of the local governments found in the areas comprehended within the city limits.

TABLE 1

GENERAL REVENUE BY MAJOR SOURCE AND BY CITY POPULATION GROUP—1942[a]
(In thousands)

Source	Total	Group I (populations over 1,000,000)	Group II (populations 500,000 to 1,000,000)	Group III (populations 250,000 to 500,000)	Group IV (populations 100,000 to 250,000)	Group V (populations 50,000 to 100,000)	Group VI (populations 25,000 to 50,000)
Total, 397 cities	$2,598,317	$1,055,634	$407,990	$330,281	$314,657	$252,070	$237,685
Taxes	1,948,652	808,428	301,954	243,746	233,246	190,047	171,231
General and selective property	1,693,564	674,259	258,149	215,850	215,056	173,374	156,876
Sales and gross receipts	123,816	82,008	16,489	14,172	4,351	3,520	3,276
Licenses and permits	87,624	27,207	12,950	13,490	12,336	11,764	9,877
Other	43,648	24,954	14,366	234	1,503	1,389	1,202
Aid received from other governments	451,515	195,397	80,678	52,203	51,562	32,864	38,811
State	422,144	189,639	70,153	49,392	48,283	30,698	33,979
Federal	16,722	4,346	10,135	1,353	888	(b)	(b)
Other	12,649	1,412	390	1,458	2,391	2,166[c]	4,832[c]
Earnings and miscellaneous	198,150	51,809	25,358	34,332	29,849	29,159	27,643
Charges for current services	101,678	28,869	14,294	17,915	14,744	13,511	12,345
Special assessments for capital outlay	32,445	10,821	2,578	6,343	4,390	4,268	4,045
Contributions from public-service enterprises	26,416	2,399	3,978	4,012	5,823	5,107	5,097
Other and undistributed	37,611	9,720	4,508	6,062	4,892	6,273	6,156

[a] Bureau of the Census, "City Revenue in 1942," *City Finances: 1942,* vol. 2, no. 1, table 1.
[b] Included in "other"; segregation not available.
[c] Includes Federal aid; segregation not available.

TABLE 2

General Expenditure, by City Population Group—1942[a]

(In thousands)

Character and Function	Total	Group I (populations over 1,000,000)	Group II (populations 500,000 to 1,000,000)	Group III (populations 250,000 to 500,000)	Group IV (populations 100,000 to 250,000)	Group V (populations 50,000 to 100,000)	Group VI (populations 25,000 to 50,000)
Total	$2,719,550[b]	$1,156,499	$405,781	$337,952	$321,261	$259,637[b]	$238,420[b]
Operation	1,914,243	788,352	296,204	237,938	224,140	189,641	177,968
General control	158,287	68,090	22,851	18,152	16,810	16,358	16,026
Public safety:							
Police	246,226	106,702	37,422	29,736	27,809	24,381	20,176
Fire	180,330	58,531	24,481	26,422	26,914	23,805	20,177
Other	27,281	11,086	3,682	3,205	2,947	3,264	3,097
Highways	134,759	38,107	19,430	18,310	17,665	20,479	20,768
Sanitation	134,273	52,502	19,561	18,407	17,155	14,617	12,031
Health	37,853	11,484	6,326	6,250	5,543	4,474	3,776
Hospitals	105,086	47,056	24,948	14,533	8,701	6,413	3,435
Public welfare	263,814	155,243	36,143	21,338	20,241	15,533	15,316
Correction	18,331	10,588	4,831	1,436	783	165	528
Schools	461,082	189,025	70,208	61,329	56,561	39,280	44,679
Libraries	26,993	8,208	5,005	3,940	4,186	2,936	2,718
Recreation	70,288	20,796	13,586	11,209	10,146	8,196	6,355
Miscellaneous	49,640	10,934	7,730	3,671	8,679	9,740	8,886
Capital outlays	154,524	67,724	22,450	18,063	19,036	12,605	14,646
Highways	56,010	23,690	9,332	7,506	6,785	4,174	4,523
Schools	18,059	11,840	2,325	1,683	1,192	253	766
Other	80,455	32,194	10,793	8,874	11,059	8,178	9,357
Debt service	460,695	160,579	62,054	67,731	67,134	57,391	45,806
Interest	168,839	69,236	19,822	26,784	19,902	18,515	14,580
Debt retirement	291,856	91,343	42,232	40,947	47,232	38,876	31,226
Contributions	190,088[b]	139,844	25,073	14,220	10,951	(b)	(b)
To trust funds	90,193[b]	53,784	21,137	9,218	6,054	(b)	(b)
To public-service enterprises	99,895[b]	86,060	3,936	5,002	4,897	(b)	(b)

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[a] Bureau of the Census, "City Expenditure in 1942," *City Finances: 1942*, vol. 2, no. 3, table 1.

[b] Data on contributions to trust funds and to public-service enterprises are not available for groups V and VI.

leans, Birmingham, and Kansas City, Missouri, received between 15 and 25 per cent of their respective total revenue from sales taxes. In a few states a state law facilitated the general use of a tax, for example the New Jersey municipal tax on public utility franchises measured by gross receipts.

In the annual reports of the Census Bureau city expenditures are divided into four major categories: operation, capital outlay, debt service (interest payments and provision for debt retirement), and contributions to trust funds and government enterprises. There was not much difference in 1942 between the six city population groups in the proportion of operation expense to the total, between 68 and 75 per cent; the absence of information about contributions for cities under 100,000 did not materially affect these percentages.

Nor were there important differences in the group costs for such operation functions as general control, police, sanitation, and schools. Highway expenditure, however, as a percentage of the total steadily increased as cities on a group basis became smaller. A similar tendency, though not so consistent, was evident for fire protection.

Influence of War

The first year of war had little influence on revenue, except for cities benefiting from profitable state-shared income and sales taxes, or from their own taxes measured by sales or gross receipts. At least such is the conclusion justified by a comparison of 1942 with 1941 figures for cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants (population groups I-IV), and it seems probable that smaller cities had similar experiences.

The reason for this relative stability in revenue lay in the dominance of the property tax in the municipal fiscal system. This tax is inelastic in yield when compared with other levies, barring changes in rates, assessments, city boundaries, or collections of delinquent taxes. To be sure, shifts in population caused by war industries and service camps influence property taxes. However, such resulting changes are not likely to be particularly noticeable within one twelve-month period. Also, in cities of over 100,000, the absolute change in population must be substantial in order to effect as much as a 5 per cent increase or decrease in property tax collections.

Expenditures were more sensitive to war. The most conspicuous and war-related variations of importance between 1941 and 1942 were the decreases of nearly 15 per cent for welfare and 33 per cent for total capital outlays, and an increase of about 40 per cent in "public safety—other." These are briefly considered in the next paragraph. Moreover, these percentage changes were similar for each of the four city population groups.

For the country as a whole, and particularly for the larger cities, it was inevitable that the call of men to arms and the great expansion of war industries would reduce city welfare expenses. Decreased expenditure for capital outlays also was a concomitant of war—a result of drastic reductions in available construction materials as well as of voluntary postponement of building and highway programs to a postwar period. It should be mentioned, however, that the operational expenses of the highway department decreased only slightly. "Public safety—other" increased because in most cities it was the subclass which contained expenditure for civilian defense—personnel and equipment—and for rent control, as well as for such usual items as safety campaigns and flood control.

Conspicuous upward movements of expenditures for some individual cities during the 1942 fiscal year were frequently the result of war influences, which created the need for additional police protection, sanitation systems, health services, and school facilities. Such cities, closely tied to shipbuilding or arms manufacturing or the mushrooming growth of military bases, may be faced with critical postwar problems of readjustment.

These Census Bureau reports on revenue and expenditure bring into relief certain characteristics of city finances which may be disturbing.

Summarized, the data show that in 1942, on a city-by-city basis, in slightly over one-half of these large cities expenditures, including debt service, were greater than revenues. A substantial majority of cities failed to cover total expenses from their own resources—that is, total revenue less state aid. Moreover, only about 5 per cent of the 397 cities with more than 25,000 inhabitants had tax collections equal to or greater than total expenditure.

It seems probable that at least in the immediate postwar years such excesses of city expenditure over revenue will become more pronounced. Because of priorities and rationing there has been a general deferment of certain maintenance and repair work, especially for public buildings and streets. Once buying restrictions are removed and materials become available, repair expenditure combined with capital outlay will add considerable sums to municipal costs.

The revenue picture is less clear, but the postwar years may show that revenue from the cities' own resources will not expand in step with expenditure. Indeed, property tax collections may even decline without being offset by improvement in revenue from other taxes or from earnings. The resulting strain will be temporarily relieved in those municipalities which have been authorized in 21 states to establish postwar reserve funds, and have done so.

For a longer period of time at least three factors in city finances deserve emphasis. First, the dependence of municipalities upon the property tax justifies the continuation and even acceleration of improvements in its administration. Particular attention must be given to assessment practices and to tax-exempt property. Second, the very dependence of cities upon property as a tax base points to the development of a more diversified tax system. Third, local, state, and federal fiscal relations must become a matter of positive, constant attention by municipal officials. Indifference may well lead to increasing reliance by cities upon state—and federal—aid, and this brings to mind an old saying that he who pays the fiddler calls the tune.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Although the author is a staff member of the Governments Division, Bureau of the Census, the opinions presented in this article are to be considered personal, not official.

Researcher's Digest: April

Units of government in Oregon; 15 years of assessment problems; cost of golf in Schenectady; war improvements in personnel practices; league of cities recognized

By **MIRIAM ROHER**

IDEALLY, every major work of general application in the field of government or public administration should be accompanied by a progeny of little works citing the local facts. This would fill up the vacuum which so often surrounds new scientific truths and pave the way for some kind of action in the city hall or the county seat.

The ideal has actually come to pass in the case of William Anderson's now celebrated work on the *Units of Government in the United States,* published in 1942. The **Bureau of Municipal Research and Service of the University of Oregon** has brought forth its local complement to Professor Anderson's findings in *The Units of Government in Oregon, 1941.* This little pamphlet is the chapter and verse to illustrate the sermon. Here we see how multitudinous are the units of government even in so new a state as Oregon. Here we find specific examples of the variety in tax rates, population, area, valuations in the counties and cities of Oregon. The reader is intended by the Bureau to hark back to the Anderson work for his conclusions—and then, apparently, to do something about it.

Assessment Blues

Fifteen years of attention to the problems of assessment administration are summarized, and the subject matter brought up to date, in *Schenectady Assessing Studies,* by the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research.** The Bureau supplies twelve chapters worth of detailed observations on such facets of the subject as assessing organization, assessed values, certiorari actions, depreciation, changes in land valuations, effects of overassessment, attitudes of real estate dealers. An introductory statement warns that the state of New York may well step into the picture to do something about the things that are awry if the city doesn't hurry up and get there first.

Golf

A new approach to that fine old businessman's sport, golf, is provided by another **Schenectady Bureau** study, *Municipal Golf in Schenectady,* which comes to the solemn conclusion that the course is costing the taxpayers too much money, and needlessly so. The financial aspects of the municipal course get a thorough airing together with some data on practices in other cities which maintain public greens. Moreover, the Bureau has a good deal of concrete value to say on how to cut these costs without raising too much the price to the golfing customers.

Silver Lining

The war cloud's silver lining becomes slightly visible in a study of *Municipal Personnel Practices and Problems,* published by the **Bureau of Municipal Research and Service of the University of Oregon.** This work demonstrates that the loss of their employees to war industry has shown municipalities that their smug conviction that there was some mystic attraction in public employment for public employment's own sake may have been badly mistaken. It shows, too, that many Oregon cities have taken the lesson to heart and are well on the way to establishing stable, practical personnel practices which will attract, and keep attracted, the right kind of worker. Among the wartime changes found by the Bureau have been the opening of more jobs to women, the waiving of residence requirements and age limits, the increased use of physically-handicapped persons, greater use of transfers, and training programs. Besides that, the way is opening for sound salary and salary increase plans and for dependable retirement systems.

Recognition

The league of municipalities, ordinarily in the same position of self-effacement as a governmental research bureau, comes into its well deserved own in *A Study of the League of South Dakota Municipalities* made by an alert college student, Norma Boardman, for the **Governmental Research Bureau of the University of South Dakota.** The author has traced the ten-year history of the League, with painstaking attention to the nature of each of its activities and achievements. Significant among her recommendations is the proposal that the organization has now progressed to the point of deserving a full-time, professional, paid secretary; that a postwar planning program be initiated now; that the League become an even more efficient lobbyist before the state legislature.

Gruenberg to Fels Fund

Frederick P. Gruenberg, long active in governmental research and civic work, has been elected secretary of The Samuel S. Fels Fund, a foundation established by Mr. Fels primarily for research in scientific, educational, civic, and social problems. In addition to maintaining the Institute of Local and State Government at the University of Pennsylvania, the Fund's activities cover a wide field.

Mr. Gruenberg was director of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research for eight years, served as a public service commissioner of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania for six years, was active in three Philadelphia charter revision campaigns, being executive secretary of the citizens' committee of the 1939 campaign, and for the last two years has been Area Rent Director of the Philadelphia Defense Rental Area of the Office of Price Administration.

This and That

What are the research bureaus thinking about?

Budgets, for one thing. The **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research** complains about an all-time high in *Just A Second.*

City finance looms large with a number of the bureaus.

The **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau,** in *Just a Moment,* describes the new New York State local finance law, effective July 1, 1944, which affects all municipal subdivisions of the state. Another issue measures the effects of Buffalo's decreased debt margin, which, under the terms of the state constitution adopted in 1938, is reduced from 10 to 9½ per cent as of the first of this year.

"Public Waste" is the basis for a series of short articles appearing in the bulletin of the **Citizens' Research Institute of Canada.**

The Institute for Public Service of New York City, in a recent issue of *Public Service,* gives "Some NYC Transit-Fare Facts for Legislators and NYC Taxpayers." It points out that last year the city lost nearly $40,000,000 on its transit system and lists the savings to taxpayers if such a deficit could be wiped out by "self-sustaining" fares.

"School employee organizations are

engaged in constant rivalry and struggle for preferential treatment at the hands of the School Committee," says the *Bulletin* of the **Boston Municipal Research Bureau,** and suggests that while salary adjustments may have to be made in individual classifications, it is difficult to see how the School Com-Committee can satisfy all the wage demands without undermining the school salary program.

The **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute's** *Mind Your Business* lists 1943 tax rates and assessed valuations in 87 Missouri cities—those over 2,500. Tax information for 21 large cities in California is published by the **San Francisco Bureau.**

Citizens' Business, publication of the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** points to the progress in classification and pay standardization made by the outgoing Civil Service Commission, urging the new commission—with a completely changed personnel—to continue the good work.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Assessment

Schenectady Assessing Studies. Schenectady, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, December 1943. 77 pp.

Leagues of Municipalities

A Study of the League of South Dakota Municipalities. By Norma Boardman. Vermillion, Governmental Research Bureau, University of South Dakota, January 1944. 31 pp.

Licenses and Permits

The Administration of Licenses and Permits in Schenectady. Schenectady, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, July 1943. 29 pp.

Personnel

Municipal Personnel Practices and Problems with Special Emphasis on 50 Oregon Cities. Eugene, Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, University of Oregon, in coöperation with The League of Oregon Cities. 23 pp.

Recreation

Municipal Golf in Schenectady. Schenectady, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, June 1943. 48 pp.

Units of Government

The Units of Government in Oregon 1941. Eugene, Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, June 1943. 16 pp.

LOUISIANA AND REFORM

(Continued from Page 169)

1940 may very easily arise from the failure of public officials to keep step with the needs of the mass of people, thereby creating the conditions under which demagogic appeal may be successfully made. The incoming state administration will do well to weigh these factors in preparing its program for the next four years.

The new state administration headed by Governor-elect Davis has been elected by the same group which put Jones into office. Due to this fact and to the state civil service system, no upheaval is anticipated at this time. The incoming administration is pledged to carry forward the work already begun. In spite of the many improvements during the past four years, the problems facing the incoming administration are sufficiently challenging to require the best in executive ability. Again Louisiana has a governor without previous executive experience but at least he may have the benefit of the experience of Louisiana's first reform administration in recent years.

On the Local Front

Prepared by the Office of Community War Services
Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

Wartime Needs of Young People a Wartime Challenge

AN INVITATION to cities, towns, and villages across the nation to meet the wartime needs of young people as effectively as they have met the challenge of war production, selective service, and other community jobs, has been issued by Paul V. McNutt, federal security administrator.

In a pamphlet entitled *Citizens of Tomorrow—A Wartime Challenge to Community Action,*[1] Mr. McNutt and ten other heads of federal agencies concerned with youth problems describe the wartime needs of youth, the responsibilities and resources of their agencies in this field, and the services available to states and communities.

"Every town," says the pamphlet, "no matter how hard pressed, already has established machinery and resources with which to serve young people. Most, if not all, community services are already overburdened. But determination, ingenuity, practical planning, and persistent teamwork can overcome this and other obstacles, and make the most of whatever is at hand." Where communities are not already organized for the task, the pamphlet suggests that "the mayor or the chairman of the Defense Council may call together all the partners of this community enterprise. . . . The mayor or defense council can take the initiative in bringing together a committee on community service for young people, with representation from all interested groups, and a small executive unit to head up activities. (Existing organization should, of course, be utilized; if a committee on children's needs in wartime has already been set up, under the Defense Council or other community auspices, it would naturally assume this responsibility.)"

Agencies of local government which have obligations to youth are listed as "schools, the health department, the welfare services, the law enforcement authorities, the public employment service, the recreation or park and playground department, and the local housing authority." Private organizations interested in young people, as well as industry and business, should also be represented, states the pamphlet. And last but not least, the coöperation of young people should be enlisted, "not as a minority group to whom this is a special dispensation, but as students, workers, members of the church, civic, social, athletic, and other groups—in fact, as what they are—working members of the community partnership."

For the guidance of communities which are organizing youth programs, the pamphlet outlines the needs of young people "in wartime—and all the time."

First, *livable homes,* where, in spite of overcrowding or other unavoidable discomforts of wartime living, families can feel that they "belong";

Second, *good health protection,* so that they need not face life with preventable handicaps to mental and physical health;

Third, *broad-scale education,* relating the great inheritance of the past to the realities of the present and their individual needs for the future;

Fourth, *opportunity for recreation and social contacts,* space and time for a normal, wholesome "life of their own";

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[1] Office of Community War Services, Federal Security Agency, 44 pp.

Fifth, *effective work training and work experience*, geared to help them learn how to work, as well as what work they are best fitted to do;

Sixth, *guidance and protection for young people* in difficulty, welfare service by experienced people for those who get into trouble or who are handicapped because of death, illness, or other family disaster;

Seventh, *law enforcement safeguards*, forestalling exploitation and the dangers that may result from inadequate community control over school attendance, jobs, and amusements.

The importance of good health in making good citizens of tomorrow is stressed by Surgeon General Thomas Parran. "Mental hygiene clinics are needed as a service of the local health department," says Dr. Parran. "All community organizations should work coöperatively to secure the services of trained psychiatrists in mental hygiene clinics."

Emphasizing the wartime hazards to all young people, Mark McCloskey, director of the Office of Community War Services, says: "As citizens we are all deeply concerned with children who have *not* stood up under the strains of war; we tend to overlook the needs of the vast majority who have. Meeting those needs now, in terms of wholesome recreation, is the community's best insurance against delinquency." A well rounded community recreation program is recommended not as a cure for delinquency, but as a "powerful preventive."

Attorney General Biddle cites specific ways in which communities can help reduce juvenile crime and delinquency. Separate detention facilities, special police units for dealing with juveniles, trained probation officers attached to courts, and coöperation among law enforcement and welfare agencies, churches and schools are among Mr. Biddle's recommendations.

Local law enforcement has an urgent responsibility for protecting young people from becoming involved in promiscuity, says Eliot Ness, director of the Social Protection Division, Office of Community War Services. "This includes adequate policing of taverns and bars, hotels, tourist camps" as well as "enforcement of laws and ordinances protecting young persons in employment."

The enlightened community will see that its local juvenile court is presided over by a qualified judge and served by trained competent probation officers, observes Richard Chappell, Chief of the U. S. Probation System. "The door to probation and correctional work should be barred to the unqualified politician," asserts Mr. Chappell.

According to Katherine Lenroot, its chief, the Children's Bureau is giving special attention this year to "maternity and infant care, and health protection of children; maintenance of school opportunity and safeguards for employed youth; care of children of employed mothers; recreational opportunities for children and youth; community measures for the control and treatment of juvenile delinquency."

Citizens of Tomorrow ends with a check list "suggesting basic community services and activities that are practicable within the resources of most localities."

Other contributors to the pamphlet include John W. Studebaker, U. S. Commissioner of Education; Jane M. Hoey, director of the Bureau of Public Assistance; and D. S. Myer, director of the War Relocation Authority.

Contributors in Review

FINANCIAL officer with various public bodies since 1900, **Arthur Collins** *(Occupancy Taxes in Britain)* is in practice at Westminster as financial adviser to public authorities. Mr. Collins has travelled widely on municipal administrative research throughout South Africa, the United States, and Canada, and has represented British local government finance at international conferences in various centers abroad. He has been city treasurer of Birmingham, president of the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants, Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society, the Institute of Public Administration, and other professional bodies, and is author of numerous books on public finance.

ON WINNING his Ph.D. at Vanderbilt University in 1932, **Harlan W. Gilmore** *(Louisiana Clings to Reform)* repaired immediately to Tulane University in New Orleans where he is now associate professor of sociology. Dr. Gilmore has made various population and socio-economic studies of the New Orleans area which have been published in magazines and in professional periodicals. Several studies have appeared in book form.

STARTING out with social work as his goal, **Julian Cary Houseman** *(Model County Faces Problems)* got the newspaper bug while writing sports during his last two years at Richmond University. On graduation in 1936, Mr. Houseman became news reporter for the *News Leader.* Except for a nine-months break when he directed a temporary highway traffic safety publicity campaign for the Virginia Division of Motor Vehicles, he has been with the newspaper ever since. He has kept in close contact with the situation in Henrico County and knows whereof he writes.

RESPONSIBLE for the analyses in the two publications which he discusses in this issue, **V. J. Wyckoff** *(What Price City Government?)* is well qualified to write concerning them. Dr. Wyckoff received both his arts and doctor's degrees from Johns Hopkins University. He has taught economics at St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland, and at the University of Maryland. Since 1942 he has been with the Governments Division of the Census Bureau as tax economist.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

News in Review

City, State, and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Controversies between Cities, Organized Labor Cause Critical Situations

Collective Bargaining and Strike Doctrine at Issue

WHETHER because of or in spite of the war, labor disputes in public employment present serious problems in several phases of governmental activity. Although the great bulk of public employment remains peaceable and orderly in character, notwithstanding heavy strains due to manpower shifts and shortages and increases in living costs, a number of threatening and even disastrous situations have arisen. These have involved critical services in both "proprietary" and the strictly governmental fields. Questions of collective bargaining, closed-shop unionization, and the alleged right to strike are pressing in many communities.

The most outstanding recent development was the nine-day strike of some 2,500 employees of the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power. This is reported to have tied up over 150 plants doing war work and left more than 100,000 homes and business places without electricity. On February 23, at the request of Mayor Fletcher Bowron, the United States Army took control of the system by direction of President Roosevelt, and the strikers returned to work. Some of their civil service benefits would have been jeopardized if they had not resumed work within ten days after leaving it.

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (AFL) had demanded monthly wage increases of fifteen dollars or more and had rejected the city's offer of five dollars, which Mayor Bowron said would bring to twenty dollars per month the total increase per employee during the last seventeen months. He claimed that the employees were receiving more than was paid by private utility companies. The severity of the tie-up was augmented by a heavy storm that damaged many power lines. President William F. Green of the AFL had denounced the strike and urged its termination.

The Army restored control to the city's Board of Water and Power Commissioners on February 29, full service having been restored to residential, commercial, and industrial users. The Board instructed General Manager H. A. Van Norman to survey the wage and employment situation and make recommendations for a fair settlement of the wage controversy.

In Philadelphia a seventeen-day strike of about 3,000 employees of the city's water, street cleaning, and highway bureaus was ended on January 22, when the strikers accepted a city offer of an increase of about five cents an hour with further increase to be subject to negotiation as against a demand for ten cents. The strike was called by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Workers (AFL). Large piles of rubbish, ashes, and garbage had accumulated in the streets. The water plant was run by skeleton crews and prison labor.

Montreal experienced serious labor difficulties in December, including a fourteen-hour strike of police, firemen, and public works employees on December 14 and 15, which was ended when city officials agreed to grant the demand that the Canadian Congress of Labor be recognized as bargaining agent of the three departments. Prior to the strike the city had offered increases of $500 a year in lieu of recognition of the CCL.

The Right to Strike

At the annual meeting of the United States Conference of Mayors in January this resolution was adopted:

> WHEREAS the health, safety, and welfare of the people of all municipalities is endangered by strikes of municipal employees to enforce their demands against their city governments, especially in the midst of war;
>
> WHEREAS the President of the United States has declared that: "All government employees should realize that the process of collective bargaining, as usually understood, cannot be transplanted into the public service . . . militant tactics have no place in the functions of any organization of government employees. A strike of public employees manifests nothing less than an intent on their part to prevent or obstruct the operations of government until their demands are satisfied. Such action . . . is unthinkable and intolerable."
>
> Now, therefore, be it RESOLVED: that the United States Conference of Mayors, in annual conference assembled, does hereby affirm the statement of principles hereinabove stated, and does hereby condemn any strikes of public employees against duly constituted municipal governmental agencies or authorities.

Mayor La Guardia of New York, president of the Conference of Mayors, in addressing the International Association of Fire Chiefs on January 26, stated that during many years in Congress he had supported the right of labor to strike, but said it was never intended to apply to government employees. The National Association of Municipal Law Officers has likewise denied that public employees have a right to strike, and that the closed shop is proper in public employment.

Union Agreements

Trade union agreements, however, some of them of a closed-shop nature, exist in various cities. The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics has published a study of such agreements between 32 cities and the two chief unions in this field—the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL) and the State, County and Municipal Workers of America (CIO). The agreements involve mechanics, street cleaners, janitors, laborers, truck drivers, etc., and in some cases clerks, stenographers, teachers, and other white-collar workers. The largest city in the group is Philadelphia, all others having less than 10,000 population. Most of them are in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania.

As summarized by Burt P. Garnett of *Editorial Research Reports,* eleven of the 32 agreements provide that all persons employed in the department concerned must be or become members of the union within 30 to 60 days after employment. A few agreements require dismissal of an employee who does not remain a union member in good standing. Check-off of union dues is provided in six agreements, being compulsory in one and subject to acceptance by the employee in five others.

Eighteen agreements provide for arbitration as the final means of settling disputes. Strikes and lockouts are forbidden in eight agreements, but are not mentioned in the other 24. All of them cover hours and rates of pay, and time-and-a-half for overtime. Vacations with pay are prescribed in 26, and fourteen call for sick-leave with pay.

The Bureau reports that fifteen other cities have understandings with employee unions but not in the form of a standard trade-union agreement; some are embodied in ordinances or resolutions, with or without references to the union; many recognize the union as an exclusive bargaining agency.

Some cities and other governmental agencies are working out new techniques or improving old ones for dealing fairly and coöperatively with employees and avoiding the extremes of organization and conflict that may be unavoidable in private industry. A wide field remains for officials and employees alike in the development of fair standards of remuneration, and methods of group discussions and determinations where neither the strategic power of organized employees in essential public services nor dogmatic ideas of public officials and narrow concepts of economy shall control.

Boston Offers Prize for Metropolitan Area Plan

A total of $8,000 in prizes will be awarded in the Boston Contest—a competition to "develop citizen interest and citizen participation in a forward-looking and practical master program designed to promote the sound growth and prosperity of the Metropolitan Area."

The contest, which is open to any interested individual or group, was initiated by the Boston Society of Architects. At the Society's request, it is being administered by Boston University. Among the sponsors are Governor Leverett Saltonstall, Mayor Maurice J. Tobin, Boston Chamber of Commerce, Harvard University, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Each contestant must submit a manuscript of not more than 15,000 words dealing with the knotty problems of the Boston metropolitan area. The following topics must be covered: intergovernmental relationships, taxation and revenue system, assessment and depreciation policies, industrial and commercial development, educational and recreational development, welfare system, residential redistribution and development, transportation, and citizen participation.

The contest deals with the formulation of policies rather than the development of detailed plans. Thus extensive cost statements will not be required. The Contest Committee suggests that the most important feature of the report should be the correlation of the various subjects into a single over-all program.

In addition to the $5,000 first prize, a distinguished array of judges will award a $2,000 second prize, and ten prizes of $100 each for "specific meritorious suggestions" apart from the over-all master plan.

Judges of the contest are: Charles Francis Adams, former Secretary of the Navy; Harold S. Buttenheim, editor of *The American City;* William Roger Greeley, architect, chairman of the contest; Joseph Hudnut of the Harvard School of Architectural Design; Daniel L. Marsh, president of Boston University; Lewis Mumford, author; and Henry J. Nichols, president of the Boston Chamber of Commerce.

All persons wishing to enter the contest must make application to the Boston Contest, Boston University, 688 Boylston Street, Boston 16, on or before April 15, 1944. Reports must be submitted by June 19, 1944.

JOHN J. COSTELLO, *Acting Secretary*
Boston Municipal Research Bureau

Metropolitan Areas Committee Established in California

President Lawrence E. Olson of the League of California Cities has appointed a Committee on Metropolitan Areas, as authorized by the League's board of directors. It consists of the mayors of the 28 California cities of over 25,000 population, headed by Mayor Fletcher Bowron of Los Angeles. The function of this committee and its two subcommittees for the Los

Angeles and the San Francisco Bay areas will be to investigate and attempt to solve difficulties peculiar to metropolitan areas, including decay in the center and growth in the unincorporated fringes, together with special problems that cross boundary lines and must be approached on a community basis, both now and in postwar planning.

Urban Redevelopment Laws Upheld, Invalidated

The highest court of New York State and a state circuit court in Illinois have both passed on the constitutionality of state urban redevelopment legislation since the first of the year with opposite conclusions. The New York Court of Appeals declared the redevelopment companies law of that state constitutional, and the Illinois court declared the Illinois neighborhood redevelopment law unconstitutional.

Both laws make the power of condemnation available, either directly or indirectly, to redevelopment companies that are incorporated under these laws. According to the National Association of Housing Officials the principal difference in the two laws is that the Illinois law provides no tax subsidy and frees the corporation of public control upon completion of a development, while the New York law provides for a 25-year partial tax exemption, with public control to be withdrawn at any time when the corporation foregoes tax exemption privileges and pays the full taxes accrued plus 5 per cent interest.

The New York court pointed out that the law of that state does not grant the power of condemnation to private agencies, but to the city involved—the city transferring title—and held that the constitution was not violated. Two judges dissented on the score that the exercise of the power of condemnation by the city instead of the corporation was a mere formality, and that the state constitution did not permit the use of condemnation by a private company unless regulated by law as to profits etc., and the redevelopment companies could free themselves from such regulation.

The Illinois court held that the power of condemnation was not properly granted to the private owners, since all public control for the perpetuation of public use is removed at completion of the redevelopment area. It is expected that both decisions will be appealed.

Council-Manager Plan News

The idea of a city manager for **Washington, D. C.**, either with or without local voting for a city council or commission, is again active. Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi, recently made chairman of the Senate District Committee, has declared that the present commissioners "should be relieved of some of their multifarious duties," and that he is studying a plan for a city manager as the executive head of the District of Columbia government, leaving the present three federal commissioners to act as a policy-making board. Six years ago a proposal for appointment of a manager was made in the Griffenhagen plan which was considered by the House District Committee without action.

A home rule council-manager bill for Washington, sponsored by Senator Pat McCarran of Nevada, has been before the Senate committee for some time. It calls for election of a local council by the citizens of the District to take over all legislative duties of the present commissioners and to promulgate laws with Congressional approval. The council would appoint a trained city manager to handle the administrative functions of the District government.

An ordinance providing for a borough manager in **Pottstown, Pennsylvania,** received preliminary approval of the borough council on March 7. It does not specifically give the manager power to appoint his subordinates.

The International City Managers' Association announces that the borough of **New Brighton, Pennsylvania,** has been added to its official city manager list by virtue of an ordinance adopted there in October 1942, which provides for a borough superintendent.

Three Vermont towns—**Bennington, Manchester,** and **Northfield**—voted in town meetings on March 7 to retain town manager government.

The chairman of the **Milwaukie, Oregon,** Planning Commission has appointed two committees, one of which will study the difference between the two plans—mayor-council and council-manager—under consideration for a new charter. The other will visit nearby cities having managers.

Wyandotte, Michigan, will vote April 3 on the question of charter revision permitting the manager plan.

Fairbanks, Alaska, on February 15 turned down by a margin of sixteen votes the opportunity to become the first manager city in Alaska.

In **Harrisonburg, Virginia,** on March 14, the voters decided by a margin of twelve votes that a change from the existing mayor-council government to the council-manager plan should not be made. The manager plan was defeated eight years ago by 366 votes.

Longueuil, Quebec, voted in February in favor of city manager government. **Drummondville, Quebec,** is reported to be seriously considering the manager plan.

The average length of service of 562 city managers in office at the end of 1943 was 7½ years; 42 had served more than twenty years.

New Charters for Old

On February 21 the people of **Midland, Michigan,** by a vote of 1,329 to 281, or a total of 48 per cent of the registered voters, authorized the election of a charter commission.

The charter revision commission of **Little Falls, New York,** has recommended to the new city council that a new commission be created to draft a modern charter. The commission declared that "our old city charter, originally adopted in 1895, is reckoned as one of the most obsolete, outmoded, and unworkable municipal charters in the state of New York." The council has empowered Mayor Wagoner to appoint a commission of from fifteen to 21 members, partly official and partly representative citizens not holding office.

Oregon League Holds 21 Regional Meetings

The League of Oregon Cities has held regional meetings in 21 different municipalities in the latter part of 1943 and in January 1944. Approximately 900 city officials and other interested citizens attended. The chief topics of discussion were postwar planning, allocation of highway revenues to cities, and juvenile delinquency. More than 29 Oregon cities are reported to have official planning commissions working with the cities, counties, schools, and private agencies to make definite postwar plans.

OPA Committee Considers Municipal Problems

Price Administrator Bowles announced on February 28 the formation of an OPA Municipal Affairs Committee, headed by himself and including heads of OPA operating departments, to consider the effect of OPA regulations upon municipal government and resultant problems. This move followed his recent meeting with the executive directors of the U. S. Conference of Mayors, the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, and the American Municipal Association. The committee is to investigate cases involving specific local governments and consult with representatives of the three associations before formal enforcement actions are taken.

New Jersey Legislature Submits New Constitution to Voters

The 1944 revision of the New Jersey constitution, to be voted on at the November election, was adopted by the legislature on March 3. The proposed constitution is in practically all essentials the draft submitted a month earlier by a Joint Legislative Committee. It incorporates the principal features of a draft recommended in May 1942 by a seven-man Commission on Revision of the New Jersey Constitution.

The changes made just before introduction on February 25 were the result mainly of five days of public hearings and of textual combing of the document by the draftsmen. Many people were disappointed at failure of the final draft to include some of the recommendations of the New Jersey Committee for Constitutional Revision, which had been acting as agent for most of the interested civic groups ever since February 1941.

Most important of the proposals of the Committee was a provision for an automatic vote every twenty years on the question of revision, and lack of this provision may land some former revisionists in the opposition camp next November. On the other hand, most of the organizations affiliated with the Committee are supporting the new document on the ground that it represents a vast improvement over the old 1844 constitution.

The unlimited right of the legislature to create new state departments and to appoint administrative officers is ended. The new constitution gives the governor power to establish by executive order not more than twenty state departments and to allocate and reallocate agencies and functions among them, subject to the right of the legislature by a majority vote to veto such executive orders or by statute to increase or diminish functions of any department or agency. The governor's veto power is strengthened by requiring a three-fifths instead of a bare majority to override. The heads of all state departments, whether single commissioners or boards, are appointed by the governor and subject to removal by him under certain conditions. The legislature is forbidden to make any appointments except those of state auditor, comptroller, and treasurer.

Finance and Courts

The system of dedicated funds and revenues is dealt a death blow by requiring that all revenues except certain trust funds and the like be paid into the general fund subject to annual appropriation for any public purpose.

The ancient New Jersey court system is completely reorganized, with a seven-member full-time Court of Appeals in place of the sixteen-member Court of Errors and Appeals; and a Superior Court, divided into law and equity sections and appellate divisions, is given jurisdiction now scattered among some ten existing courts.

The method of amendment is simplified by eliminating the requirements for passage by two successive legislatures, submission at a special rather than a general election, and a five-year time lock which has been taken to prohibit the submission of any amendments more frequently than once in five years. The new constitution would enable the legislature by a three-fifths vote of both houses to submit amendments at any general election. There is vigorous objection in some quarters to the three-fifths requirement, but the record seems to indicate that it would be a less serious stumbling block than the several hurdles set up by the old constitution.

The new constitution would eliminate annual state elections by giving assemblymen two-year terms and the governor and senators four-year terms, elections to be held in even years, with gubernatorial elections falling between presidential elections.

Unfortunately, the revision has been made a party issue, a fact reflected in the strict party vote of seventeen Republicans to three Democrats in the Senate and forty-three Republicans to fifteen Democrats in the Assembly by which it was adopted. The final drafting and adoption of the constitution were carried through under great pressure exerted by Governor Edge. Republican members were held in line by strict caucus rule. This procedure has been criticized on the ground that it did not permit full public and legislative deliberation on important matters and did not give the draftsmen time to do a thoroughly polished job. Governor Edge and the Republican leadership felt that the blitzkrieg was necessary to avoid the risk that such strong features as the prohibition against dedicated funds, executive initiative in administrative reorganization, and abolition of the separate Court of Chancery, be pried out of the document by increasingly vociferous pressure groups. The governor had been holding up most of the patronage until the constitution was adopted.

John Bebout
New Jersey Constitution Foundation

Proposed Amendment Links Governor, Lieutenant-Governor

Both houses of the New York State legislature have passed a proposed constitutional amendment to provide that the governor and lieutenant-governor, now elected as independent officers, shall be elected together, as a team, in a manner similar to that by which the president and vice-president of the nation are elected. This action, taken by a Republican legislature over Democratic opposition, doubtless was related to the fact that at the last gubernatorial election the Democratic candidate for lieutenant-governor was almost elected, along with a Republican governor.

The measure will require approval of the 1945 legislature, before going to popular vote at the general election in November 1945.

38 States Agree to Reciprocal Parole Supervision

With the signing of the Interstate Compact for the Supervision of Parolees and Probationers by Governor Dewey of New York in February, the number of states joining in this agreement was increased to 38. The last previous signatory was Connecticut, in November 1943. This is the largest of all interstate agreements. It was authorized by Congress in 1934.

Under the compact, according to the Council of State Governments, a parolee or probationer must obtain permission from the state compact administrator's office before he may transfer residence from his state of sentence to another state. The receiving state, which must be notified of the residence transfer, agrees to assume the duties of visitation and supervision. The sending state may request progress and conduct reports.

The parolee or probationer waives the usual requirements as to extradition during the full term of his parole. Usually a state not a member to the agreement loses control of its parolee when he flees or otherwise leaves the state excepting by invoking extradition procedures which may prove costly and unsatisfactory.

By interstate coöperation parolees and probationers are prevented from escaping supervision by crossing state boundary lines, and the rehabilitation of those who need it most is furthered by allowing them a certain amount of freedom in rejoining their families and seeking better opportunities of employment.

During 1941 alone, the Council said, more than 5,000 people released on parole and probation from the prisons and courts of the various states were permitted to leave the jurisdiction of their sentencing state and were being supervised by the parole and probation authorities of other states. In the last two years, with the increasing shift of our population due to war emergency, more and more parolees and probationers have been permitted to move from one state to another during their terms of supervised rehabilitation.

Plans for Better Utilization of Governmental Personnel

A personnel utilization program initiated by the United States Civil Service Commission in February may serve as a guide in various other jurisdictions. The following steps were outlined in a letter from the Commission to all federal departments and agencies:

1. Conduct a survey by geographical locations or other operating divisions for the purpose of disclosing and correcting lack of use of employees' abilities on a full-time basis.
2. Analyze employees' needs for training and make certain that necessary training facilities are available so far as possible.
3. Establish a program for improvement of supervision.
4. Develop a system whereby each employee will periodically review with his supervisor exactly what he is expected to do.
5. Organize a planned, progressive employee relations program.
6. Install medical, health, and safety plans as feasible.

Veterans' Preference Stressed for Federal and State Employment

As the war progresses the doctrine that veterans should be given preference for positions in the public service over non-veterans who show better qualifications for the work to be done is again being given emphasis.

In letters to the United States Civil Service Commission, the heads of executive departments and agencies and Chairman Ramspeck of the House Civil Service Committee, President Roosevelt on February 28 suggested a program including the following provisions: designation of certain federal jobs as exclusively for veterans; a system of adding war service points to other qualifications of veterans, as to other federal positions; special considerations for veterans when it is necessary for agencies to cut down on personnel; and authority for the Civil Service Commission to determine the validity of reasons given by government officials for passing over a veteran to employ a non-veteran. Much of this program was stated to be included in legislation proposed by Representative Starnes of Alabama.

More drastic proposals have been made in New York State, where a legislative committee agreed on March 1 to a proposed constitutional amendment under which a veteran who passes a civil service examination goes to the head of the list; this extreme preferential treatment for civil service appointments and promotions would last for a period of five years after discharge from the armed services, or until January 1, 1951, whichever is the longer period. Disabled veterans would get a super-preference with no time limit.

Various other measures were also recommended which give recognition for war service other than by hampering the growth of efficiency in the civil service. These included special unemployment insurance benefits, competitive college scholarships (eight per assembly district), and loans for the purchase of homes or farms. A Democratic proposal for a straight soldiers' bonus was disapproved.

Senate Control of $4,500 Jobs Again Sought

Senator Kenneth McKellar, by a rider to the independent offices appropriation bill, has again attempted to obtain Congressional acquiescence in the scheme to require Senate approval of federal employees—present and future—receiving $4,500 or more a year. The National Civil Service Reform League, in denouncing the attempt, states that about 70,000 persons would thus possibly be made subject to patronage.

Transit Group to Advise Philadelphia Planners

The Philadelphia City Planning Commission has created a Technical Committee on Transit of eleven members to advise the Commission on local transportation problems.

This committee and the staff of the Commission will coöperate with the Department of City Transit—the municipal department operating local transportation facilities—in developing specific recommendations. The committee chairman is Gordon R. Exley, director of city transit. Edward Hopkinson, Jr., chairman of the City Planning Commission, is a member *ex officio*.

Citizen Action

Public Service School to Open in Detroit

Program Will Accent Training Students for Civic Leadership

THE National Training School for Public Service will open about September 1 in Detroit, according to announcement by Dr. Lent D. Upson, who will be the school's director.

The purpose of the school will be threefold: To prepare young men and women for effective participation in community leadership and in practical politics; to train them for professional service with citizen organizations intended to stimulate and direct citizen interest in government; and for administrative positions in the public service.

The school will provide scholarships of about $100 a month to from ten to fifteen students but the courses will be open to any students desiring to enroll. Students will be selected from university graduates on the basis of evidenced qualifications for leadership and devotion to public service. Admission to the school will be based on ability and interest rather than on specific preliminary training.

Students selected for fellowships in the school will be enlisted for a minimum period of twelve months, approximately one-half to be given to academic instruction and one-half to practical training under supervision of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, both in Detroit and elsewhere. Such academic and practical instruction will be on a continuous work-study plan. Students completing the twelve months requirement may be assigned to other citizen agencies for further training and experience.

Practically all of the academic instruction will be of the "block" type rather than of the "course" type, i.e., instruction will be concentrated on a single subject at a time for three or more hours a day for several days in each week.

To establish continuity this instruction will be under the immediate supervision of the director of the National Training School and assistants. However, the "core" of the instruction will be by leaders in the fields covered.

This academic instruction will cover organization and functions of citizen organizations, principles of administration and management, governmental accounting and auditing, budget procedure, purchasing, personnel, finance and taxation, administrative law, and law of municipal corporations.

Supplementary instruction will be offered to meet specialized vocational interests—health, welfare, police, fire, finance, housing, planning, utilities, government regulation of business, etc.

Periodic seminars in current events and current literature will be provided.

In addition, each student will be expected to acquire—if not already possessed—a working background in national, state and local government, the American constitution and its interpretation, politics and political parties, legislative organization and procedure, and statistical methods.

Creditable completion of a total of 24 credit hours of instruction, plus a work project and oral or written examination, will lead to the degree of Master of Public Administration.

Practical instruction will consist of twelve months or more of directed activity in a citizens' organization doing useful work, and subject to the discipline of a progressive agency.

The school will operate in coöperation with the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research and the School of Public Affairs and Social Work of Wayne University. Funds for its operation and for fellowships and visiting lectureships have been made available by the William Volker Fund of Kansas City, Missouri.

Loren B. Miller will be assistant director of the school and will succeed Dr. Upson in his post of many years as director of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research. For the last several years Mr. Miller has been director of the Civic Research Institute of Kansas City, Missouri.

Phoenix Voters Preserve Good Government Gains

Led by the **Citizens Good Government Council,** the voters of Phoenix, Arizona, have elected a mayor and two commissioners (councilmen) pledged to continue the good government won in a reform campaign a year ago.

At that time an aroused citizenry found itself in the midst of the bitterest, most critical election it had ever known. To quote the *Arizona Republic*, "The city, to put it bluntly, was a civic disgrace. Boss rule prevailed, promises to the people were broken even faster than they were made, vice was rampant, the Army was disgusted —and so were the voters."

In a hard fought campaign, the citizens Good Government ticket[1] was elected. The new commissioners immediately conducted a thorough housecleaning. The administration's accomplishments, in the space of one short year, include:

1. An improved water system which assures adequate summer water;

2. Important financial improvements —largest cash balance in the city's his-

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[1] "Phoenix Citizens Clean Up City, Win Army Praise," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, September 1943.

tory, reduced tax rates, greatest annual reduction of bonded indebtedness, $60,000 set aside for the city's postwar security plans;

3. Coöperation of all government agencies gained for airport planning—vital to postwar Phoenix;

4. City wages adjusted to living costs.

5. Transportation system under sound operation so that better service is rendered with greater net profit;

6. A broad youth betterment program has been organized, including the greater use of all parks and playgrounds—work carried out by coöperation of numerous civic groups.

7. Recreation for soldiers at nearby camps and war workers organized and carried out.

Mr. and Mrs. Minneapolis Answer a Few Questions

Under the title above the **Minneapolis Research Bureau**, an affiliate of the **Minneapolis Civic Council**, publishes the results of a public opinion poll on postwar problems.

Representative Minneapolitans in all sections of the city—a scientifically selected cross section of men and women—were asked these and similar questions by trained interviewers. The poll was conducted and results compiled by the Minneapolis Research Bureau under the direction and supervision of Dr. G. H. Crook, Psychology Department, University of Minnesota, using approved methods of sampling public opinion.

To the question, "Are you optimistic or pessimistic about the future of Minneapolis after the war?" 64 per cent proved to be optimistic, 9 per cent pessimistic, and 27 per cent had no definite opinion. Other questions showed that a majority of Minneapolis citizens feel there will be fewer jobs available after the war, that wages will be lower, but taxes higher, that a central committee should be set up now for postwar planning.

Dr. William Anderson, of the University of Minnesota, is president of the organization, Allen H. Seed, Jr., is director, and Rudolph Lee is editor of *fact,* the organization's publication which carries the story.

Chicago Group Investigates Non-Registration

One of the talking points for permanent registration—and a good one too—is the fact that, once registered, voters need not trot to the polls every year to keep their names on the voting lists.

The **Citizens Association of Chicago** has made an investigation of the number of Chicagoans who have failed to take advantage of Chicago's permanent registration system. In a release entitled *An Analysis of Non-Registered Population in Chicago Wards,* dated March 1, the Association makes the startling statement that more than 400,000 Chicago citizens will be self-disqualified to vote in the 1944 elections unless they register by March 13. "These potential voters," states the Association, "exceed the combined populations of the Illinois cities of Peoria, Rockford, Springfield, Rock Island, Joliet, and Quincy. Only nineteen cities of the United States have larger populations than this group."

Tables and maps on figures for each of Chicago's fifty wards, for the years 1940 and 1943, show that the percentage of unregistered voters by wards ran from 5.1 to 22.8 per cent in 1940, a presidential year; and from 1.1 to 34.9 per cent in 1943 when a mayoralty election was held.

Ohio League of Women Voters Issues Election Primer

Issued on March 1, the **Ohio League of Women Voters'** *Primer* is in good time for those who want to participate in the May 9 primary. The primer, a blue and white leaflet with tabular index, is easy to read and handy to carry. "With this booklet in your possession," says the *Ohio Woman Voter,* "you need no longer fear to proclaim yourself a member of the League of Women Voters lest you be expected to know all the answers." Local leagues will not only use the *Primer* themselves but will distribute it to political clubs, labor unions, chambers of commerce, and other civic groups.

The leaflet was prepared by Mrs. Paul Roundy of Hudson, secretary of the League's state board and Special Task Chairman for Election Procedures. Its price is five cents per copy.

Here and There—

Congratulations, Mr. Manager!

The new city manager of Lowell, Massachusetts, John J. Flannery, has been congratulated by Joseph J. Jaycox, executive secretary of the **Lowell Taxpayers Association,** on some of his initial actions. Specially mentioned are the manager's alert, aggressive, and intelligent attitude toward the municipal budget, department heads, city employees, and the overall picture of municipal activities. Says Mr. Jaycox: "Too often it has been the necessary function of the Taxpayers executive secretary to warn, scold, or reprimand the city officials in the past. I welcome this and many more opportunities to congratulate the city manager." The Association's bulletin recently listed "Some Phases of a Fiscal Policy for the City of Lowell in 1944," in which some of the steps already taken by the new city administration under plan E (city manager plan with proportional representation) are set forth.

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Pre-primary Activities

"Every member working to increase the intelligent participation of voters in what may well be the most critical election ever held in this country, is the goal of the **New York State League of Women Voters'** Active Voter Committee," says Mrs. Harold P. Levy, its state chairman. "The March 28 primary begins an important sequence of events which culminates on November 7. In every local League, members are to some extent prepared for their responsibility, but much remains to be done."

Governmental Research, Inc., of Los Angeles is calling for volunteers for candidate selection and investigation committees. Representatives of the organization are attending every meeting of the City Council, keeping a permanent record of all votes on major issues. Volunteers are asked for this work also. The office is prepared to work out a schedule for observers to fit the time which volunteers have available. Like many other groups, it is urging registration for voting before the deadline of April 5.

The **Chicago City Club** joins in the warning that citizens must be registered to vote in the forthcoming primary. "The democratic system is based upon the assumption that each citizen will do his share in governing the country," says its *Bulletin.* "This is done by voting. A person who is not registered cannot vote. He is disfranchised not by the act of a hostile ruler but by his own negligence. There is no way in which the result of this negligence can be avoided."

The **Seattle Municipal News** carries its annual report on candidates for the city's primary election.

County Reorganization

The *Civic Searchlight,* published by the **Detroit Citizens League,** tells its readers that "This is the year to finish the job of getting a new system of government for Wayne County by amendment of the Michigan constitution." An effort to secure the amendment in 1942 failed by a narrow margin. Members of the League who will circulate petitions to place the matter on the ballot are asked to get in touch with League headquarters.

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Subway Fares

The recent demand from some quarters in New York City that subway fares be raised from five cents to ten in order to cover the forty-million-dollar annual deficit of the city-owned transit system, meets opposition from the **Citizens Union of New York City,** which states that higher fares will not necessarily bring in higher revenue. It points to the experience of other cities where a rise in fares led to a loss in traffic. The Union's report is based upon a study by a special committee under the chairmanship of Charles Dickerman Williams.

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Juvenile Delinquency

Proposed Revision of Michigan Juvenile Laws is the subject of one issue of *The Citizen* published by the **Citizens League of Port Huron, Michigan.** The proposal discussed provides for a State Board of Certification to be created to establish standards of qualifications of county agents—the liaison officer between the court and the child—for the education and upgrading of the agents on a basis of social welfare technique.

* * *

Citizens and the Schools

The Public Schools Committee of the **Seattle Municipal League,** P. R. Renshaw chairman, made its report recently on school needs. The Committee comes to the conclusion that the present city birth rate forecasts a critical shortage in housing facilities for elementary school children in the next six years. Because of this, and because some buildings are fast becoming obsolete, it states that adequate housing during the next six to ten years will probably require the construction of approximately twenty new school buildings.

The Committee on Schools of the **Chicago Union League Club,** an organization whose activities cover a wide social and civic scope, is sponsoring a series of meetings at one of which Dean Albert J. Harno, provost of the University of Illinois, spoke on "The Contents and Ends of Education." Dr. John A. Lapp, president of the Citizens' School Committee and specialist in labor arbitration, spoke before the committee on the educational objectives of the people of Illinois.

* * *

Budgets—Debts

Excellent progress is being made in putting cities and villages on a business basis through the operation of Nebraska's new budget law, according to the **Nebraska Federation of County Taxpayer Leagues.** The law was enacted last year with the strong support of the Federation which offers its congratulations to the officials of the cities and villages "on the fine spirit that bids fair to put this law into effect with top efficiency in the shortest possible length of time."

A bright yellow and blue leaflet, issued by the **Pennsylvania Economy League** and titled *All Three are YOUR Babies,* discusses briefly the debt of the nation and of the state of Pennsylvania and its local governments. Accompanying the leaflet is *The Debt of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* *and Its Local Subdivisions,* a Report to The Joint State Government Commission of the General Assembly by Its Committee on Continuation of the Tax Study.

The *City Club Chronicle* of Albany, New York, publishes the 1944 budget for the city of Albany in full.

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With the Women Voters

The *Illinois Voter*, monthly bulletin of the **Illinois League of Women Voters,** lists some of the subjects which interested local leagues during the past year. State legislation to permit the establishment of county units of public health headed the list; others were the price panel, juvenile delinquency, and local housing.

The **Jackson County League** has been investigating local and state education regulations regarding truancy.

The **Barrington League,** following an outbreak of undulant fever in the community, secured passage of a local milk ordinance prohibiting sale of raw milk.

The **Minnesota League of Women Voters** welcomes a new local league at Zumbrota.

The statewide pre-election drive of the **Connecticut League of Women Voters** has gathered momentum, according to its monthly *Connecticut Voter*, with a series of county meetings held in New London, New Haven, Hartford, and Fairfield. Using "Make Better Voters" as a keynote for each meeting, Mrs. John G. Lee, state president, stressed the responsibility which faces each voter in the procedure of nominating candidates.

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Anniversaries

Governor Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts was the principal speaker at the twelfth annual meeting of the **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations** held in Boston. Herbert J. Miller of the Citizens National Committee and Reginald W. Bird, president of the Association, also addressed the meeting which was attended by 250 representatives of local taxpayer groups.

Governor Saltonstall spoke on the financial condition of the state. President Bird urged strong local associations. He suggested that the "Federation take some of these returning servicemen and train them in the knowledge that is required of executive secretaries of taxpayers' associations. In this way the Federation would be performing a twin service; it would be providing work for returning servicemen and at the same time making available the services of these trained men to local taxpayers' associations at slight cost."

The Taxpayers Association of New Mexico held its 29th annual meeting early this year at Santa Fe. The luncheon which followed the business meeting was addressed by Governor John J. Dempsey on postwar problems. Vincent J. Jaeger, director of the New Mexico State Planning Board, spoke on the work of his Board. Rupert F. Asplund, director of the Association, and a state correspondent for the REVIEW, was presented with a watch bearing the inscription "25 years of service to the taxpayers of New Mexico."

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A Matter of Arithmetic!

"I have a new system," says Mrs. M. E. Cummings, State Finance Chairman of the New York State League of Women Voters, "so maybe I'll get caught up. One night a week I stay up all night and iron—that gives me eight days a week, instead of seven Very simple."

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

1943 Highway Revenues of States Surveyed

Gas tax yield down sharply in first year of rationing; vehicle fees little affected

TOTAL gasoline taxes collected by the states in 1943 were about 20 per cent less than those of 1942 and 30 per cent less than those of 1941, but there was a wide variation between the different states, as there had been in 1942, and several collected only a little more than half as much as they had in 1941.

Motor vehicle license collections, on the other hand, held up much better, with the lowest state collecting in this field about 80 per cent as much as it had in 1941.

These facts are disclosed in a survey of 1943 state highway revenue collections just published by the Municipal Division of Dun & Bradstreet, Inc.[1]

Expressing collections for the individual states on an index using 1941 collections as 100, the range for 1943 was from a low of 52.9 to a high of 89.0, and the median for the year was 70.6. For 1942 the range had been from a low of 76.7 to a high of 102.4 and the median was 88.5.[2] In other words, in 1943 half the states collected less relative to the base year 1941 than the lowest state did in 1942, when rationing was just being introduced. Only one state collected as much as did the median state in 1942.

The ten states showing the best 1943 collections (relative to 1941) and their index numbers were:

South Dakota	89.0	Iowa	80.8
Utah	88.3	Oklahoma	80.0
Alabama	87.9	Texas	79.1
Tennessee	83.7	Idaho	78.9
Nebraska	80.9	Washington	78.8

The significance of their geographic location is self-explanatory. Six of them had also been on the list of the upper ten states in 1942, which was led by Oklahoma with 102.4 and ended with Washington with 95.5. The other four on the 1942 upper-ten list were Minnesota, Nevada, Arkansas, and Indiana, crowded out for 1943 by Utah, Iowa, Texas, and Idaho.

The ten states showing the poorest 1943 collections, with 1941 equal to 100, were:

New Hampshire	52.9	Maine	59.3
Vermont	55.3	New Jersey	59.9
New York	57.6	Delaware	61.2
Massachusetts	58.2	West Virginia	62.7
Rhode Island	58.2	North Dakota	63.6

On this list the poorest seven were northeastern states, and these poorest seven were also on the 1942 list of the ten poorest collections relative to the base year 1941. Also on the poorest-ten list in 1942 were Florida, North Carolina, and Wyoming, crowded out for 1943 by Delaware, West Virginia, and North Dakota. Poorest collections in 1942 had been Maine, with 76.7 per cent of 1941, and the tenth had been Wyoming, with an index of 80.4.

The survey shows that there was far greater stability of monthly collections in 1943 than there had been in 1942. Relating each month to the corresponding 1941 month as 100, the median monthly index for 1942 declined from 113.7 for January to a low of 78.1

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[1] *Trend of State Highway Revenues: Special Summary Bulletin, 1943.* Municipal Service Department, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., New York City. March 1, 1944. 11 pp., mimeographed.

[2] *Effect of the War on State Highway Revenues: 1942.* By Edna Trull. Municipal Service Department, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., New York City. February 24, 1943. 16 pp., mimeographed.

for September and then rose to 86.0 for November, closing at 84.4 for December. For 1943 January was 72.0. The high, in April, was 78.1 and the low (again in September, which is normally a peak month and so can be expected to show a more violent fluctuation) was 67.7, with the year closing at 74.4 for December. In other words, the range of the monthly medians for 1942 was 36.6 points, but for 1943 the range was only 10.4 points.

In the motor vehicle license field, the median index for 1943 was 91.3, with nine states showing 1943 collections greater than those for 1941, although in some of these instances changes in registration dates, etc., affected the index. For 1942 the median index had been 94.6. The decline in registrations and licenses has been much less than was originally expected, but as more and more cars become unusable—especially passenger cars—it is likely that further declines will be shown.

Detroit Levies Excess Profits Tax

A 20 per cent tax on the gross revenue of gas, power, and steam sales was imposed by Detroit effective December 30, 1943. Levied primarily to yield an estimated $10,000,000 or more annually for postwar improvements, the tax has been described by its sponsors as a measure to recapture for the use of Detroit citizens that part of present utility rates which are going to the federal government in the form of excess profits taxes.

According to Corporation Counsel Paul E. Krause, it is estimated that about $10,000,000 of the tax yield would come from the Detroit Edison Company, whose gross revenues in Detroit run at about $50,000,000. Of a $10,000,000 tax against this company, Mr. Krause estimates that $8,550,000 would offset federal excess profits taxes otherwise due while the remainder could be taken from depreciation and other reserves and still leave such reserves at the 1941 level.

Justification for imposition of the tax at a heavy rate is found in the fact that Detroit's light and power rates are termed excessive. In 1942 Detroiters were paying rates sufficiently high so that federal excess profits were taking 10.67 cents out of every dollar paid for service, as compared with 2/10 cent in St. Louis, 2.10 cents in Chicago, 4.42 cents in Boston, 4.87 cents in Cleveland, and 5.76 cents in Philadelphia. The tax aims to recover the excess profits tax for local use, since the city has been unsuccessful in securing rate reductions.

As is to be expected, the tax is being opposed by the utility companies; Detroit Edison on February 11, 1944, took steps to secure an injunction to prevent the city from levying the tax. The company is claiming that the tax is unconstitutional, and its president has also been quoted as stating that rate increases of $13,200,000 would be necessary to cover the estimated $10,000,000 levy.

Pittsfield, Massachusetts, to Use Capital Budget

Late in December 1943 the City Council of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, acting on the recommendation of a special committee formed to lay out a new capital improvement program, adopted an amendment to the city's budget ordinance requiring that hereafter a capital budget be made a part of the annual budget. The program would cover a six-year period, showing the ensuing year in detail and making the appropriations necessary, and outlining the program for the next five years thereafter.

The capital budget—said by Arthur C. Conley, executive secretary of the

Pittsfield Taxpayers' Association, Inc., to be the first undertaken by a Massachusetts municipality—was the result of an intensive study made by a special committee which outlined a capital program for 1944 and the five years thereafter. The original program for 1944-49, inclusive, calls for $2,110,321 improvements—$79,440 in 1944, $875,923 in 1945, $494,358 in 1946, and lesser amounts the last three years. The programs for the latter will be reviewed annually, and take final shape as they go into the annual budgets.

Finance Officers Urged to Higher Goals

The National Committee on Municipal Accounting in a statement released recently urged local goverment finance and accounting officers to avoid wartime relaxations in standards of accounting, auditing, and reporting. Shortcuts, omission of essential auditing procedures, and lax auditing methods were scored, and finance officers were urged to make the facts clear to governing bodies wherever personnel shortages made a satisfactory job impossible.

In Brief

The Kentucky Department of Revenue monthly report for January shows state tax revenue collections for the first seven months of 1943-44 down 6.9 per cent from the corresponding period of 1942-43. Sharpest drop—35.2 per cent—was shown by the alcoholic beverage tax. Excise taxes other than liquor taxes were the only group to show an increase.

The Michigan legislature, at a special session in February, appropriated $5,000,000 for distribution to local governmental units on a matching basis for plans and specifications for postwar projects.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

County Improvements Suggested for New Mexico

Civic group lists steps which will increase local efficiency

THE *New Mexico Tax Bulletin,* published by the Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, has suggested these improvements in county government:

1. Reduction in the number of counties through consolidation whereby a county with low taxable wealth might be joined with a wealthier neighboring county;
2. Consolidation of county and municipal services such as fire and police protection, building and maintaining streets and roads, housing and feeding prisoners, etc.;
3. Reorganization of probate and justice of peace courts through reduction of their number and consolidations;
4. Shortening of entries in warranty deed record books to save cost of books and clerical help;
5. Designating the county clerk or a county board member as county manager and purchasing agent;
6. Establishment of system of perpetual inventory of county property;
7. Publishing annual statements showing receipts, expenditures, outstanding bonds, and other fiscal data.

Office of Coroner Studied in Virginia

The Advisory Legislative Council of Virginia, directed by joint resolution in 1942 "to make a study and report on the advisability of abolishing the office of coroner and transferring the duties of the office to medical examiners and law enforcement officers," has issued its report recommending a number of changes in procedure, but not abolition, of the coroner's office.

The Council is of opinion that material improvement is needed but that the remedy lies largely with the localities. It recommends that the State Department of Health retain on its staff a pathologist and a toxicologist to perform autopsies and make tests for poisoning at the request of local authorities with all expenses except the salaries of the two officers mentioned borne by the locality requesting the autopsy. It further recommends that the coroner at the situs of death should view the bodies even though the cause of death occurred in another locality. The Department of Health should participate when death occurs under suspicious circumstances. In all cases the county in which the cause of death occurred should pay the fees for the necessary views and autopsies.

Pennsylvania Justices of Peace Studied

The Pennsylvania Municipal Publications Service has issued a report entitled, *Survey of the Minor Judiciary, A Study of the Justices of Peace and Aldermen.* The study includes a history of the justices of peace, the personnel of the Pennsylvania system, public cost of the justices, their work, fiscal control over them, justices of the peace in other states, and proposals for reform in Pennsylvania. An appendix includes an analysis of costs paid by each county, a classification of offenses, motor vehicle fines collected in twelve selected counties, and a list of types of fees collected.

Cobb County–Marietta, Georgia, City-County Park Planned

Cobb County and the city of Marietta, Georgia, will construct a 40-acre recreation park at a cost of $250,000. A one-story building will contain a combination auditorium-gymnasium with two basketball courts, a stage and collapsible seats, as well as dressing rooms, three clubrooms, a kitchen, snack bar, game room, lounge, library and reading room. Other facilities to be constructed in the park include an athletic field, children's playground, six tennis courts, picnic grounds, a swimming area, and a parking lot.

Erie County, New York, Compromises Taxes

Erie County, New York, just collected more than one million dollars in back taxes in a year's time.

Early in 1942 the Erie County Committee on Land and Taxes, with the authorization of the County board, offered to owners of property that was tax-delinquent but not foreclosed an opportunity to compromise their back taxes, conditional on their payment of current taxes. Well over $650,000 was collected immediately, and 553 tax agreements to pay were entered into by delinquents. During the full twelve months back taxes with penalties, together with the total amount covered by the back tax agreements, aggregated $1,179,539.20.

The restoration of this property to a current taxpaying status was another noteworthy result of this plan.

Virginia Legislature Considers Police for Additional Counties

A bill has been introduced in the lower house of the Virginia legislature which authorizes and empowers governing bodies of counties adjoining any city with a population of 190,000 or more, lying wholly within the state, to establish police departments, and authorizes the appropriation of funds for the retirement of the members of such police departments.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Attack on P. R. Fails in New York Legislature

City Home Rule Legislation Passes and Goes to Governor

THE Dunnigan-Rudd bills outlawing the use of proportional representation anywhere in the state of New York, which were described in this department last month, died in committee in both houses of the legislature as expected. The Republican members from New York City were nearly unanimous in opposition and even some of the New York City Democrats accepted the argument that the continuance or discontinuance of P. R. should be left to each city to settle for itself under its home rule powers.

The bills had been introduced with the blessing of the legislative leaders of the Democratic party, which is the majority party in New York City but the minority party in both houses of the legislature. P. R. has consistently replaced the top-heavy majorities which the Democratic party used to hold in the legislative body of the city and which it still holds in the New York City delegations at Albany and Washington. For this reason the local Democratic organizations have insistently opposed P. R. though many individual Democrats favor it.

An Extension of Home Rule

Two other measures affecting P. R., but not adversely, fared better. One of these grew out of a P. R.–city manager campaign in Johnstown, New York, in 1940. Readers of this department will remember that an amendment revising the city's charter extensively in general conformity with the model city charter of the National Municipal League was presented by petition by a Johnstown citizens' group but kept off the ballot by court action on the ground that the amendment constituted in reality a new charter and could be presented only as such and not as an amendment.

The 1942 and 1943 legislatures passed unanimously a bill to correct this court decision and to permit charter amendments of any extent, as originally intended when the charter initiative procedure was first adopted. The bill was vetoed in both years by different governors, with messages which did not question its main purpose.

This year the bill was somewhat revised in wording and at this writing is before Governor Dewey again awaiting his action.[1] It was introduced by the chairmen of the two Cities Committees, Senator Thomas C. Desmond of Newburgh and Assemblyman Harold Ehrlich of Buffalo. The Conference of Mayors, which opposed the bill last year, decided this year to take no action.

Another Extension Fails

The State Senate also passed another bill by Senator Desmond,[2] to remove from the city home rule law the special restriction that a city charter commission, if it submits P. R. at all, must submit it separately.

There is no such restriction on charter changes submitted by city councils or by petition. As long as it remains there will be an incentive to use the petition method of charter revision rather than the commission method whenever, as often happens, there is good reason for submitting P. R. in combination with other proposals in the same question. The restriction is particularly inappropriate when P. R. has already been adopted, as it has been in New York, Yonkers, and Long Beach.

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[1] It is known as Senate Introductory No. 1007.

[2] Senate Introductory No. 1369.

The bill to remove the illogical provision passed the Senate unanimously but was one of a great many meritorious measures which died in the Rules Committee of the Assembly when the legislature adjourned the morning of March 19, a week earlier than expected, after a hectic all-night session.

Norris, Tennessee, Holds Eighth P. R. Election

The citizens of Norris, Tennessee, chose their eighth town council under the P. R. system of voting in the election held on February 5, 1944. P. R. has been used in Norris since 1936 for the annual selection of a town council and, although the system has been under attack on a few occasions, it has proved a fairly satisfactory method for securing a representative council.

In the recently held election, fifteen candidates offered themselves for membership in the council of nine. Three of these were women. Also included in the list of candidates were four members of the outgoing council. There were no important issues to be decided in the election, with the result that a small percentage of the voters actually participated. Of the total votes cast, however, all were valid.

When all the ballots were distributed according to first-choice preferences, it was found that three candidates had secured more than the quota required for election. The ninth member of the council was chosen on the transfer of votes from the sixth and last candidate eliminated.

Some statistics on the election may be of interest. The eight candidates receiving the greatest numbers of first-choice votes were finally chosen as members of the council, although not in the order of first-choice ranking. The ninth member to be chosen ranked tenth in terms of first-choice votes. A large part, 92.6 per cent, of the voters helped elect a member of the council and seven out of nine saw their first choices elected.

The new council is not without experience. Three of the members are holdovers from the outgoing council and another member has served on the council on two previous occasions. Other members have served on council committees and are thus familiar with council procedures and activities. The new council is composed of six employees of the Tennessee Valley Authority, two housewives, and an employee of a near-by war project.

The Norris Town Council, as pointed out previously in this REVIEW, has no actual powers but serves in an advisory capacity to the town management. This is not to imply, however, that the council is not an important part of the town management. The importance of council was pointed out recently by the town manager when he stated that he regarded "relationships between the Properties Management and the Town Council of the highest importance," and that the council "has proved of substantial help to management in treating with a number of community problems."

M. H. SATTERFIELD, *Chairman*
Norris Election Commission

William C. Lee

One of the most devoted friends of P. R., William C. Lee, a retired employee of the U. S. Government Printing Office in Washington, died on January 27, 1944. Mr. Lee carried on an extensive correspondence in promotion of P. R. for many years and was instrumental in having several P. R. bills introduced in Congress.

Books in Review

Edited by **ELSIE S. PARKER**

Organization for Metropolitan Planning. Four Proposals for Regional Councils. Chicago 37, American Society of Planning Officials, 1943. 73 pp. $1.00.

This publication consists of the four prize-winning essays in a nation-wide competition for the best "Proposal for the Organization and Operation of a Regional Council in a Metropolitan Area." Since none of the essays submitted in the contest received unanimous approval, the judges awarded one first prize—to Harvey F. Pinney, principal administrative analyst for the Organization Planning Division, Office of Price Administration—and three second prizes—to O'Brien Boldt, of the Public Relations staff, New York Regional Plan Association; Norman J. Gordon, a graduate student of Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and C. McKim Norton and Frederick P. Clark, executive vice-president and planning director of the New York Regional Plan Association.

"We do not believe," says Walter H. Blucher, executive director of the American Society of Planning Officials, in the foreword, "that these are the final words on the subject. In a field where there is so little specific information, however, we believe that the essays will serve to stimulate thinking which will lead eventually to a solution of the very urgent existing problems of government for a metropolitan area."

Constitutional and Statutory Provisions of the States, Volume I. One of a series of special bulletins presenting short research studies prepared by the State Law Index of the Library of Congress and by the Council of State Governments. Chicago 37, The Council of State Governments, 1943. 33 pp.

This "handy reference" pamphlet is chock full of data which everyone, at some time or other, wants to know—the data which is usually buried in legal volumes or in the election code or tax laws of the various states. Covered are dates, types of election, etc., for presidential primaries arranged by states, state laws on voting hours in large cities, states providing for birth records for persons not born in that state, individual income tax provisions of the states, cigarette taxes, bank stock taxes, rule against perpetuities, licensing of peddlers, certain limitations on labor turnover. The pamphlet is the first volume of a series of special bulletins presenting short research studies on pertinent questions.

Books and Pamphlets Received

Building Regulation

Building Regulation in New York City. By Joseph D. McGoldrick, Seymour Graubard, and Raymond J. Horowitz. New York City, The Commonwealth Fund, 1944. xv, 743 pp. $4.50.

Constitutions

Record of Proceedings before New Jersey Joint Legislative Committee to Ascertain the Sentiment of the People as to Change in the New Jersey Constitution. Trenton, The Committee, 1944. 1124 pp.

Debt

The Public Debt: 1944 and **Attitudes on the Public Debt.** By Mabel L. Walker. New York 10, Tax Institute, 1944. 5 and 4 pages respectively, 25 cents each.

Efficiency

How to Improve Office Procedures. Suggestions for work simplification to save manpower. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1944. 4 pp. 25 cents.

Finance

City Expenditure in 1942.[1] The cities covered are those having populations over 25,000. Analysis by V. J. Wyckoff and Henry Lemieux. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1944. 60 pp.

City Revenue in 1942.[1] Analysis by V. J. Wyckoff. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1944. 55 pp.

Highways

Interregional Highways. Message from the President of the United States Transmitting a Report of the National Interregional Highway Committee Outlining and Recommending a National System of Interregional Highways. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1944.

Housing

A Brief List of References on Housing in South America. By Caroline Shillaber. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, Harvard University, 1944. 2 pp.

Local Government Institute

Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Southern Institute of Local Government. Held in Chattanooga, Tennessee, November 17, 1943. Sponsored by The University of Tennessee Through the College of Liberal Arts and Its Alumni in Coöperation with The Division of University Extension. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, 1943. 84 pp.

Personnel

Civil Service Agencies in the United States—A 1943 Supplement to the statistical information concerning civil service agencies appearing in *Civil Service Agencies in the United States—A 1940 Census.* Chicago 37, The Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1943. 10 pp. 25 cents.

Civil Service Staff Relationships. By E. N. Gladden. London, William Hodge and Company Limited, 1943. xi, 184 pp. 12s. 6d.

Retirement Systems. A series of articles in *Municipal Finance.* Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, February 1944. 44 pp. 50 cents.

Planning

City of Milwaukee, Proposed Six-Year Program of Public Improvements 1944-1949. Submitted to the Common Council by the Long Term Improvement Program Technical Committee. 95 pp.

Planning and Postwar Planning—State Organizations. Membership Directory. Chicago 37, American Society of Planning Officials, 1943. 34 pp. $1.

Population Statistics

Estimated Civilian Population of the United States by Counties: November 1, 1943. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1944. 27 pp.

Postwar Planning

UNRRA: Gateway to Recovery. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1944. 84 pp. 50 cents.

War and Postwar Adjustment Policies. Text of Official Report and Related Documents. By Bernard M. Baruch and John M. Hancock. Washington, D. C., American Council on Public Affairs, 1944. 131 pp. Paper, $1.; cloth, $2.

Price Control

The Smiths and Their Wartime Budgets. By Maxwell S. Stewart. New York City, Public Affairs Committee, 1944. 32 pp. 10 cents.

Public Libraries

Public Library Finance and Accounting. By Edward Allen Wight. Chicago, American Library Association, 1943. xi, 137 pp. $2.75.

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[1] For an analysis of this publication see "What Price City Government," p. 183 this issue.

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Dayton Counts Its Blessings
Max P. Heavenrich, Jr.

Election Frauds Go Unchecked
William Barclay Lex

Early Fiscal Plans Bear Fruit
Thomas L. Hinckley

Wanted: New Type Politician
William E. Mosher

Kansas City Voters Score Again
Richard B. Fowler

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Secret Sessions

AS A general rule the basic law of municipalities follows the provision of the *Model City Charter* that "All meetings of the [city] council shall be open to the public."

This is a sound, healthy command in a self-governing system like ours. But far too often in practice it is deliberately and designedly nullified by city councils and school boards. Legislative bodies have a strong tendency to treat it as just another one of those lovely democratic ideals to which we give lip service but which for "practical" reasons we choose to ignore.

Of course there are councils and school boards which genuinely desire to have citizens attend their meetings and which feel discouraged when they encounter popular indifference. Sometimes they make positive efforts to get taxpayers to come at least to budget hearings. There are mayors and councilmen who retire in despair for no other reason than the lack of citizen interest in what they are doing.

On the other hand, there are a great many councils, even in cities which are comparatively well run, which are so lacking in active appreciation of the fact that a "public office is a public trust" that in effect they post "keep out" signs. They habitually meet in "executive session" behind closed doors. Here they discuss problems and reach decisions. Then, with a slight nod in the general direction of the charter, they hold brief "open" sessions in which they go through the motions of ratifying the decisions already reached.

Several years ago, when the civic-minded editor of a newspaper opposed this practice in his city, the city manager replied: "Why, that would be impossible! It would be like conducting the city's important business right out on the city hall steps." "And why not?" replied the editor.

Most councils and school boards which operate secretly do so from a desire to get work done rather than from a desire for concealment. They don't actually do anything which they wish to keep from the public. They say they can't be "natural" in a goldfish bowl. It never occurs to them that secret sessions invite an unhealthy attitude that the city's affairs are the private matter of those who succeeded in being elected and that they tend to discourage popular understanding and interest in civic matters.

It is from debate, discussion, and the clash of opinion that the voters learn about their problems and develop an ability to vote intelligently, not from formal ayes and nays.

In a self-governing system an informed and participating electorate is essential. One of the most serious handicaps to the development of a better citizenry is the comparative indifference of the voter toward municipal affairs. It is not at all unusual for less than 30 per cent of a city's voters to vote in a municipal election. The same voters who turn out in great force for national and state elections, the results of which are less influenced by them as individuals, remain largely unaware of the fact that what happens locally determines in the aggregate what happens nationally. Orchids don't grow on cabbage roots—economically, politically, or socially.

The city's business SHOULD be conducted "on the city hall steps." As a people we need desperately to gain a greater understanding of our responsibility as citizens. Conducting the public's business in a vacuum is no help.

Common Sense Lawmaking

A CURRENT demonstration of common sense by the lower house of the Minnesota legislature is worth observation and study by the legislatures of most of our states which are still attempting to cope with complex modern problems by routines which have been changed little for a century or more.

After voting twice to establish a legislative council as a means of overcoming the weaknesses and confusions of the legislative process, but failing to gain the acquiescence of the Senate, the Minnesota House has simply created an interim committee[1] of its own with a competent research staff to remove the guesswork, bunk, and bad habits from lawmaking.

The legislative council, as proposed in the *Model State Constitution* since 1933, is composed of members of both houses and has a staff of its own to provide adequate information about measures under consideration.

The legislative council is no longer an experimental "reform." It has demonstrated in those states which have used it, especially in those which have provided adequate funds for the purpose, that it makes legislation a continuous, orderly process, promotes the development of sound legislative programs and leadership free from administrative domination, reduces the number of bills, eliminates the disgraceful end-of-the-session legislative jam, minimizes acrimonious bickering between the houses and with the executive, diminishes party rivalries, improves the quality of debate, and emancipates the lawmakers from blind acquiescence to administrative leadership, the dictatorship of pressure groups, and the influence of lobbyists. Most important of all its attributes is its promise of restoring public confidence and respect for our legislatures.

Recently, after the New York legislature had stopped the clock to rush through an avalanche of bills during the last days before adjournment, the Albany *Knickerbocker Press* suggested forcefully it was high time to give serious consideration to a legislative council. The *Press* pointed out that such a council's technical staff could do the work, and probably do it better, of the

(Continued on page 228)

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[1] See "Minnesota Interim Committee a Legislative Committee in Embryo," by Lloyd M. Short, p. 251, this issue.

Dayton Counts Its Blessings

Thirty years of council-manager government finds Ohio city well satisfied with an "experiment that succeeded"; but sentiment grows for more positive approach to postwar needs.

By **MAX P. HEAVENRICH, JR.,** Manager
Department of Government Research
Dayton Chamber of Commerce

WHEN the Mayor's gavel rapped for order on the first Wednesday in January, Dayton's city manager and councilmen were beginning the 1,561st regular session of the Dayton City Commission (Council) since the inauguration of council-manager government in 1914. Except for the complimentary remarks made to the Commission by one of the two citizens attending, a former mayor, and for the newspaper photographs of two commissioners being sworn into office for a new term, the event and the day were unmarked.

Dayton was passing another milestone in its claim to being one of the cities served longest by "real" council-manager government. It is part of the civic pride of Daytonians that their government, like other institutions, was an experiment that succeeded. They still think, to a degree, in terms of what preceded it in 1913 when political organizations vied for control of the "federal" system offices, most of which were elective and uncoördinated.

In point of time Daytonians count their blessings, including government, from the days of the flood which in March 1913 devastated a considerable portion of the city. It was during the flood that the old administration proved inadequate to meet the emergencies and the new leadership, spearheaded by a philanthropic industrialist, came forward. It was also from the flood that Daytonians discovered their community of interest could accomplish rapid and worthwhile changes; for out of such a community of interest grew the Miami Valley Conservancy, today supported by tax levies against the city of Dayton, the residents of the county, and the area served by the Conservancy District. The series of dams built by the district have prevented any possible repetition of the disaster.

Eighteen years before the flood there was talk of creating an administration of men "skilled in business management." But it was not until the reform movement swept through the Ohio legislature in 1912 that the foundations for Dayton's thirty years record were to be laid. In that year the legislature added a home rule amendment to the state constitution and in Dayton civic and industrial leaders created the Bureau of Municipal Research.

The latter under Lent D. Upson, awake to its opportunities, left the weak administration with no bed sheets to hide under. It set a pattern of exposure which municipal research bureaus were to follow for many years. The resulting charter commission, its deliberations, and the vote to adopt the manager plan, 13,-

217 to 6,122, followed the usual pattern.

Several times since unsuccessful efforts have been made to drop the manager system. Today there is still opposition to individuals within the government, but by and large the manager plan is accepted as the most feasible for all municipal purposes. At least one effort has been made to extend it to the county under the assumption that it might solve the problems of that unit, to which Dayton taxpayers contribute 78 per cent of its tax income.

In thirty years Dayton grew from a city of 125,000 to one of 211,000. It grew from an area of sixteen square miles to twenty-four by natural absorption of periphery areas. In 1944 it still had not absorbed wealthy Oakwood, its satellite residential community, because of opposition of Oakwood residents though most of them worked and played in Dayton. The number of water meters being used grew from 29,000 to 70,000. The number of city employees increased from 900 to 1,600. The 200 miles of sewers are now 571.

Others have told the story of Dayton well.[1] But some of it bears repetition. The first annual report of the city manager—the twenty-ninth consecutive successor of which was in the hands of hundreds of interested persons throughout the United States three days after the end of the fiscal year 1943—proudly pointed out that ash and rubbish removal had been re-established as a city service on regular schedule after several years of interim service or no service at all. The report pointed to the dollars saved by centralized purchasing, to the modernized bookkeeping methods, to the long needed street repairs then being made, to the new health service, to the placing of the park employees under civil service provisions, and to many other changes brought by the new form of government. Motor driven apparatus was being acquired to replace old horse-drawn vehicles. A garage supervisor went to a fire-equipment factory to learn how to maintain fire equipment. Other officials traveled to other cities to learn new methods. A municipal exhibit was held. Specialists were being employed when particular problems required surveys.

Planning Began Early

The recitation of the growth of services which Dayton pioneered or adopted during its early years becomes unnecessary in the light of present day acceptance of certain basic essentials to good government. But it is interesting to note that recreational facilities were deemed important thirty years ago as well as now; and to learn that juvenile delinquency was being fought then, as now, with curfews, recreational attractions, and detention homes.

Community planning, essentially physical planning, was begun long before World War I although many of the improvements hoped for remain for accomplishment after the current struggle. Modern office methods of 1914 have been progressively revised; and today Dayton is keeping most of its records on highly complicated but efficient office machines. Types of equipment have changed, been refined, or replaced; but Dayton has never hesitated to try the new, testing its efficiency by actual use.

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[1] See "Dayton's Sixteen Years of City Manager Government," by Arch Mandel and Wilbur M. Cotton, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Supplement, July 1930; also, "City Manager Government in Dayton," by Landrum R. Bolling, *Public Administration Service, Chicago,* 1940.

Finance Difficulties

Probably the most consistent problem of the city throughout the thirty years has been its ceaseless effort to escape the financial difficulties which beset Ohio cities. As early as 1919, after two years of city operating deficits, public administrators were complaining of the rising wage and material costs as they watched revenues decline. Looking to the state legislature for assistance, the manager declared: "The throttling of the cities by the rural elements of the legislature must sooner or later cease or municipalities will be in grave peril. Cities of Ohio have home rule in name only. They have now no voice in the tax valuation of property within the city, in fixing the tax rate, or in the portion of the tax rate which the municipality is to receive." Today city officials still look to Columbus for assistance in the solution of the same problem, although few honestly expect relief from that source.

During the difficult thirties, with unemployment great everywhere, the city of Dayton saw its tax collections dwindle to two-thirds their normal size. They appealed to Columbus and to the federal government for assistance. The former did give considerable help; and the latter through WPA assisted the city in carrying on widespread public works improvements. In the words of one official, "They were extremely good to us, and we made the most of the dollars available."

It was in the middle of the last decade that the sales tax came into existence in Ohio to help offset the new ten-mill tax limitation which had been promoted by interests particularly affected and adopted through the activity of rural legislators. Had the distribution of the sales tax to local governments been complete, the decline in local tax revenues forced by the limitation would have been much more than offset. But the amount distributed to local governments has been limited by legislative act, thus directing a considerable excess into the state's reserve. Whether this reserve will eventually reach local units from which it was collected remains to be determined.

With the thirties past, delinquent taxes began to be repaid, and as the present war approached economic conditions in the community helped expand the city's income to meet the increased needs of the moment. But when war broke Dayton's metropolitan population swelled more than thirty thousand in a few years, the military expanded its interests at Wright Field, and the problems returned.

Against industrial and federal drains on personnel at higher compensations, the city could not compete. Adjustments became necessary to keep even rudimentary services operating. In three years wages paid certain groups of service department employees almost doubled. As a result revenues again appeared to fall short, and administrators looked to the legislature and governor, giving voice to the complaint that the state was not returning equitable amounts of the sales tax.

Complementing the problem of a relatively fixed income against rising costs, the city began to lose increasing numbers of persons to the armed forces. As a result services began to slip, performance fell below pre-war standards. But in spite of all difficulties the city maintained a relatively high level of service. Part of this became possible through Lanham Act funds used to supplement Fire and Police Department funds and part through the long-developed ability of city officials to meet emergency adjustments as they occurred. Today, however, city officials are the first to admit that services are not being rendered in the manner they would like. Postwar improvements are promised if financial limitations can be overcome.

In spite of difficulties the city is spending for general operating purposes approximately 10 per cent more than it did in the standard year, 1926, as a result of the income from sales taxes, delinquent taxes, and increased miscellaneous receipts. Approximately two and a half million dollars will be spent for general government in 1944. Revenues have increased half a million dollars since the depth of the depression in 1932.

From 1914 to 1931 the city's debt was more than tripled as the physical pattern of the community developed. It paralleled the growth of the assessed valuation of the community, however, which almost tripled during the same period. Since 1931 the debt has declined steadily and rapidly so the current net debt slightly in excess of four million dollars on a valuation of approximately $340,000,000 promises a postwar leeway for capital improvement bonds, if necessary. The currently high credit rating of the city, comparable to other leading cities in the nation, is direct tribute to the debt policies of the administration in recent years, as well as to the caution of the citizens in refusing almost annual requests of the city administration for additional tax levies for operating purposes. With but few exceptions city requests have been declined although the school district encompassing Dayton has been successful in getting extra levies on many occasions.

Tax Rate Low

The average citizen still looks upon the tax rate as a key to the success of his government. Annually, with the appearance of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW report on comparative tax rates, Dayton citizens are reminded that their tax rate is lower than that of many cities, although higher than many in Ohio. During the last twelve years prior to manager government the tax rate averaged slightly less than $25 per thousand dollars of valuation. The comparable first twelve years of manager government produced an average rate of $21.05. The valuation of the city, however, more than doubled during the period offsetting any advantages accrued because of a lower tax rate.

At no time since the inception of manager government has the tax rate—city, county, and school—exceeded $29.60 per thousand dollars of valuation; the average rate for the full thirty years has been $21.97 per thousand. Since the ten-mill limitation dropped the total rate from $25.20 to $20.20 in 1935, anything over $22 per thousand is a high rate to Dayton citizens. Currently, the local governments are collecting $21.20 per thousand dollars of valuation. But of this total only $3.21 goes to the city government for operating, $2.06 for bonds and interest, and $.60 for police and fire pensions. In addition $2.34 of the city's share is paid to the Miami Conservancy District. The county and the Dayton school district, both distinct corporations, get $4.19 and $8.20 respectively.

Stable Personnel

What appears to have been a relatively stable condition administratively and financially throughout thirty years is equally true of personnel. The City Commission, composed of five members chosen at large, serving overlapping four-year terms, has had but 25 members. No woman has yet successfully won a seat on the Commission although a few have tried. One commissioner served thirteen years and the present mayor is entering on his eleventh year as a commissioner. Nine others have served eight years. Among administrative officials there are many who remember the early days of manager government; and more than a few recall the government preceding it. All present department heads have come up through the service. The finance director entered his present position in 1926.

The success of Dayton is often attributed to the continuity of legislative policy which resulted from the stability of the Commission membership. It is also true, however, that there has been a happy coincidence of the right personality in the managership during periods requiring particular abilities to meet special situations.

Henry M. Waite, now with the Bureau of the Budget in Washington, was Dayton's first manager. His vigorous, forthright, and hardworking methods focused attention and support to a program designed to establish the character of the government for thirty years. Twenty-six years after Mr. Waite left Dayton to enter military service he is remembered by many as the assertive administrator most responsible for the high standards of government since followed.

Mr. Waite was followed in rapid order by two men who under normal circumstances would have been more successful. But both encountered fiscal difficulties rising during the last war, and suffered by contrast to Mr. Waite. In August 1921 Fred O. Eichelberger, who had already served since 1906 as transit man, engineer, city engineer, and service director, succeeded to the post of manager. It was the moment when Dayton was about to enter upon its most rapid and far-reaching public works improvement program. His knowledge of the city's facilities, of his fellow citizens, and his personal desire to accomplish things quietly made the combination necessary to success.

Today Mr. Eichelberger continues on his methodical way. He has lacked the glamour associated with Mr. Waite but he has accomplished many of the improvements he visualized twenty years ago; and he has won the personal loyalty of many citizens. No one in 23 years of service could escape being the target for some criticism, but Mr. Eichelberger has survived and grown in the esteem of even those who earlier opposed him. He has remained as city manager long after the names of many commissioners are forgotten. Throughout, he has consistently followed a pattern of proposing policies, administering those approved, and opposing unwise suggestions. The right of final decision, he has always remembered, rests with the City Commission.

Positive Action Asked

There are persons in Dayton today who believe change in the city stewardship is necessary. Movements in that direction have been made, believing as they do that a new manager and new commission might bring new imagination to the community; but no official action has ever been undertaken on the floor of the Commission to remove the manager. If such action were taken the manager's friends would be quick to rally to him.

An increasingly critical attitude toward the administration has appeared in the press which for thirty years, almost without exception, has given the city government the most excellent coverage possible. Part of this support came from an early understanding which gave the press representatives access to all meetings, although publication of confidential matters was restricted. But in recent months criticism of the vacillation of the Commission on some matters has been pointed. Yet no administration could expect greater service than the present one receives.

The uniformly low percentage of citizens participating in municipal elections in Dayton, rarely more than 25 per cent of the electorate, is proof of the lack of exciting municipal issues. The almost universal absence of citizen visitors to the city building during working hours and their equally great absence from Commission meetings is interpreted by city officials as silent proof of satisfaction. Occasionally, neighborhood civics groups do appear to plead for special services, transportation facilities, or against legislation such as a "black-market" ordinance recently proposed. The schools send civics classes to listen to their government at work. But with most issues settled in conferences which precede Commission meetings, the routine order of business attracts little attention.

Some in the community believe there is dissatisfaction with the government which may grow to effective proportions soon after the war. They believe the city administration lacks a positive program of action, particularly as to finance and the development of postwar programs. To silence such groups the city recently released to the press a long list of unfinished

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Election Frauds Go Unchecked

Philadelphia politicians abandon old-time violence in favor of chicanery; learn how to circumvent permanent registration with which reformers sought to thwart them.

By **WILLIAM BARCLAY LEX**
Chairman of the Subcommittee on Elections, Philadelphia Committee of Seventy

WHILE the winning of elections in Philadelphia by "rough-house" tactics, as typified by the days of the "Bloody Fifth" Ward, is passing from the scene, the change unfortunately appears to be one of method only. Chicanery has supplanted violence. Under the guise of apparent obedience to the laws the machine politicians continue their way as before. It is another illustration that law enforcement can rise no higher than public morality.

As long as fraudulent voting exists in any appreciable degree to offset votes honestly cast, there can be little hope of electing representative public officials. This illegal voting does not exist because of our laws or lack of them but because of laxity in enforcing the existing election and permanent registration acts designed to assure honest elections.

The ability of a dishonest politician in Philadelphia to cast a fraudulent vote is dependent upon three things: inefficient operation of the permanent registration system, the indifference or dishonesty of election officials, and lack of public interest. Under the permanent registration act of 1937 each voter must fill out and sign a registration affidavit, one copy of which is placed in a book known as a division binder. This binder contains the affidavits of all registered electors in the same election division and is kept alphabetically. The binders are delivered to the polling place for each election and the eligibility of persons applying to vote is ascertained by comparing the signature of the voter made at the polls with the signature on his card in the division binder.

It is the duty of the Registration Commission to remove from the voting binders the cards of all persons not qualified to vote; to conduct periodic checkups, by personal visits and postal card inquiries, to ascertain whether or not a voter still resides at a given address; to maintain the accuracy of the lists by noting deaths reported by the Bureau of Vital Statistics and lapses of registration occasioned by not voting at least once in two years. Counsel for the Registration Commissioners admitted in our Supreme Court just a year ago that there were 100,000 names on the registration lists which should not be there. If the Registration Commission is nonpartisan and functions efficiently and honestly, the affidavits of those who have moved, died, or allowed their registration to lapse are discarded. But if these cards remain in the binder it opens the way to the casting of fraudulent votes.

The party workers in Philadelphia know exactly which voters have died, which ones have moved, and which ones aren't likely to vote, and with the connivance of the election board can vote these "extras" which remain illegally in the binder. Since in most instances the election boards in Philadelphia are actually part of the political machine or simply well meaning but careless "good" citizens, this is easily done.

Identification Provided

Each person must qualify before the election board of his or her division by signing a voter's certificate which, as already explained, is compared with his registration affidavit in the division binder at the time of voting. If one or more members of the election board are corrupt or careless and approve voters' certificates even when they know them to be obviously falsified, it takes little imagination to see that the number of fraudulent votes which could be cast is limited only by the number of registration cards which remain illegally in the binder. Sometimes the "boys" who cast the fraudulent votes get confused and even put in an extra one for a person who has already voted.

While this type of illegal voting can be detected by comparison of the voters' certificates with the registration affidavits, and this is the duty of the Registration Commission, in many cases the Commission has neglected to do so. This comparison has been done, however, by the Philadelphia Committee of Seventy—to the extent permitted by its limited staff and budget—as part of its regular work in safeguarding the ballot, with the resultant prosecution of many individuals.

Although efforts of the Committee have been confined to a small percentage of the voting districts, it has uncovered fraudulent voting in many divisions. In one of the 1,335 polling places in Philadelphia 295 fraudulent votes were cast. This particular fraud was made possible by the neglect of the election board—which was not composed of professional politicians but of average representative citizens of good repute in the community. This is no doubt an extreme case, but the Committee's investigations lead to the inevitable conclusion that thousands of improper votes are cast in each primary and general election.

Close Elections Affected

The first reaction of many people is that the number of fraudulent votes cast would have little effect on the results of an election in which 600,000 to 700,000 votes are cast. This is definitely not true. In recent years elections in Philadelphia have been won or lost by surprisingly close margins. If an average of only ten fraudulent votes were cast in each of our 1,335 divisions, these votes would total 13,350. A state senator recently won by a majority of two votes, a city commissioner by a majority of 60 votes. One councilman was elected by a majority of fifteen votes while another was considered elected by two votes until the ballots for an entire division were thrown out as void and he was defeated by 40 votes. In 1942 Governor Martin carried the city of Philadelphia by only 154 votes.

The fact that these men were

elected by such close margins is, in itself, not indicative of fraud or conspiracy. But it does highlight the existence of a dangerous possibility that a few well placed fraudulent votes can change the entire result of an election.

In Philadelphia the voting machine is in general use, but eleven of the 52 wards still vote by paper ballot. Aside from the waste, inaccuracy, and inefficiency of this method (for the last election it took one week to count the vote in 41 machine wards and three weeks to count the vote in eleven paper ballot wards) it leaves the door wide open for wholesale fraud.

Fraud can be committed positively by the casting of extra ballots or by adding a few votes to the total on the return sheet; or it can be committed negatively, for example, by purposely leaving the stub on the ballot so it will become invalid since it is identifiable, or by adding additional marks to otherwise valid ballots. Thus, in the last election, whether through ignorance or intent, the stubs were left on all but one of the ballots cast in a certain division. As a result of these void ballots the division, which was normally Democratic, elected a Republican election board by one vote, that of the only good ballot in the division.

The corrupt politician, the conspiring election board, and the inefficient handling of registration records could not exist if the public demanded otherwise. But the public has not done so. If it has not been "corrupt" it has at least been "content"—content to pay the bills and have the payrolls of the County Board of Elections and the Registration Commission loaded with the workers of the political machine. The "good" citizens fail to vote because they say, "Well, the politicians run the election anyway." Their absence from the polls contributes largely to control by the politicians.

Education of the public is the absolute panacea for these conditions, but this is a long, slow road. Through education the people must be shown existing evils, the importance of self-government, and the responsibility it demands from the individual.

Yes, we still have corrupt elections in Philadelphia, but there is no reason to suppose the general picture is different in other large cities or that the public conscience is lower in our city than elsewhere.

EDITORIALS

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many investigating committees and commissions which the legislature always has in operation.

This is just one of many indications of an increasing tendency to scrutinize governmental functions to cure bad habits and wasteful practices which do so much to weaken the democratic processes and, which is much worse, destroy the people's confidence in them. It is probable that this trend will be greatly accelerated after the war. It was after World War I.

Early Fiscal Plans Bear Fruit

Massachusetts' efforts for two generations to strengthen local financial administration and share state-collected revenues brightens postwar picture for cities and towns.

By THOMAS L. HINCKLEY
Division of Municipal Accounts
Massachusetts Department of Corporations and Taxation

FOR the first time in many years the majority of American municipalities are admitting that they are in good shape financially. Whether the taxpayer receives his benefit at once in lower taxes or whether his local authorities decide to postpone tax reductions and set something aside for the inevitable "rainy day" of postwar readjustment he will in either case profit from the situation.

In Massachusetts municipal improvement has been most pronounced in regard to tax collections, debt reduction, debt service charges, temporary borrowing, and surplus revenue; tax rates and per capita taxes show reductions but in smaller ratio.

The conclusion seems to be that so far as the average Massachusetts citizen is concerned there has recently been a small though favorable change in his annual tax bill for local governmental service; so far as the corporate status of these governmental units is concerned there has, however, been a marked gain in respect to those factors which measure the character of financial administration.

While wartime restrictions have unquestionably made the task of financial rehabilitation much easier for Massachusetts cities and towns—as for municipalities in general—there are in the writer's opinion at least two outstanding reasons why these communities have as a whole been able to respond so promptly to the present situation. One is the long-standing practice of sharing state-collected revenue with municipalities and the other is the continuous and constructive efforts, extending over many years, which state authorities have made to strengthen and improve local financial administration.[1]

The partial distribution of state-collected revenues to its cities and towns has been a permanent feature of the state's financial policy for more than two generations. Since 1917 net state contributions to local treasuries—exclusive of federal grants and deducting the annual "state tax" or ad valorem levy assessed on cities and towns to cover deficits in the state budget—have amounted to not less than 10 per cent of all municipal receipts and have frequently amounted to about 15 per cent of these receipts. Granting that all public revenues are taken from the people of the state in one form or another it still remains true that the methods used in apportioning them as between different levels of government is an important element in financial well-being.

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[1] A third factor might also be mentioned—the continuity in office for over twenty years of both the state's tax commissioner, Mr. Henry F. Long, and its director of municipal accounts, Mr. Theodore N. Waddell; this has made possible the maintenance of a consistent and coördinated plan as regards local finances in spite of sharp differences in political programs.

Beginning in 1864 with the distribution of taxes on corporations according to the residence of stock owners, the list of state contributions now includes receipts from business and certain public utility corporations together with large shares of income, alcoholic beverage, and meals (old-age assistance) taxes. In addition certain miscellaneous revenues such as those from racing meets are available to cities and towns. Large payments are also made each year in the form of grants-in-aid, subsidies, and reimbursements for educational and social welfare purposes. In critical years the state has also made special distributions to municipalities—principally from its highway fund—and has made special loans to them both for relief and in consideration of the amount of tax titles in their possession, with the result that since 1935 Massachusetts cities and towns taken as a whole have been "out of the red" from the standpoint of cash transactions.

The effect of the commonwealth's liberal policy towards its municipalities has been to provide them with a "cushion" which has enabled them to absorb drastic losses in property taxes without too disastrous results; also, when revenue receipts have exceeded payments—as they did during 1920-30 and as they do at the present time—the availability of substantial state aid has encouraged decreases in local tax rates which might otherwise not have been made. In the past year, for example, more than two-thirds of the cities and towns in Massachusetts have reduced their local tax rates. More would have done so had it not been for pressure exerted upon them to make some sort of preparation for postwar contingencies.

Efforts of State Authorities

In Massachusetts contact between state and local authorities is much more direct than in many sections of the country because of the limited powers of counties. Such functions as the equalization of local assessments and the supervision of local departmental activities are, to the extent that they are authorized by law, performed in Massachusetts by state instead of by county authorities. Many state agencies, therefore, are in constant touch with local officers and are in a position to influence their activities. This is especially true of the Division of Accounts which through its director, under the general authority of the state's tax commissioner, is most closely concerned with the administration of local finances.

Ever since 1906 the state government has under varying titles maintained an office having as its objective the improvement of those aspects of local government which are amenable to state authority. In practice this has consisted of direct technical assistance to local financial officers, supervision of their accounting and reporting methods, and finally the initiation of legislation designed to prevent the financial breakdowns which are to be expected in the absence of adequate controls.

Beginning in 1906 and continuing without interruption until the present day there has been an annual compilation of municipal financial statistics based upon a standard functional classification. It is not too much to say that the availability of this long series of comparable statistics has been of immense value not only to state and local authorities in Massachusetts but also to public officials and investigators in general.

In 1910 legislation was secured authorizing the auditing of municipal accounts and the installation in cities and towns of a uniform accounting system. At first these services were offered on a voluntary basis but in 1920 the periodic auditing of municipal accounts was made compulsory—except for the city of Boston which was not included until 1939. At the present time two-thirds of the municipalities of the state keep their books according to the uniform system.

In 1911 the certification of the notes of towns and, later, of fire, water, and lighting districts was assumed by the state, removing a common source of embarrassment to municipalities and investors alike.

It was found necessary soon after the establishment of the office of municipal statistics to supplement the installation of improved reporting and accounting methods with additional legislation as many of the former defects in local financial practice still persisted. In 1913, therefore, a comprehensive "reform bill" on municipal finance, consisting of several separate measures, was passed; these statutes, with minor changes during subsequent years, have remained the foundation upon which the stable financial structure of today has been erected.

The 1913 statutes were directed principally towards municipal indebtedness as being at once the most vulnerable sector of local finance and lying well within the area of state regulation. They provided among other things for the abolition of sinking funds and the adoption of the serial method of debt redemption; in the case of serial issues they provided that annual payments should begin in the year following the issue and that such payments should in any one year be not less than the amount payable in any succeeding year. The new laws also prohibited the further refunding of bonded debt, the issuance of "demand" notes, and the use of trust funds for current purposes.

Further Checks Provided

In 1923 another check upon unwise borrowing was established by requiring municipalities when issuing bonds to appropriate from available funds or to raise by taxation in the year of issue a sum equal to 25 cents (in Boston ten cents) per $1,000 valuation as a condition precedent to the loan. While by no means a drastic provision the required sums, as they apply to each bond issue separately, soon attain considerable size in the case of the larger cities where they compel the adoption of a "pay-as-you-go" basis for all but major capital requirements.

Statutory debt limits, established in 1875 for towns and in 1885 for cities, have not been affected by any of these changes. They remain at 2½ per cent for cities and 3 per cent for towns. Indebtedness for municipal enterprises and for a number of specified purposes, however, is permitted outside of these limits so that the actual debt, while never excessive, is frequently greater than these percentages would imply.

There are, of course, many other safeguards surrounding the use of municipal funds in Massachusetts. The measures just outlined, however, are of interest as indicating what the typical financial problems of local communities in this state have been and how they have been handled; they may seem unexceptional today but when adopted were well in advance of prevailing practice. The effectiveness of these controls was amply demonstrated during the disturbances caused by the first World War and during the succeeding periods of expansion and depression. Their influence still continues; at the close of the past year, for example, the total net debt of the cities and towns of the state taken as a whole had receded to levels not seen since the early twenties and the prospects are that this trend will continue "for the duration."

As further evidence of financial strength may be cited the accumulation by cities and towns of many millions of cash reserves during the past two years.

The chief characteristic of the method of approach to the financial problems of Massachusetts municipalities as outlined above seems to be its flexibility. Such general restrictions as have been imposed are mainly corrective; limitations on indebtedness, while severe as regards tax-supported debt, are elastic when it comes to borrowing for revenue-producing utilities; the amount of state contributions can, within limits, be increased or reduced as circumstances dictate; local communities are free to accept or not, as they please, many of the regulative acts.

Postwar Aspects

Whether existing controls can be made to serve without change during the approaching period of postwar readjustment is of course a matter of opinion but the evidence of the previous postwar decade is reassuring. In 1920-30 municipal maintenance costs in Massachusetts rose 64 per cent and the volume of outlays for public improvements doubled; however, thanks to rising property values and higher individual incomes no essential changes except the 1923 provisions relative to serial bonds were found necessary.

At the present time, with many of the inflationary factors of the earlier period again active—abnormal salary, wage, and price levels, deferred maintenance requirements, growing pressures for new capital expenditures, etc.—another upward surge of municipal budgets appears certain. In this event the familiar problems of local finance are bound to reappear—especially that of indebtedness.

In providing new or additional funds for its municipalities Massachusetts, like other states, will be handicapped by a contracting area of potential sources of revenue; it will also risk the application of the law of diminishing returns to its own revenues. The proper allocation of all available sources of income as between federal, state, and local governments would seem to be almost a "condition precedent" for final solution of this problem but as it is highly charged with "politics" prospects of early agreement are not encouraging.

If both local resources and state assistance fail to hold increased costs within reasonable limits the burden of municipal inflation will fall on the local property taxpayer, who already pays more than three-fourths of all taxes levied in Massachusetts. It is true that the general public in this state is much more tax-conscious now than it was twenty years ago because of activities of taxpayers' associations in some 187 cities and towns; but how effectively these organizations will be able to curb the more ambitious programs of postwar planners remains to be seen.

The one sure way to reduce municipal costs is to stop spending—a fact which the depression and the experiences of the past two years have brought home to the average citizen. While no one would wish to carry this principle to extremes there is often a considerable margin between what is essential and what is merely desirable in a municipal spending program—whether for current expenses or for long term purposes. If the local taxpayer is able to assert his point of view effectively he may prove to be a deciding factor in postwar municipal finance.

DAYTON

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projects, costing approximately sixty-three million dollars, which included housing programs, a water-softening plant, completion of the railroad track elevation started before the war, a series of freeways and highways planned many years ago, recreational facilities, and many other projects. But with the release of this list, most of which has been only roughly blueprinted, the city reported that its accomplishment depended on the extent to which federal state, and local funds would be available.

There is a growing conviction in the community that a more forthright approach to local problems must be developed; there is talk of Dayton merely as the center of an area about which all plans for the future need be developed, that all units of government should be included. There is a desire to silence administration spokesmen who complain of the failures of the state or federal governments to share with the cities. Leaders in private industry and business are convinced a definite program, intelligibly and honestly presented, will lead the citizens to vote more taxes in the near future. They believe that the spirit existing in 1914 still exists. The problems of finance, of population movements to the surrounding county, of housing, recreation, and re-employment can be met. They hope the administration, looking forward to the future rather than backward to the flood, is going to be ready to make the most of the spontaneous desire of Dayton citizens to help themselves.

Wanted: New Type Politician

We (the Athenians) are the only people to regard the man who takes no interest in politics, not as careless, but as useless. **Pericles.**

By **WILLIAM E. MOSHER**
Syracuse University

THE American educational system both on the secondary school and academic levels has as a major, if not the major, objective the training of young people to live and participate in democracy, i.e., to be good citizens. Thomas Jefferson insisted on a free public school system on the ground that self-government called for an intelligent citizenry. In the charter of many a college are found references to the importance of training young people for the responsibilities of citizenship.

Despite the theoretical dedication of the whole educational system to the advancement of democratic interests and the untiring efforts of school and academic orators to plant the seed of good citizenship in the minds of their audiences, young people conclude their schooling without any clear-cut mandate and indeed with almost no impulse or attitude that would prompt them to do anything specific about democracy or citizenship.

In support of this observation one might cite the replies to a question recently submitted to 2,006 students in the seventh to twelfth grades in a sample of forty selected high schools. The students were asked to give a brief definition of democracy. In their replies 63 per cent referred exclusively to rights and privileges, while only about a fourth, 27 per cent, made some passing or extensive reference to duties and responsibilities. Had these young seniors never heard that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty"; that in its essence democracy means partnership in public affairs, an active participating; that representative self-government means having informed opinions on public affairs and seeing to it that representatives are capable and really representative?

As one surveys the political scene in almost any area of the country and in almost any jurisdiction, he will find political apathy as the most common characteristic of the voters. In the 1942 Congressional election, for example, only 56 per cent of the voters the country over were sufficiently interested to cast a ballot for local congressional candidates, despite the fact that this Congress would be called upon to make many decisions which vitally affect the conduct of the war and may well influence the character of the peace to be.

This indifference to public affairs is, unfortunately, not confined to the less educated. It is prevalent to a deplorable degree among the better educated of our citizens and in large part explains the election to public office of relatively inferior men and women. The quality of representative bodies cannot be expected to be of the best in a country in which practical politics are a matter of indifference to the rank and file of the educated and well situated citizens and where the genus politician is looked at askance. Among the democracies with which we would compare our own there is none in which the term politician carries such uncomplimentary connotations as with us. Just recently a prominent politician, whose efforts are devoted to furthering the public interest, stated that his family's social standing would be most adversely affected if it were not for his reputation in his professional calling.

Voters Apathetic

The end result of the formal education and the family and social conditioning of the typical American youth is an attitude of aloofness toward politicians and political parties. The youth is father to the man. No more than his elders does he appreciate that the political indifference of the rank and file of the more intelligent citizenry results in a choice of candidates on election day that is no better than a beggar's choice. All too often it is a case of Tweedledum vs. Tweedledee.

But how many of such discontented voters ever have done anything about the recurrence of such a choice? Perhaps better, how many of them know how they could do anything about it? The fact of the matter is that these good and upright citizens fail to see that the parties are at the base of the whole governmental structure, its policies, and administration, and that the character of the parties is determined by the precinct committeemen who are selected at the local primaries.

From the point of view of self-government the statistics on voting at primary elections are highly disheartening. Only rarely do more than one-third of the voters take the trouble to cast a ballot and most of those who do have an axe to grind. In a sample taken several years ago, in eight of seventeen New York cities, only 6 per cent to 20 per cent of the registered voters participated in the primary election. This means that the party leaders have had a free hand in picking their docile followers, thereby making the latter responsible only to themselves and permitting them to write their own ticket in respect to both candidates and platform.

Convinced as to the importance of precinct committeemen in the governmental hierarchy, the writer made an investigation several years ago of the character of these party officials in a fair sample of cities in New York State. Character was defined in terms of schooling and calling. Four thousand cases were covered. The summaries showed that 55 per cent had not gone beyond the grammar school; 33 per cent had gone to high school; and 12 per cent to college at least for one year. Of the latter group, it may be noted that one-half were lawyers, some of whom at least were in politics for business purposes. On the vocational side, 60 per cent of the precinct committeemen belonged to skilled or unskilled labor classes while 19 per cent were on the public payrolls. It may be concluded that a good majority of these four thousand committeemen were not likely to take a broad and independent view of party policies, while they were more than likely to hear their master's voice at every turn of the road. It is by such means that boss control is established and maintained.

It has been commonly held that politicians are not interested in progressive policies and competent management of public affairs and that they are constitutionally opposed to change of any sort. The unbusinesslike and obsolete character of county government throughout the country bears witness to these attitudes. Furthermore, it must be remembered that party leaders do not confine their attention to party activities in the narrow sense of the term. They continuously exert influence on legislation, administrative policies and practices, and appointments up and down the line. To use Elihu Root's phrase, they constitute "the invisible government," just as they did at the time of the New York State Constitutional Convention when Mr. Root coined the phrase.

A Crucial Time

Apart from certain bright spots on the political map we are defaulting in self-government. In theory we enjoy self-government and, occasionally when abuses become intolerable, we launch a reform wave and have it in fact. But generally reform waves prove to be rather short-lived affairs. Now that government has assumed the central role in our national and local housekeeping the problem of self-government ceases to be one of merely academic importance or one that can properly be turned over to starry-eyed reformers. It is a crucial affair for all of us, not on the ground of civic responsibility, but of very real self-interest. It is particularly crucial for educators whose assignment is to lay the groundwork for attitudes and interests of the youth who will soon take over the leadership in the social and political scene.

No more pressing challenge confronts us than this: Can we educate and stimulate the oncoming generations of students to appreciate that democracy is worth fighting for when challenged from without, but also worth sacrificing for when challenged from within. Democracy, like other values, has to be won and won again if it is to endure. To inherit it is not enough. As Goethe put it, "What we inherit, we do not own, we simply possess." We in this generation, as our forebears in preceding generations, have possessed democracy but have done little to make it our own and preserve it intact.

The question that in the long run may well overtop all others is whether the average citizen can be made an active, participating democrat, willing to identify himself with the party of his choice, use his influence to have it adopt sound and progressive policies and to nominate broad-gauged and capable persons for public office, perhaps himself willing to stand for public office even at the price of personal sacrifice. In such ways and in such ways only can party responsibilities be distributed among many and the bosses be relieved of their job of keeping the party machines rolling. That this is possible has been well demonstrated in Cincinnati where slates are set up, canvasses and caucuses carried on, and polls watched by a thousand and more volunteers. They have been amply rewarded by high-grade public service, reduced debt charges, and lower tax rates.

Up to the present time government and politics have been largely a side show with most of our citizens. In view of the greatly expanded functions of government in internal affairs and the prospective expansion in international affairs, these interests have moved into the main tent. Under this reasoning we must conclude that *politics becomes the proper avocation of every thoughtful adult.* To prepare young people for politics as an avocation there must be something akin to a revolution in educational methods and content. Government must be taught more realistically and more effectively, particularly as to motivation and stimulation. What has often been one of the poorest taught subjects should be one of the best. However much instructors may be committed to the scientific approach to the subject of politics and government, they cannot afford to neglect indoctrination in season and out with respect to the primary importance of participation in political processes.

College graduates are all too ready to hold themselves aloof from party activities; while not a few acquire an attitude of cynicism about them. However justified such an attitude may be in view of party policies and behaviors, it is well to remember that parties are what men and women make them and that many an apparently well entrenched party boss has been ousted by a small and cohesive minority group.

According to Duncan Aikman, one of the most assiduous students of politicians and their methods, politics is on the whole an institution carried on by people curiously incompetent at politics. "They are backslappers or stuffed shirts or town characters, primarily amateur organizers of voters' support for their candidates." Is it then surprising that the top members of the national committee of one of the major parties are interested not in policies but in votes and jobs?

If the program above is accepted the time may come when the success of a college and particularly of a political science department will be measured by the proportion of its graduates who have become active politicians. In the opinion of the writer this would be an appropriate and a wholesome index of success. To obtain a high score on the scale not a few departments would have to modify their present offerings and introduce material that is derived from real political situations and has to do with real political personalities. An abundance of such material is now available.

Local Community a Laboratory

Of equal importance would be to make students aware of the politics and politicians in the local community. It has been said of Athens that the city itself provided a school of citizenship. Potentially at least, every town and city in a democratic country can be viewed and utilized as a school of citizenship if instructors in politics and government are alive to the possibilities in the local environment. Here are to be found real parties and leaders, real conflicts and issues as well as all those other factors which go to make democratic government what it is. If the local community were used as a laboratory, courses in politics and government could be vitalized just as are courses in the natural sciences which without their laboratories would be sterile indeed.

In passing it may be noted that the political scientists on a faculty are not solely responsible for the prevailing attitudes of students in respect to politics and politicians. Historians and instructors of the other social sciences as well as of English literature contribute to the impressions gained by students in their academic years. Many a political cynic has been bred in courses in English literature.

Bridging the Gap

A number of professors of political science are giving more and more attention to the matter of stimulating their students to participate in politics after their graduation. At this point a problem arises as to how such young people may gain an entree into the party of their choice in the town or city where they settle to begin their career. Many a young man or woman has gone forth to carry high the banner of democratic citizenship only to be disappointed at their reception or lack of it, or they have been initiated in questionable party practices and become utterly disgusted with the low standards or even the chicanery of their political associates.

It is the belief of the present writer that there should be more effective indoctrination and stimulation on the campuses up and down the land—*the sending line*—but beyond that a program should be developed whereby young graduates may be initiated into party ways in the home town or wherever they settle down and further may be sponsored and guided by experienced, practical politicians during their novitiate. This means setting up a *receiving line*. In other words, what is needed is a means of implementing the entrance of young people of intelligence and character into the party of their choice.

The problem of implementation has been discussed with well over a hundred political scientists and a number of nationally prominent political leaders. Efforts are now under way to raise a sum of money to finance the selection of small committees in both parties in all cities of 50,000 and over throughout the country. Such committees would consist of five or six men and women who appreciate the importance of recruiting promising young people into the local party and who would serve as their guides and mentors, making them wise in the ways of the party. Sponsors would be judiciously selected and would be asked to assume responsibility for all comers.

When the committees have been carefully chosen by those employed to perform this task, the names of the chairmen would be forwarded to all interested professors of political science of whom about one hundred have already agreed to coöperate. In case the student approached a teacher to inquire how he might get into politics—according to the teacher's previous advice—the teacher would inquire as to probable place of residence and party preference. By referring to his list of chairmen, he could give to the student a letter of introduction to a specific person, rather than advising him to get in touch with the precinct committee of his home precinct. This latter suggestion has been made by many an instructor and has in the end usually come to naught.

To anticipate the results of this proposal, let us assume that a party of fifty young people from various campuses bring letters to the chairman of the sponsoring committees in a city of the size of Buffalo for the period of a decade. Would anyone question that a wholesome ferment would be introduced into the party organizations? Some of the 400-500 young people would doubtless grow weary or become absorbed in other interests; some might "go bad" in that they would play the regular political game; but a number would stand for and promote progressive measures and use their influence to improve the character of nominations to the party ticket, if not to stand for election themselves.

Local Politics a Reservoir

In estimating the merit of this proposal two self-evident truths may well be borne in mind: one, that the character of any organization depends in the long run on the people recruited into it; two, that the character of state and national parties and policies depends on the character of local parties. The grass-roots of the parties are the local precinct committeemen. Out of this reservoir come both future party leaders and nominees to elective offices. Only rarely is a candidate chosen for high office who has not come up through the ranks. For such reasons it is of prime importance that attention be given to the recruits entering local party organizations.

This article has to do not alone with the government of tomorrow, but also with the society of tomorrow, for who can deny that governmental authority will hereafter serve as a major social force. Furthermore, it has to do not alone with local, state, and national governments, but also with the ways in which this nation will function in the family of nations. Our fate and the fate of oncoming generations are in the hands of politicians. Whether they are representative or unrepresentative, inspired or uninspired, narrow or broad-minded, will depend on the success of the educators in bringing home to the succeeding generations of students that in a democracy politics is everyman's business and that representative government will be representative or unrepresentative according to the extent to which individual men and women, each active in his own community, make it such.

In conclusion we may well remind ourselves of the final sentence in DeTocqueville's great study, *Democracy in America*. He wrote, "The nations of our time cannot prevent the conditions of men from becoming equal; but it depends upon themselves whether the principle of equality is to lead them to servitude or freedom, to knowledge or barbarism, to prosperity or to wretchedness."

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Adapted from article entitled "Education for Politics," by Dr. Mosher, published in the *Bulletin* of the American Association of University Professors, June 1943.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

On the Local Front

Prepared by the Office of Community War Services
Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

Is F-M in Your Postwar Plans?

ONE day last fall every child in the Cleveland public schools heard by radio a brief warning about a sudden outbreak of rabies. In school rooms throughout the city radio sets were turned on and school children listened while the friendly voice of a policeman told them about the danger and advised them simply and plainly what to do. A message presented at the request of the police department had been recorded so that it could be repeated throughout the school day.

Cleveland municipal authorities were able to render this service because of the existence of Station WBOE. The last three letters of the name of this station stand for Board of Education—the Cleveland Board of Education.

Policemen and other municipal officials are no strangers to the studios of WBOE. Since its establishment in 1938 this school-owned station has afforded numerous opportunities for close coöperation between the school system and various departments of the municipal government. Programs on safety education have been developed in coöperation with the police department; programs on health with the health department.

Cleveland's excellent air raid warning system used WBOE. Student radio monitors stood listening watch during school hours at every school in the city. The famous Cleveland Public Library presents programs every week over WBOE. Practically all Cleveland community services and activities find the school board's radio station a useful channel for supplying information to the city's school children and teachers. What has happened in Cleveland as a result of the establishment of a school-owned and operated F-M radio station can happen in every large city of the nation.

What can municipal government officers and citizens expect of this new development? Will it be useful in the building of a more enlightened, responsible citizenry? How soon will F-M education stations come into existence? What will they cost? What can they mean for the various departments of municipal government? For Mr. John Q. Public? These are among the questions which are likely to be raised.

The educational station in this country is as old as radio and yet F-M for education is today a postwar prospect. In the early twenties electrical engineering departments of our great colleges and universities obtained licenses and operated stations. But only some 25 of these stations evolved from engineers' experiments into ongoing communication services—stations like the University of Wisconsin's WHA and Illinois' WILL.

By the middle thirties school superintendents and other college executives became so interested in the growing possibilities of radio that they supported U. S. Commissioner of Education John W. Studebaker in a request for allocation of certain portions of a new broadcast band being opened up for general use. Acceding to this proposal the FCC in 1938 set aside one megacycle for non-commercial educational stations. Within two years this band and the neighboring commercial broadcast band were reclassified for F-M (frequency modulation) type of broadcasting.

The FCC made its reclassification decision in 1940 just before war conditions put a stop to further production of transmitting stations or receivers. Only 45 commercial stations and five educational stations secured licenses and equipment in time to begin operations. Their operations have been restricted by inability of either the schools or householders to buy FM-AM receivers, although both Cleveland and Chicago schools have obtained F-M receiving equipment.

Postwar Plans Laid

In this period of waiting, both commercial broadcasters and educational institutions are laying their plans for postwar developments. To the 200 prewar commercial F-M applications before the FCC, more than 100 have been recently added. In addition, more than 100 school systems or colleges have reported their expectation to apply for licenses. Some have already applied. Atlanta, Newark, San Diego, Detroit, University of Michigan, Philadelphia, and other school systems or higher education institutions have either submitted license applications or are preparing to do so.

Establishment of an educational F-M station will not conflict with or overlap services of local commercial stations. Indeed, commercial broadcasters are encouraging the establishment of educational F-M stations. Effective use of radio as an aid to education requires in many cases very special adaptations both in content and time. What is good for the schools makes poor listening in the barber shop and therefore commercial radio welcomes the coming of special educational stations prepared to perform a special task.

The cost of acquiring an educational F-M station for a community is not large. Three units are required: a transmitter, antenna on a tower or high building, and studios. The Chicago Board of Education's WBEZ cost slightly over $10,000. What postwar prices on F-M equipment will be no one yet knows, but the large market that is opening up promises reductions growing out of multiple, if not mass, production. Roughly, it can be said that a school system can probably acquire a radio station for the cost of two classrooms. Considering the fact that such a station can serve all classrooms and ultimately bring adult education programs to all citizens, investment in an F-M station would appear to be a reasonable investment in modern community service.

Maintenance and operation costs will not be large. Tubes for F-M transmitters operate generally on lower power than present AM broadcasting stations and therefore last longer. FCC requires a second-class license operator to be in charge. After the war there will be many ex-servicemen holding second-class licenses. What management and production staff will be required will depend on the size of the community and the ambitiousness of the school system. For educational stations the FCC assigns no minimum number of hours of operation per day. They may operate two hours a day five days a week or eighteen hours a day. Cleveland's Board of Education budgets about $20,000 annually for its F-M station director, engineers, and other headquarters service, but it also relies on part-time service of teachers and supervisors to develop programs which are on the air from 8.30 A.M. to 4 P.M. five days a week.

Moreover, it appears that the noncommercial, educational F-M broadcast station must ultimately consider its responsibilities as something wider than municipal services. The 42-to-43 megacycle band allocated for educational broadcasting affords only five frequency channels—far too few to enable every municipality to have its own school-owned station. In fact, in order to insure educational broadcast service on a statewide basis, careful planning in terms of transmitter power, station sites, and the spacing of stations will be necessary. Consequently, each station will probably need to plan its services in terms of the total area to which it provides program coverage.

Because of the need for careful planning to assure equable sharing of facilities, the U. S. Office of Education has been aiding state departments of education to develop state plans for the use of F-M. Nine charts have been planned showing where transmitters can be placed to assure service from at least one transmitter to every school in a state. On these charts transmitters are located with due regard to program production resources—in or near large cities or colleges or universities. The Office of Education already has before the FCC a request for ten additional wave lengths. If this request is granted after the war more leeway can be allowed in the licensing of F-M stations for service to specific communities.

Many states are already planning to develop a federation or network of educational F-M stations. They look forward to the possibility of an exchange of programs. Thus high school students of two cities could carry on a debate which would reach all those within earshot of receivers in both communities. Programs created by universities and teachers colleges could be offered to F-M educational stations throughout a state. In Michigan where network plans are already far advanced, the various departments of the state government have already shown a keen interest in securing the coöperation of the future educational network in presenting the educational needs and aspects of their services.

What kind of programs will be broadcast over the school-owned F-M station? The answer is almost every conceivable kind and perhaps many not conceivable at this time. Superintendent Lake of Cleveland says that experience in his city indicates that there is no subject of the curriculum for which radio cannot function effectively as an aid to learning.

Radio in Adult Education

What radio can mean to the adult education of citizens we are just beginning to discover. Today the exigencies of commercial radio confine Town Hall programs largely to single centers picked up by networks for relatively short times. In cities with F-M educational stations, we may readily expect the broadcasting of local town meetings devoted to local issues. These programs can go on during the evening hours for as long as may be necessary.

The future educational F-M stations may not be used for politics. Terms of the license from FCC require that noncommercial educational stations be used to provide educational services to schools and adults. Any use of the facilities for partisan political programs would, undoubtedly, be a violation of the word and spirit of the license. From the point of view of the future of municipal government, this restriction will prove beneficial. So great is the influence of radio in our society today that a transmitter operated by the municipal government might become a football of local politics. With the control and responsibility centered in the board of education and with the responsibilities for educational service definitely set forth, a local educational

(Continued on page 246)

Researcher's Digest: May

Boston looks at "in lieu" payments, kids in Oregon, subway fares, Cook County's new purchasing manual, Hartford's city employees, bonding practices, Alabama studies legislature.

By **MIRIAM ROHER**

HOUSERS speak of blighted areas. But perhaps there is an opposite condition which results from government rehousing—"tax blight." Such a thing is suggested by the **Boston Municipal Research Bureau** which has viewed, and with considerable alarm, *Payments in Lieu of Taxes on Public Housing in Boston.* The Bureau finds that there are payments all right, but they don't seem to be in lieu of any recognizable local tax standard. The federal assessments tend to be low and payments, such as they are, tend to be late. And the city loses.

Since more and more federal ownership or participation in housing and other local projects seems to be an inevitable part of the governmental picture, what the Bureau is calling for is a new look at the payments-in-lieu-of-taxes picture. If the local government is to render a subsidy by taking a hefty cut in taxes, maintains the Bureau, why not make it respectable by changing its name and calling it a subsidy? There are lots of facts and figures in this study to support the argument.

Curfew

Anyone can walk down the street, see a handsome but sightless young marine, and know he is looking in the face of war. It is much harder to recognize another spawn of wartime. He or she is the teen-age boy or girl, neglected by war-worker parents, left out of the excitement, pockets burning with wartime wages—almost inevitably a delinquent, infected eventually both in body and in emotional balance.

The **Bureau of Municipal Research and Service of the University of Oregon** has looked at this problem of juvenile delinquency, which is harassing municipal officials all over the country. In *Curfew Regulations in 57 Oregon Cities,* prepared in coöperation with the League of Oregon Cities, the Bureau has made a faithful study of the all-kids-off-the-street laws in Oregon and has come to the conclusion that this negative approach to the problem is effective only if really enforced by the police.

At the same time, however, the Bureau has enclosed with its curfew report a four-page brief on "Suggestions for Community Action to Curb Juvenile Delinquency" which states the problem, gives some figures, and then sensibly runs through all the constructive methods of keeping the kids wholesomely busy and out of mischief. There's nothing specially confined to Oregon about this discussion—it could apply anywhere.

Five-Cent Fare

It's pretty hard to find a city these days that doesn't have transportation problems, which is why the report of the **Commerce and Industry Association of New York, Inc.,** may be of interest to others than New Yorkers. The Association has examined the financial aspects of three years of complete municipal ownership and control of the rapid transit lines of New York City. What it has found is Deficit, transformed into a load carried by the taxpayers of the city. Moreover, maintain the surveyers, more and better equipment is sorely needed, which will only mean more deficit. The conclusion bears on the old, old New York controversy—the five-cent fare. The Commerce and Industry Association doesn't say how much the fare ought to be. They do say that it ought to be "self-sustaining and self-liquidating."

Manual

First the **Cook County Budget Survey Commission,** whose work is directed by the **Chicago Civic Federation,** made a survey of the purchasing technique of several of the largest cities in the United States, including Detroit, Cincinnati, and Milwaukee. Through the mail they got information also on New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Kansas City, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, and others. Then they pulled out all the best and wrote a *Manual of Purchasing Organization and Procedure of the Office of the Purchasing Agent, Cook County, Illinois.* The result of this eminently logical procedure looks like a very fine manual indeed. John F. Ward, who worked on the study, is now assistant purchasing agent of Cook County.

Introduction to Crime

While on the face of it not the most exciting topic in the world, bonding of public employees can become dramatic enough for anyone if someone *not* properly bonded happens to abscond with the crown jewels. Instructive, therefore, is the **Nebraska Legislative Council's** report on *Bonding of State Officers and Employees.* The usual legislative council procedure is followed and local practices are compared with those of other states.

Perquisites

Amid the current alarums on the subject of municipal employees' salaries, the **Hartford Governmental Research Institute** thought it was high time someone pointed out that municipal workers do have some substantial perquisites not common to others. The March 23, 1944, number of *Taxpayers Business* describes the situation with regard to salaries, hours of employment, vacations, sick leave, compensation insurance, group life insurance, group health and accident insurance, and pensions.

New Series

Not unmindful of the fact that administration isn't the only pebble on the governmental beach, the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama** has embarked on a series of studies under the general title, "The Legislative Process in Alabama." The first in the group is a work on *Legislative Apportionment*, done under the Bureau aegis by Hallie Farmer and published now between the usual attractive covers. There are maps, tables, and local history of this universally troublesome subject.

Housing

Herbert S. Swan has made a study for the **Institute of Public Administration** on *The Housing Market in New York City.* Since housing as a problem of government is obviously here to stay, there is much that is of value in this tremendously detailed, strictly economic approach to the subject.

Potpourri

Citizens and Parties

The **Detroit Bureau of Municipal Research's** *Just a Second* said recently, in outlining steps in party organization and management in Michigan: "It is not enough to vote. It is also necessary to participate in the organization and management of the political parties who present candidates and policies to be voted upon."

Bureaus Study Finance Problems

Governmental finance is an ever-present subject for scrutiny by the research bureaus. The **Providence Governmental Research Bureau** has examined the school, city, and state finances of Providence and Rhode Island in recent bulletins. The **Boston Bureau** has issued a bulletin on the 1944 city budget.

The local tax situation in New York State is discussed in a release by the **Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., of New York State. The Rochester (N. Y.) Bureau** discourses on county welfare appropriations.

The **New York Institute for Public Service** issues two post cards on various phases of realty taxation in the state. The state of New York, says *Just a Moment* **(Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau),** would best exercise its right to supervise, review, and equalize assessments for the purposes of taxation "by guidance and direction of the existing local boards of assessors, and not by depriving them of their powers whenever anyone chooses to challenge their judgment."

Subjects predominating in recent issues of *Citizens Business,* published by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research** include the city's debt, its revenues, and the proposed sewer-rent ordinance.

* * *

Legislation

Recent issues of the **Bureau of Public Administration of Virginia's** *White Paper* give detailed information about bills introduced and enacted in this year's session of the Virginia State Assembly.

* * *

Postwar Planning

"Some First Considerations to Help Rationalize a Postwar Public Works Program for Baltimore," is the subject of a recent issue of *Your Tax Dollar,* published by the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc.**

Both the **Citizens' Research Institute of Canada** and the **Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research** have issued bulletins on planning organization.

Extension of sewer, water, and other improvements is the basis for a series of three articles in the bulletins of the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research.**

* * *

County Affairs

In *St. Louis County Faces the Future,* a six-page leaflet "issued in promotion of a better public understanding of local governmental affairs," the **Duluth Governmental Research Bureau** outlines various ways in which the county has reduced wasteful and inefficient organization methods and procedures.

* * *

Personnel Problems

Governmental personnel problems have been high on the agendas of some of the bureaus. Salaries and salary standardization have interested the **San Francisco Bureau** lately. The **Ohio Institute** has examined salaries of state administrative officers.

* * *

Research Bureaus Report

The **Philadelphia Bureau's** contributions to better city government in 1943 are outlined in its *Service Report.* They cover such varying fields as finance, sewage disposal, refuse collection and disposal, city planning, personnel administration, and water supply.

The **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute** devotes an issue of *Dollars and Sense in Government* to a review of its 1943 activities. Among other things it gave assistance to the state Constitutional Convention, drafted bills for the Governor, and made studies of the St. Louis city government.

Census Bureau Findings

A bulletin of the **Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research** summarizes findings of the Census Bureau about the city. Although 1942 Des Moines costs were substantially lower than the average for cities of its population class, the city's tax rates are higher than the average. This, the Bureau states, is largely because of the small amount of state-collected taxes it receives.

* * *

Miscellaneous

The March number of *Selected Items from the Urban Reference,* published by the **Princeton Bureau of Urban Research,** digests, among other things, Nathan Straus's *The Seven Myths of Housing,* the Bureau of the Census' *City Expenditure in 1942,* and *A New Jersey Program for the Postwar Period*—first report of the State Commission on Postwar Economic Welfare.

Research Bureau Reports

Auditing

Proposed Audits for the Department of Roads and Irrigation and Board of Control. Lincoln, Nebraska Legislative Council, February 1944. 20 pp.

Bonding

Bonding of State Officers and Employees. Lincoln, Nebraska Legislative Council, February 1944. 35 pp.

Curfew

Curfew Regulations in 57 Oregon Cities. Eugene, Bureau of Municipal Research and Service of the University of Oregon in coöperation with the League of Oregon Cities, January 1944. 9 pp.

Housing

The Housing Market in New York City. By Herbert S. Swan, for the Institute of Public Administration. New York, Reinhold Publishing Company, 1944. 204 pp.

Legislature

Legislative Apportionment. By Hallie Farmer. University, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, 1944. 40 pp.

Purchasing

Manual of Purchasing Organization and Procedure of the Office of the Purchasing Agent, Cook County, Illinois. By Cook County Budget Survey Staff. Chicago, November 1943. 83 pp.

Taxation

Payments in Lieu of Taxes on Public Housing in Boston. Boston, Municipal Research Bureau, January 1944. 18 pp.

ON THE LOCAL FRONT

(Continued from page 242)

F-M station can become an aid to municipal departments. When they need for the success of their operations the understanding and coöperation which education can induce, they should be able to turn to their local educational F-M station for immediate and effective assistance.

Printed and mimeographed materials giving further facts may be obtained from the Radio and Information Service of the U. S. Office of Education, Federal Security Agency. Tables can be supplied showing the service areas reached by transmitters of varying power, design, and antenna height. Other material provides the basis for rough estimates of costs. Recent summaries report the extent of current interest in one of the most promising new frontiers of education—F-M.

William Dow Boutwell, *Director*
Information and Radio Services
U. S. Office of Education

Contributors in Review

THE field of municipal research has claimed most of the attention of **Max P. Heavenrich, Jr.** *(Dayton Counts Its Blessings)*. Except for short excursions into government work, first as research assistant and assistant city planner of Saginaw, Michigan, and more recently as analyst for the Bureau of the Budget's Division of Administrative Management, Mr. Heavenrich has devoted most of his time to citizen research groups. He has been director of governmental research of the Flint, Michigan, Institute of Research and Planning; managing director of the Superior, Wisconsin, City and County Economy Association and of the St. Joseph, Missouri, Citizens Good Government Association. He is now manager of the Department of Governmental Research of the Dayton Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Heavenrich is author of numerous pamphlets on various phases of local government.

SINCE 1934 **Thomas L. Hinckley** *(Early Fiscal Plans Bear Fruit)* has been with the Division of Municipal Accounts in the Massachusetts Department of Corporations and Taxation, for which he makes special studies on local municipal finance. Training as a sanitary engineer, Mr. Hinckley worked for five years in that field, then joined Dr. William H. Allen's Training School for Public Service. Since then he has held various positions in industrial and municipal research work, city planning and zoning, etc., in White Plains (New York), Milwaukee, Toronto, and Middletown (Connecticut) and with the American City Bureau and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

DESCENDANT of an old Philadelphia family long interested in that city's governmental affairs, **William Barclay Lex** *(Election Frauds Go Unchecked)* is actively carrying on the family tradition. A prominent lawyer, Mr. Lex is vice chairman of the Philadelphia Committee of Seventy, an organization of citizens interested in better things, governmentally speaking, for their city, and chairman of its special subcommittee on elections which has not only done much in exposing election frauds in Philadelphia but also has planned numerous constructive projects for the education of its school children in citizenship generally and in the intricacies of registration and election in particular.

IN the field of government and citizenship the influence of **William E. Mosher** *(Wanted: New Type Politician)* is felt far and wide. Professor of political science and dean of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs of Syracuse University, Dr. Mosher has helped mold the careers of hundreds of young men now in public administration or citizen organization activities. He was the first president of the American Society of Public Administration (1940) and is an honorary vice president of the National Municipal League. He has conducted numerous surveys in the fields of public utilities and government personnel, is the author or co-author of a number of volumes, and is much sought after as a speaker and writer on public affairs.

News in Review

City, State, and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Planning Institutes and Popularization Assist Cities' Postwar Programs

Municipalities Recognize Need for Immediate Positive Action

AN OUTSTANDING feature of the present widespread interest and activity in local planning to meet postwar problems is the succession of planing institutes that are taking place in widely scattered parts of the nation.

A score of these have been held in half a dozen states since October of last year, when Michigan led off with a five-day institute in Lansing, attended by 50 officials of Michigan communities. This was followed by four three-day district institutes in various cities of that state. The state legislature has appropriated $5,000,000 for distribution to local governments—cities, villages, counties, and school districts—on a matching basis, for the preparation of project plans and specifications for postwar construction.

The Minnesota Planning Institute, held in St. Paul for four days early this year, was attended by 120 officials representing some 50 communities. That of Illinois, in Springfield March 6-10, brought out 58 officials of 28 municipalities.

The Colorado Municipal League conducted six one-day planning institutes in six different localities in the period from February 14 to March 8. Participants included municipal, county, and school officials and representatives of chambers of commerce and other civic groups.

Two five-day institutes were held in California in March, at Los Angeles and Oakland. One was held in Philadelphia March 27-29, followed by a two-day session in Harrisburg, April 4-5, with another of three days planned for Pittsburgh; and it is expected that a series of district meetings will be held during the late spring and in the summer at Allentown, Wilkes-Barre, Erie, and other Pennsylvania regional centers. Several institutes in other states are in prospect.

The League of Oregon Cities reports that as a result of its twenty-one regional meetings late in 1943 and in 1944, attended by representatives of 111 cities, participants have been active in organizing postwar planning committees in municipalities and counties to stimulate and coördinate activity of governmental, industrial, and agricultural groups throughout the state.

The following brief outline for the Pennsylvania institutes illustrates the scope and nature of such conferences:

Postwar prospects of municipalities—employment, population, urban trends, intercommunity competition; economic resources; planning for postwar industrial employment and physical development of communities; legal authorization for planning.

Special planning problems and procedures for municipalities—relationship of postwar construction programs to long-term community plan, preparation and administration of master plan; zoning and other municipal controls; neighborhood planning and redevelopment; housing.

Planning public works programs for municipalities—scope of possible projects in large and small communities; plan preparation: (a) long-range plans, (b) project plans and specifications, (c) project selections, priorities and balance in program.

Financing postwar planning programs and public works: examination of local financial resources, possibilities of revenue-producing projects and of joint operation with neighborhood municipalities, planning a capital budget.

Local action in planning; organization for local planning and planning administrators; public participation and public relations.

Examples of different types of organization and procedures for local planning are found in three Ohio cities —Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Toledo.

The Greater Cleveland Postwar Council, which includes public officials, civic association members, and representatives of labor and business, appointed by the mayor, is making a survey of all existing agencies engaged in any type of war planning activities in order to coördinate the planning being done in different fields.

A Citizens' Planning Association was organized recently for the Cincinnati area to promote the development and improvement of the city and surrounding territory and the establishment and utilization of a metropolitan master plan. It is financed entirely by private subscriptions from business firms and individuals.

In Toledo a staff is being organized for the increasing activities of both the City Plan Commission and the Lucas County Planning Commission.

Enlisting Popular Interest

Efforts are being made to stimulate popular interest in postwar problems and to bring together various elements in the cities in attempts to arrive at solutions.

The Minneapolis Research Bureau has sounded out the opinions of citizens of that city as to postwar questions through a poll made under the direction and supervision of the psychology department, University of Minnesota.[1] Among the results were the following:

Ninety-five per cent of those polled believed it would take most employers two years or less to reconvert to peacetime production; 38 per cent said six months or less.

Sixty-one per cent believed that extensive public works projects would be necessary to take care of temporary postwar unemployment, with the following recommended, in order: elimination of grade crossings and traffic hazards; expansion and improvement of airport facilities; large-scale housing projects; schools, hospitals and other buildings, parks, etc.

Eighty per cent believed that a central committee should begin at once to make plans for the city's postwar period (a postwar planning committee appointed by the city council is now functioning).

In Syracuse, New York, the Postwar Planning Council of that city and Onondaga County has conducted a public participation program, and the public is aware of the need for planning, according to the American Society of Planning Officials, as a result of more than a year's intensive work by a salaried publicity staff and a volunteer citizens' committee. The council has sponsored a thirteen-week series of radio broadcasts entitled "Syracuse on Trial," with discussions of postwar employment, traffic, juvenile delinquency, property taxes, agriculture, etc. A speakers' bureau of 40 men and women is kept busy, an average of 500 inches of news space per month has been attained, schools stimulate interest by essay-writing contests, and the civilian defense organization uses its block wardens for questionnaires and census-taking in connection with postwar planning surveys.

Council-Manager Communities Pass 600 Mark

The International City Managers' Association list of council-manager municipalities has been brought to 602 by the fact that the manager plan was adopted by ten more towns in Maine at their town meetings in March.

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[1] See also "Mr. and Mrs. Minneapolis Answer a Few Questions," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April 1944, p. 205.

They are: Brownsville, Frenchville, St. Agatha, Stockholm, Van Buren, Dexter, Eagle Lake, Fort Kent, St. Francis, and Wallagrass. Two towns, Island Falls and Mercer, have voted to discontinue the manager plan. The towns of **Sidney** and **Vassalboro** have authorized committees for study of the manager plan.

The town of **Patten,** which adopted the manager plan in 1941, reports that following a complete financial study, the town having been over its debt limit, it has drastically reduced its debt, has increased its annual cash balance, and expects to liquidate the debt in the next two years. The city of **Brewer,** which has had council-manager government since 1932, is creating added interest through a monthly mimeographed sheet entitled *City Hall Topics*, reaching the public by distribution to all civilian defense personnel; requests for copies have come from various other cities.

The town of **Ludlow, Vermont,** recently voted 289 to 5 to retain the manager plan.

A proposal that **Battle Creek, Michigan,** adopt the council-manager plan was defeated at an election on April 3, with only about one-third of the registered voters going to the polls. The vote was 2,998 to 1,587. Charter revision in general was also defeated, 2,871 to 1,593. Two other propositions, involving extra taxes and municipal garbage handling, which tended to obscure the charter issues, were defeated by greater margins.

At a special election on March 21 **Pulaski, Virginia,** defeated a council-manager proposal, 620 to 261, out of 1,047 registered voters.

The **Canton, Illinois,** Association of Commerce has made the achievement of council-manager government for that city a major project.

The manager plan has aroused recent interest in other places including **Columbus, Ohio, Flat River, Missouri, Ogden, Utah, Cheyenne, Wyoming, Westfield, New York,** and **Anchorage, Alaska.**

Much interest in the council-manager plan is evident in **Oregon.** The city council of **Eugene** on March 13 approved a charter amendment providing for the appointment of a manager by the council, the manager to administer all departments under council approval, with power to appoint and dismiss employees under civil service provisions where applicable. He is to appoint the recorder and treasurer, who are now elective. The chiefs of the police and fire departments are removed from civil service protection and placed under the manager. The amendment will be submitted to the voters on May 19.

The City Planning Commission of **Milwaukie, Oregon,** has decided to recommend the manager plan, and the city of **Hillsboro,** which has a partial manager plan under its old charter, is contemplating a new charter that will provide a full-fledged manager plan. In **Salem** a committee appointed by the mayor has prepared a proposed charter amendment providing for the manager plan and a council of seven (half the present number) which the Council on April 10 voted to submit to the people at the May 19 primary. A citizens' committee in **Marshfield** has been advocating a manager charter.

Hull, Quebec, has obtained a manager charter from the provincial legislature, and it is expected to be ratified soon by the city.

Geneva, New York, Charter in Process of Revision

A Charter Revision Commission has been established by the Common Council of Geneva, New York, consisting of seven members appointed by the

Council president from the membership of the Council and others. It is to study the charters of Geneva and other cities of the state, in the light of state laws; to submit a completely revised charter to the Council as soon as practicable; and to draft laws as additions to the charter or otherwise, "tending to promote a public or municipal purpose and serve the general welfare." The Commission's term of office is until December 31, 1945.

Toledo Completes Movie on Municipal Development

A moving picture, in technicolor and with sound, has been produced in Toledo, Ohio, under the direction of Charles Wertz, secretary to City Manager George N. Schoonmaker; it was made possible by contributions of Toledo industries and businesses. It shows scenes, personnel, and equipment of the city government, important landmarks, and industrial plants and processes within the city, and will be shown before civic groups and in downtown theatres.

Minnesota Interim Committee a Legislative Council in Embryo

In 1941 and again in 1943 the Minnesota House of Representatives passed bills providing for a legislative council, but in each instance the bill was killed in Senate Committee. Determined to demonstrate how such a council might aid the legislature, House leaders during the closing hours of the 1943 session introduced a House Resolution creating an Interim Committee on State Administration and Employment of five members with broad investigative powers somewhat similar to those included in the legislative council bill.

The resolution was adopted by unanimous vote of the House, and Speaker Lawrence Hall, who had led the fight for the council bill, appointed an outstanding committee consisting of the majority leader and chairman of the Rules Committee, the chairman and vice chairman of the Appropriations Committee, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and an active first-term member of the Civil Administration Committee.

The Interim Committee held its first regular meeting in June 1943. Subsequently Louis Dorweiler, Jr., assistant director of the Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research and previously a staff member of the Division of Administrative Management in the State Department of Administration, was appointed secretary and director of research.

Beginning in September, the committee has met about twice a month to receive and consider reports and to plan further studies. The fact that four of the five members are residents of or have offices in the Twin Cities area has facilitated frequent sessions and all members seem to have taken a keen interest in the Committee's work.

The major project of the Committee to date has been the gathering of factual information concerning state administration preliminary to the consideration of legislative measures necessary to deal with current governmental problems. Each administrative department and agency was called upon to submit information concerning its history, current activities, powers and duties, organization and methods of operation, personnel, finance, and accomplishments, in accordance with uniform specifications prepared by the research staff. Later on they will be asked to submit legislative recommendations. Most of the departmental reports have been completed and they provide the Committee with valuable data which is not readily available from any other source.

The staff at present is preparing a

report designed to show the effect, if any, upon local tax levies of legislation passed at the 1943 session reducing the state general property mill rate, and suspending the state one-mill school tax and the money and credits tax. Revenues lost by school districts because of the tax suspensions were replaced from the surplus in the state income tax school fund.

The need in Minnesota for a soldier vote law presented the Interim Committee with an unexpected opportunity for service to the legislature. The research staff prepared an excellent digest of special military voting laws enacted in other states since January 1, 1944, and of the regular absentee voting laws in states which had not enacted such laws, which digest was furnished to all members of the legislature at the four-day special session in March of this year. The committee drafted the soldier vote bill which was introduced in the House, and most of its provisions were incorporated in the measure as finally enacted.

Though there was evidence of some Senate resentment toward the House and its Interim Committee during the recent special session, some of which dates back to a controversy over tax legislation at the 1943 regular session, there is reason to think that the work of the Committee not only will further the legislative council idea in Minnesota but also may serve ultimately to develop mutual understanding and greater coöperation between the two houses.

Lloyd M. Short
University of Minnesota

New Jersey Legislature Adopts State Reorganization Measures

Upon notification on April 12 that the legislature was about to adjourn, Governor Edge congratulated legislative leaders upon one of the most constructive programs enacted in many years. He stressed the passage of the new constitution, to be submitted to popular vote in November, but also stated that modernization of the State Law Department, creation of a new Department of Taxation and Finance, and a Department of Economic Development to plan postwar construction, make a fine start toward reorganization of the entire state government. He commended the measure revising the state's civil service system and the establishment of a uniform fiscal year for the highway and general state funds.

The legislature will return on May 22, at which time action is expected to be taken on legislation to strengthen the basis of the police and firemen's pension systems and to consolidate existing educational agencies in an expanded state university and reorganize the Department of Education.

South Carolina Studies Administration and Taxes

A comprehensive study of the state government of South Carolina is under way, under the direction of the Preparedness for Peace Commission authorized by the state legislature this year. Technical assistance is furnished by Public Administration Service of Chicago.

The Commission is empowered to make a realistic appraisal of the state's governmental operations and to recommend appropriate legislative and administrative action, probably in 1945. Consolidation or abolition of departments and bureaus are envisaged. The financial and administrative aspects of the state school system will be examined, as well as the state's over-all administrative organization and tax structure.

The outline of the commission's procedure calls for the development of a peacetime economy for the state, the study of the state government to make it more efficient and economical, an investigation of state taxation and the development of a "sensible, stable tax program which will permit a wider industrial expansion," and a search for ways of advancing the welfare of the state and of solving postwar problems.

The initial setup, now in progress, is to determine existing facilities and materials and their value in a comprehensive program of governmental reorganization and postwar planning, which is to be developed in succeeding phases of the study.

South Carolina is believed to be the first state to undertake coördination of a broad administrative reorganization and of a general effort in postwar planning.

Kentucky Weakens Centralized State Administration

In the recently concluded regular session of the Kentucky General Assembly a number of occurrences materially modify the administrative reorganization plan adopted in 1936 to provide for general gubernatorial responsibility.

1. The most arresting development concerned budgeting. In recent years the Governor, after the accumulation of estimates by the Department of Finance, has sought the advice of the Legislative Council in preparing his recommendations. The Governor submitted budget proposals to the 1944 legislature; but the budget document itself was not available to legislators until toward the middle of the session. Long after the budget message had been delivered the Governor in effect modified his recommendations by several million dollars.

Toward the close of the session the General Assembly took up consideration of the general appropriation bill—a bill which in recent sessions has usually been finally passed during the first two or three weeks and without substantial opposition. The House approved the bill, and the Senate amended it to provide, among other things, that the expenditures of the biennium must be kept within the income. With the aid of a few votes from the majority, the Governor's partisans in the House killed the bill. Thus, the legislature adjourned without any general appropriation measure, despite a special executive message appealing for relief.

The General Assembly also proposed a constitutional amendment to prevent use of gasoline and motor vehicle taxes for any but road purposes, thereby seeking an element of budgetary inflexibility contrary to the spirit of 1934 and 1936 legislation.

2. Alcohol control has since 1936 been integrated with related functions: first, with other business regulation, and more recently with revenue administration. The Department of Revenue has always disliked the liquor administration assignment and sought at the recent legislative session relief from this responsibility. The General Assembly set up an independent agency to perform this regulatory function.

3. Other acts provided disintegration of minor business regulation agencies and of the agency for supervising fishing and hunting. Among other acts is one providing a fourth public utility regulatory agency, an aeronautics board.

4. One measure which eliminated a highway advisory commission had little effect on administration.

5. One measure provided a tuberculosis commission rather than full integration with the Department of Health.

6. The 1944 General Assembly changed the provisions of the 1936 re-

organization act to drop administrative members of the Legislative Council. This amendment is widely construed as a partisan move.

7. The already separate Disabled Ex-servicemen's Board was further disintegrated by giving the American Legion majority control.

The 1944 General Assembly set in motion plans for a state constitutional conventon in 1948. It will be essential, if there is really to be a convention, that the 1946 legislature concur and that the electorate approve the idea in a 1947 referendum.

James W. Martin
University of Kentucky

Massachusetts Acts on State, Federal Soldier Voting

The General Court (legislature) of Massachusetts adopted an act in April with respect to voting by members of the armed forces, including members of the merchant marine and of organizations attached to the armed forces—American Red Cross, Society of Friends, Women's Auxiliary Service Pilots, and the U.S.O.—and veterans of the present war.

The legislature had passed an absentee voting law in 1943 (for members of the armed services only) which permitted applications for absentee ballots and for registration to be made for such persons by any registered voter of Massachusetts who is a "kindred" of the absent person—spouse, parent, step-parent, child, sister, brother, uncle, aunt, niece, or nephew. Under the new law the member of the services may also register in person if he appears not less than three days before election. Applications for ballots by servicemen and women are not limited to formal applications or cards supplied by the federal government but may be in any written form evidencing a desire for a ballot, and shall be considered as application for registration if the person was not registered.

Official federal war ballots are authorized for voting at the biennial state election "in so far as the General Court has power to authorize the same," and provided the voter has the constitutional qualifications for voting. Members of the armed forces may take their oaths in connection with absentee voting before any commissioned officer, sergeant, petty officer, or officially designated members of the merchant marine. The dates of primaries etc. are advanced. The Secretary of State is given power to determine details as to ballots, envelopes, mailing, and other administrative matters to facilitate absentee voting. The Governor's emergency war powers are extended to facilitate such voting, "mere informality" is not to invalidate elections, and the provisions of the law are to be construed liberally.

A Real Superintendent for New York's Schools

About four o'clock in the morning of March 19, shortly before its final adjournment for the year, the New York legislature passed the most hotly contested bill of the session with one vote to spare. The bill, signed as Chapter 496 of the Laws of 1944, gave the New York City school system a single responsible executive appointed by the Board of Education instead of a nine-man Board of Superintendents, appointed in the same way, on which the "superintendent of schools" had no more real power than any other member.

Correction of this anomolous arrangement had been sought for years by civic and education organizations and by the Board of Education, but the influential Board of Superintendents resisted and called in most of the organized teachers and parents' groups as allies. In spite of the fact that practically all other large school systems have had single responsible executives for years, the plea was made that New York City is unique and that it would be dangerous to entrust so much power to any one man.

The famous Rapp-Coudert committee, set up by the legislature to investigate the public schools and colleges of the state, after a thorough study of the New York City school system under the competent guidance of Dr. George D. Strayer of Columbia Teachers College, recommended a year ago that the Board of Superintendents be limited to advisory and semi-judicial powers, that its members, the associate superintendents, be appointed by the Board of Education on the recommendation of the superintendent of schools and serve under him as administrators of various parts of the school system, and that all administrative responsibility be centered in the superintendent, subject to certain confirmations by the Board of Education.

A bill to accomplish this result, sponsored by Senator Frederic R. Coudert, Jr., of New York City, passed the Senate last year and was defeated in the closing minutes of the Assembly. Reintroduced this year, it passed the Senate again and was killed in the Assembly Education Committee. Thereupon a new bill was introduced and defeated by ten votes on the floor of the Assembly the day before adjournment.

The vote was not accepted as final, however, and for some hours the full weight of the Republican majority organization was thrown behind it to bring the recalcitrant members into line, while the Democratic organization and the teachers' lobby (though one of the largest teachers' organizations was for it) worked just as strenuously against it. Its final passage in the Assembly, with most of the Republicans and one courageous Democrat—William T. Andrews, able Negro member from Harlem—voting in the affirmative, was the last important event of the session.[1]

G. H. H., Jr.

State Merit System in Rhode Island Enlarges

Nearly 70 per cent of Rhode Island state employees have now gained permanent civil service status through the examination process, according to C. H. Cushman, director of the Department of Civil Service. As reported by the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, the remaining job classifications not yet reached in this process chiefly concern small groups of employees. Last year the department administered 214 competitive examinations for state positions. As a further sign of progress it is stated that for the first time in three years the legislature will not consider a blanketing measure, such as has been defeated in previous years.

Federal Health Service Aids Communities Needing Doctors

Any municipality, county, or other local subdivision of government that has lost its doctors or dentists or otherwise suffers inadequate medical and dental care may file an application to secure a physician or dentist with the United States Public Health Service under recent legislation. The application is executed by the legally authorized representative of the community—the city manager, mayor, chairman of the county board of supervisors, county judge, etc.—and is sent, with the community's remittance of $300 payable to the Treasurer of the

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[1] State Senator James G. Donovan, Manhattan Democrat, also voted for the bill.

United States, to the state health department. If approved it is forwarded to the U. S. Public Health Service.

Upon receipt of the application and the $300 the Public Health Service can enter into an agreement with a physician or dentist who has a permit to practice in the state in which the applicant community is located, who agrees to practice in that community for at least one year, and who is acceptable to the community. The costs of transportation of the physician or dentist, his family and household effects, are paid. In addition a monthly allowance of $250 a month for three months will be paid to the doctor. Of the total cost of transportation and relocation allowance, 75 per cent is contributed by the U. S. Public Health Service, 25 per cent by the community to which the doctor is relocated.

Public Administration Fellowships in the South

Ten unique regional fellowships in public administration will become available in June 1944, according to a joint announcement of the presidents of the Universities of Alabama, Georgia, and Tennessee. These fellowships will be available to graduates of regular four-year college courses, and each will carry with it a grant of $750 and fees. Graduates of southern institutions will be favored though not to the exclusion of high-grade applicants from other parts of the country.

An unusual feature of the program will be the use of all three universities by the group of students. The entire group will spend three months in Alabama, three in Georgia, and three in Tennessee; in addition each participant will spend three months on a work assignment in a governmental office or department. The General Education Board is furnishing money for the fellowships.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

City-County Planning Activity Increases

Joint planning commissions attempt to solve problems

THERE appears to be increasing evidence that the function of planning lends itself well to joint operation on the part of city and county officials. During the past year a number of joint county-city planning activities have been begun, although with considerable variation in organization and programs.

Usually a joint planning commission of city and county is created, but in other instances a regional planning association has been utilized to cover not only the major county and city but also other smaller units as well.

The phase of planning that is emphasized appears to vary according to the problems causing the greatest difficulties at the moment. For example, financial planning is integrated in one office for Nashville and Davidson County, Tennessee, and for Stockton and San Joaquin County, California.

The Broome County, New York, Community Council for Better Living, on which are represented prominent civic groups in the county, places major emphasis on civic development. The County Conference on Postwar Community Planning of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, is similar to the Broome County organization in that all members participate as private citizens, but it places greater emphasis on the technical aspects of planning and on helping to coördinate all planning efforts in the Pittsburgh area.

The county park and regional planning board of Onondaga County, New York, has reforested 2,200 acres and is charged with responsibility for supervising and extending further the community's forest preserve. Utah County, Utah, supplemented the zoning controls of the city of Provo by adopting a county plan and zoning ordinance, and a number of smaller cities in the area have done likewise.

Consolidation of King County and Seattle Advocated

A member of the Seattle, Washington, City Council has urged that that body consider the merger of Seattle with King County. In support of his proposal he has pointed to the ineffectiveness of the County Board of Commissioners and to the needless waste resulting from duplication of services involved in the operation of both a county and a city government.

Civilian Population Movement Continues

Another map issued by the United States Bureau of the Census, based on population statistics from April 1, 1940, to November 1, 1943, reveals that the civilian population of most counties is continuing to decrease while an increase is shown only in certain industrial areas.

Of the 3,089 counties in the United States, 2,620 showed a decrease in population. Almost half of these counties decreased by 15 per cent or more. Four hundred sixty-nine counties showed an increase in population, but in less than a third of this number did it amount to 15 per cent or more.

Hamilton County, Tenn., Praised for Manager Government

The Tennessee Taxpayers Association, in its Twelfth Annual Report, has declared that the results of the Hamilton County, Tennessee, council-manager government are certain to be studied by other counties and that such study should result in improved administration in other progressive counties.

The report cites the reduction in membership of the county court (county legislative body), modern budgetary controls, improved accounting and pre-auditing procedure, installation of a daily reporting system, and general tightening of executive controls as causes of improved operations. Both improved services and reduced costs have resulted.

The report states: "Hamilton County has produced these results largely by creating the equivalent of a private corporation's usually small, compact, business-like board of directors and competent executives, with a carefully planned financial program and the will to make it work, an organizational structure and procedure designed to secure results at modest cost."

Wisconsin County Integrates Veterans' Services

Oneida County, Wisconsin, has organized the Oneida County Council of Service to coördinate and direct the employment, rehabilitation, and hospitalization of returning war veterans. The Council is composed of the chairman of the County Board of Supervisors and representatives of the County Pension Department, County Welfare Department, County Veterans Service Department, Rhinelander City Council, U. S. Employment Service, Selective Service Board, Red Cross, Soldiers and Sailors Relief Committe, Re-Employment Committee, and other groups.

The Council will act as a central clearing house, keep comprehensive records on claims, hospitalization, medical care, rehabilitation, and placement of all World War II veterans' cases, and refer all inquiries for aid to the appropriate agencies.

Citizen Action

Kansas City Voters Score Again

Elect nonpartisan mayor and councilmen for two-year term

FOR the third time Kansas City (Missouri) voters have upheld nonpolitical government in the city that was once dominated by the notorious Pendergast machine. The first victory was won in 1940, when the United Campaign Committee elected eight of the nine councilmen including John B. Gage who was elected mayor and president of the council. Again in 1942, reform forces won a similar victory.

The election March 28 gave Mayor Gage a two-to-one majority over A. J. Stephens, a business man who ran with machine support. Including the mayor, who serves as a member of the Council, the citizens' administration retains its eight members in the nine-member body. The Pendergast machine reelected its one councilman from the North Side, the district that formerly provided a large share of the machine's 60,000 ghost votes. A feature of the campaign was the comparatively close vote in this original machine bailiwick. The Negro vote favored Mayor Gage and the citizens' ticket.

The big majority reflects confidence in the Gage administration and distrust of any ticket sponsored by the Pendergast machine. The machine is operated by James Pendergast, a nephew of T. J. Pendergast who is barred from political activity by a federal court probation. James Pendergast and his ward leaders kept out of sight during the campaign while their candidates attempted to establish their independence. A curious suggestion of the changed times was their tendency to compliment the accomplishments of the Gage administration. They only held out the promise that they could do still better. Stephens' theme was salesmanship to build the city.

Back of the Gage administration is a long series of accomplishments. Important city improvements have been made on a pay-as-you-go basis and a large surplus has been built up for postwar construction. It started four years ago with finances wrecked by the machine. About 12 per cent of the city's real estate levy is still going to pay off unauthorized debts left by the machine government. Influencing the shifting vote on the North Side is an expanding program for year-round recreation and playgrounds.

Still to be tested is the public support for nonpolitical government when it is divorced from personalities. Present success is identified with the personality of Mayor Gage. The mechanics of the city's administrative progress under L. P. Cookingham, appointive city manager, is only vaguely understood by the average voter. Many of the Republican and Democratic politicians, who have thrown their weight behind the citizens' association and the Gage administration, privately resent the nonpolitical government.

The one-sided victory against a dwindling political machine, however, is highly encouraging for citizens' government. Right now there is no organization or coalition in sight to stop it.

RICHARD B. FOWLER

Kansas City Star

Los Angeles Citizens Ask New Charter

A "streamlined" charter for Los Angeles is recommended by the **Citizens' Tax Committee** of that city, appointed last July to study the city's revenue problems and to make suggestions and recommendations. In its recent report the Committee urged that the charter "provide a more simplified form of government with direct lines of authority and responsibility, and that such revision should be accomplished by a Board of Freeholders elected for that purpose at the next regular or special city election."

The Committee was organized at the suggestion of City Councilman J. Win Austin at a meeting of city officials and a group of citizens to discuss financial problems confronting the city. Councilman Austin suggested that James L. Beebe, a member of the council of the National Municipal League, who was recently awarded the Los Angeles Realty Board service watch as the citizen "who contributed the most valuable service to his community in 1943," be chairman and appoint the Committee's members.

The group met for the first time in September with the following questions before it:

1. How much additional revenue does the city of Los Angeles need?
2. What are the purposes for which it is required?
3. What sources of additional revenue have been considered by the Revenue and Taxation Committee?

The Committee held a number of hearings where it learned at first hand of the needs of the city departments, their costs, and related information. It worked without benefit of technical assistance and at no cost to the city other than the furnishing of a reporter for its first hearing.

The report includes chapters covering the present charter, essential information needed, and discussion of the city revenue problem, postwar capital expenditures, and tax policy. In addition to suggesting a new charter, it recommends that provisions of the charter dealing with the fire and police pension system be revised, that immediate steps be taken to provide adequate surveys and information on city departments, that qualified outside research agencies which make investigations at their own expense be encouraged to make surveys of city operations, that any proposal to levy any substantial additional tax be submitted to the voters, that at this time additional taxes for ordinary city expenditures are unnecessary, that in business license taxes and otherwise city officials follow a uniform tax policy, that a charge be made upon common carrier buses, as a franchise or tax, to compensate the city for the use of its streets.

Los Angeles Town Hall Studies Metropolitan Sewage Problem

The Municipal and County Government Section of **Town Hall, Los Angeles**, recently completed a study of the problem of sewage disposal in the Los Angeles metropolitan area. The results of the Section's work, under the title *The Los Angeles Sewage Disposal Problem,* have been approved by the membership of the organization and issued as a regular Town Hall report.

Over a period of five months, the Section held fourteen meetings at which it heard representatives of a large number of official and unofficial agencies interested in the problem, including among others the mayor and city engineer of Los Angeles, the president of the California State Board of Public Health, the chief engineer and general manager of the Los Angeles County Sanitation Districts, the chairman of the Sewer Committee of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, the chairman of the Los Angeles Citizens' Tax Committee, and representatives of several of the smaller cities of Los Angeles County.

The Section's report is non-technical in nature. Its avowed purpose is to provide a brief summary of the basic facts for the Town Hall membership and the general public. It contains a description of the present disposal system, a review of past proposals for its improvement, an analysis of the current situation, and discussions of the engineering, administrative, and financial aspects of the problem.

Among recent developments have been: (1) The quarantine, in April 1943 by the State Board of Public Health, of a ten-mile strip of beach on Santa Monica Bay and revocation of the permit under which Los Angeles and other users of the disposal system had been discharging sewage through the submarine outfall; (2) Appropriation in December 1943, by the Los Angeles City Council, of $8,000 for a survey of the engineering aspects of the sewage disposal problem; (3) The filing of suit on December 13, 1943, by the Attorney General of California against Los Angeles and the other users of the system. The complaint asks: first, that each of 141 defendants—municipalities, corporations, their officers and employees—be fined $1,000 per day for every day the sewage disposal plant has been operated without a permit; second, that the defendants be restrained from using the present plant, or any plant, without a state permit; and third, that the defendants be required to install a safe and sanitary disposal system within a reasonable time to be fixed by the court.

The Town Hall Section reaches certain general conclusions: (1) That the menace to health, pointed out in the report of the Board of Public Health, must not be overlooked; (2) that the suit filed by the Attorney General may, unless adequate planning is undertaken immediately, force action upon any plan available, even if it is not the soundest conceivable plan and even if there is no general agreement to it; (3) that the wisdom of appropriating funds for an engineering study, to be conducted without reference to the administrative, legal, and financial aspects of the problem, is open to question.

Finally, the Section expressly recommends that a "thorough, impartial, independent and unified study of the administrative, legal, and financial, as well as the engineering, aspects of the problem be initiated at once and completed with all possible dispatch."

Paul Beckett, *Chairman*
Committee on Publications
Town Hall, Los Angeles

Here and There—

Planning Activities

A SPECIAL meeting of the **Chicago City Club's** Committee on Postwar Planning and Progress was attended by fourteen students of journalism from Northwestern University. The unique demonstration meeting resulted from a letter which Professor Curtiss D. MacDougall wrote asking permission to include the City Club in a series of trips to problem centers and civic organizations which he was arranging for his students. The purpose of the series was to give the budding journalists a foretaste of some of the activities with which they would meet in the course of their future careers.

Adopting a similar procedure, the Club's City Planning and Housing Committee varied its usual form of meeting by visiting the offices of the Chicago Plan Commission. The Club's *Bulletin* reports that the visit afforded an excellent opportunity to acquaint committee members with activities of the Plan Commission, particularly with respect to the progress of the Master Plan of Chicago.

"Postwar Planning—A Dream or a Reality?" is the theme of one issue of *For Your Information*, published by the

Lowell (Mass.) Taxpayers' Association. Another issue discusses the need for consolidation of departments under the city's new council-manager-proportional representation charter.

Community planning was the subject of the eighth annual municipal conference of the **Albany (N. Y.) City Club.** Speakers at the luncheon meeting were Hon. Erastus Corning, 2nd, mayor of Albany, and Walter J. Millard, education director of the Citizens Union of New York City, whose subject was "Community Planning and the Average Citizen."

On learning that certain tracts purchased by the city for playground purposes were about to be sold, the Board of Governors of the **Portland (Ore.) City Club** authorized the appointment of a committee to study parks and playgrounds with relation to long-range planning and with special reference to the acquisition of properties for the city and the school board. The committee will bring up to date the last report on the subject, published by the Club in 1930.

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Cambridge Hears Seasongood

Hon. Murray Seasongood, former mayor of Cincinnati and former president of the National Municipal League, recently addressed the **Cambridge (Mass.) Club**. In his address Mr. Seasongood urged that committees interested in good government should not go to sleep between elections, that the maintenance of good government demands the continued interest of all citizens the year round. In its new publication, titled *Plan E in Cambridge,* the **Cambridge Committee on Plan E** (council-manager plan with proportional representation) says that it "stands behind this statement. We have planned a definite program of activity and the Committee needs the help of all our citizens. The publishing of this bulletin is a part of our program."

Mr. Seasongood recently was re-elected president of the **Hamilton County (Ohio) Good Government League** for 1944. This organization has asked its members to suggest which of its committees particularly interests them. Committees include those on city, county, civil service, legislative, courts and law, membership and finance, schools, program, and election machinery.

* * *

Keeping the Citizen Informed

"Know Your Government," a weekly feature article prepared by the **New Jersey Taxpayers Association** to provide citizens with information on their government and taxes, is now in its sixth year. Prepared in brief, informative fashion by the Association's staff, the articles are distributed through facilities of the New Jersey Press Association for publication in over a hundred weekly newspapers.

* * *

Questioning the Assessor

The April 1 issue of *The Citizen*, published by the **Citizens League of Port Huron, Michigan**, carries a number of questions on assessment which it asks of City Assessor Harry C. Schubert, together with Mr. Schubert's replies.

A bulletin of the **Civic Federation of Chicago** discusses the recent decision to change the Cook County assessment base from 37 per cent to 100 per cent of full value.[1]

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Citizens View the Schools

Civic groups are taking a critical look at the schools. A report of the **Chicago City Club's** Education Committee, "An Elementary School Curriculum for the Needs of Life in a Free

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[1] See "Chicago Changes Basis of Property Valuation," this issue, p. 268.

Society," is reproduced in part in the Club *Bulletin.* It praises certain new educational methods in use in many Chicago schools and calls on the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools to place these techniques in wider practice. States the report: "The end product [of the school] is a citizen with a healthy body, a firm grasp on the essentials of 'book learning,' a knowledge of his city, country, and world so that he may become an intelligent citizen, a grasp of the fundamentals of our society which will enable him to become proficient in whatever line of activity he chooses to make a living."

At one of its weekly luncheons the Club listened to Mrs. Walter F. Heineman, member of the city's Board of Education, who said that no improvement could be expected until the political power behind the schools is eliminated.

The **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations,** in a release on "Forethought Now to Control School Costs During the Next Ten Years," points to the fact that "a few years from now there will be about 80,000 fewer pupils in the upper grades of the public schools of Massachusetts than there are now. This suggests that there is need right now for some careful study and planning if the school systems of cities and towns are to be adjusted to what is coming."

The Wisconsin Taxpayer, published by the **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance,** discusses at some length a proposed two-mill state property tax for high school aid submitted to referendum on April 4.

The **Nebraska Federation of County Taxpayers Leagues** publishes in *Nebraska Taxpayer* a discussion of the cost of education.

The **Citizens Union of New York City** recently released a statement by Richard S. Childs, chairman, on behalf of its executive committee, decrying reported interference by Mayor LaGuardia in the investigation of New York City education by a special committee of the National Education Association. "This charge calls for answer from both the Mayor and the education authorities," the Union's statement demands.

Plan E in Cambridge, issued by the **Cambridge Committee for Plan E,** publishes in its initial number a report on the city's "School Committee Activities Since January 1, 1944."

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Strengthening the Merit System

The **Connecticut Merit System Association's** publication, *The Merit Man,* carries an article by its editor, Earl C. Shedd, on "Freedom from Political Regimentation," which covers the steps taken in this country to "guarantee to the people the control of government by limiting the political power of its employees although recognizing the rights of these employees, as citizens, to participate in elections and direct public policy."

* * *

Curbing Juvenile Delinquency

Lake City, a section of Seattle, determined to put an end to "willy-nilly scattered activity" for youngsters, has launched a new type of activity program for its boys and girls. Twenty-two local organizations—commercial clubs, community clubs, parent-teacher groups, war veterans associations, and churches—have banded together in an **Inter-Club Council** to promote a recreational program, reports the American Municipal Association. A coördinator has been appointed, his salary to be paid out of county funds.

Building of a youth center is delayed by war restrictions, meanwhile the use of all existing facilities is being expanded. Abandoned stores and old barns as well as school buildings and community club houses will be used as youth gathering places. The council has offered to provide manpower to help push completion of a partially constructed Veterans of Foreign Wars building so it can house some of the youth activities planned.

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Information on Candidates

Civic groups are publishing information on candidates for spring primaries and elections. The **Nebraska Federation of County Taxpayers Leagues** lists national and state candidates for the two major parties. The **Seattle Municipal League** lists information and comments on candidates for the offices of mayor, city council, corporation counsel, and the school board, with comments also on two charter amendments referred to the voters. Citywide distribution of the report was undertaken with approximately 105,000 copies used in a door-to-door canvass. *Greater Cleveland,* organ of the **Citizens League of Cleveland,** lists federal, state, and county candidates and asks that readers scan the list and send in to the Committee on Candidates estimates and comments on their qualifications.

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With the Women Voters

The place of meeting for the sixteenth convention of the **National League of Women Voters** was changed from Excelsior Springs, Missouri, to the Stevens Hotel at Chicago. Dates remained the same, April 25 to 28. Five hundred delegates and alternates attended, representing 600 local leagues in 35 states. The League, organized in 1920 when women were first enfranchised, has grown into an organization with members in 1500 communities.

Members of the State Board of the **Maryland League of Women Voters** and of the **Baltimore City and County Leagues** visited Congressman Streett Baldwin at his Washington office. The State League's campaign to elect qualified public officials was launched at a meeting of the state board on March 8 in Washington.

The **Portland (Ore.) League of Women Voters** has been conducting a vigorous campaign to register 250,000 voters in Multnomah County. Coöperating are the Retail Trade Bureau, the Chamber of Commerce, Advertising Federation, Multnomah County Commissioners, all political parties, churches, and civic organizations.

The *Minnesota Woman Voter* publishes a statement by Rabbi Albert G. Minda praising the League for its activities. Says Rabbi Minda: "I have been greatly impressed with what this organization has done in examing and analyzing in an objective, nonpartisan manner the issues, state, national, and international in character, and in bringing its findings and conclusions to the public that it may know and act. I wish sometimes that organizations composed of men evinced the same zeal."

The **Minnesota League** will hold its annual meeting at St. Paul May 17-18.

The **Illinois League of Women Voters** has published the voting record of Illinois congressmen, but cautions that this should not be the only basis for judging congressmen. The League continues its campaign for a new state constitution.

* * *

Strictly Personal

The resignation of **Miss Grace D. Treat,** executive secretary of the Women's City Club of Cleveland for the past 24 years, has been accepted by the Club. In its acceptance the Board stated that it "wishes to acknowledge gratefully her long and splendid support and direction toward maintaining those high civic standards by which the prestige of the Women's City Club has been established in the community."

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Women Voters Report on P. R.

A survey in New York after seven years, four elections

FACED with the threat that the New York legislature would attempt to prohibit the use of proportional representation in New York City—as well as elsewhere in the state[1]—the New York City League of Women Voters' Committee on Election Procedure and Activities undertook to study P. R. as it has worked out in the city and to make recommendations to the League membership.

After a thorough investigation, which included not only a review of the history of P. R. in New York but also in other U. S. cities and in other countries, the Committee presented a report which the League's Board of Management has distributed to members The report contained the following conclusions and recommendations:

Conclusions

1. The P. R. system for the election of councilmen in New York City has proved the most democratic since the representation which the electorate has received most fairly reflects the vote cast.

2. The system automatically accomplishes reapportionment as between the different boroughs at every election.

3. It has given this city a legislative body of higher calibre than it had under the old system.

4. The council is a more deliberative body than the old Board of Aldermen and on the whole has introduced and passed more statesmanlike measures.

5. Racial and religious voting under P. R. is no greater than under the plurality system; this is clearly demonstrated by the transfers of votes.

6. Although practically no educational work is done among the electorate, save that of a few civic and political organizations, and although voting under a new and different system requires several elections to master it properly, nevertheless the great majority of the electorate has been able to mark its ballots correctly.

7. The number of interested voters is as great as, if not greater than, under the system previously existing and could be increased if comprehensive educational campaigns were conducted.

8. Wider choice is offered to and greater discretion is exercised by the individual voter, since emblem voting has been discarded, the district enlarged to take in the whole borough, and candidates with boroughwide reputations run for office.

Recommendations

This committee recommends that the Hare system of P. R. be retained as the method of electing the city council and that encouragement be given to the manufacture of machines to mark and count the ballots.

We earnestly petition our New York press to give more publicity to council elections, which we consider of the utmost importance, so that the voters of the city may be better informed of their rights and responsibilities and concerning the qualifications of candidates.

We solicit that discriminating concern and eternal vigilance of each voter, which is, after all, the price which must be paid for good representative government and liberty.

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[1] See "Attack on P. R. Fails in New York Legislature," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April 1944, page 213.

P. R. History

Prefacing its conclusions, the committee reviewed the history of P. R. in New York City, stressing the fact that after its adoption in 1936 by a vote of 923,000 to 555,000 the voters of the city continued to support it by sizable majorities when various attempts were made to discard it. The report has been reproduced in its entirety in the League's *Active Voter* of March 20.

E. S. P.

Ballots Re-examined in Brooklyn

During the last two weeks of March over 85,000 of the 440,000 P. R. ballots cast in the borough of Brooklyn last November were subjected to a second scrutiny. This was because former Councilman Louis P. Goldberg, who was declared defeated on the next to last count, paid $250 to the Board of Elections in conformity with the section of the city charter which permits such scrutiny at a cost of $25 a day to whoever requests it.

Mr. Goldberg, who was leader of the American Labor party delegation in the 1942-43 P. R. Council, had a theory that he should have received several hundred more ballots than were credited to him at a crucial stage in the count. To assure himself of the facts he paid for an examination of ballots transferred or held "exhausted" toward the end of the count when his elimination or continuance in the race was being decided.

In addition to a regular employee of the Board of Elections, four temporary clerks were hired. Mr. Goldberg, two of his friends, and the writer acted as checkers. Other candidates whose fates were involved also attended. At the end of the two weeks, when the 85,000 ballots had all been examined, the total number of ballots in the exhausted pile and in the quota piles of several elected candidates which should have been credited to Mr. Goldberg was found to be 153—only a small percentage of the number needed to make any change in the election result. Also no substantial number of misplaced ballots of any other candidates was discovered.

The recount served to give added assurance that successful fraud or serious inaccuracy is extremely unlikely in a P. R. count. This is because of the number of persons who would have to conspire or repeat the same mistakes to accomplish it and the amount of scrutiny there is on the part of those who would be hurt by it.

Walter J. Millard

New York Home Rule Extension Signed

The Desmond city home rule bill referred to in this department last month has now been signed by the Governor as Chapter 602 of the New York Laws of 1944. It will now be possible for citizens of any city in the state to put an extensive charter revision on the ballot by petition.[1]

Rotary International Considers the Hare System

According to the Rotary International *News Letter*, which goes to 5,208 Rotary Clubs in various countries from headquarters in Chicago, "The possibilities of the use by Rotary International of the single transferable ballot has been suggested several times, more recently by the Rotary Club of Dublin, Ireland, at the time of the Toronto convention."

The single transferable vote or Hare system is the form of P. R. used for the election of all public bodies in

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[1] A fuller discussion of the new law will appear in the June issue of the Review—section on City, State, and Nation, H. M. Olmsted, Editor.

Eire and for a number of city councils and school boards in the United States and Canada. Applied to a single office it becomes a good system of majority preferential voting.

The *News Letter* of October 15, 1943, continues: "The Board of Directors of R. I. at its January 1943 meeting expressed the opinion that in view of the effect of existing wartime conditions on attendance at R. I. conventions, the present method of voting used by R. I. should be continued. Therefore the board deferred consideration of the use of the single transferable ballot until conditions make it possible to obtain a more representative vote on the matter by member clubs in all parts of the world."

Sensing that many Rotarians in parts of the world where the system is not in use could not vote on its adoption intelligently, the *News Letter* gives a simple example of its application to a single office.

It asks, however, that amendments to the constitution and by-laws, unless "of an urgent nature," be not presented for consideration at the 1944 convention, to be held in Omaha May 23-25, because war conditions will make it impossible for clubs in many parts of the world to be represented.

Two British Books on Representation

Two books recently published in London will be of interest to proportionalists on this side of the Atlantic—*Parliamentary Representation,* by J. F. S. Ross,[1] and *Coupon or Free?,* by R. W. G. Mackay.[2]

The fact that the University of London made a grant to aid in the publication of the book by Mr. Ross, who put into it "nearly ten years of detailed investigation and thought," is proof that it merits the serious attention of those who not only believe in democracy but also are equally concerned in discovering the methods for best applying that principle. We are presented in Parts I and II with a careful examination of the British Parliaments of the interwar years from such sociological and economic angles as age of members, their education, their occupations, and the cost of electing them. No non-Briton can comprehend these Parliaments unless he is aware of the facts set forth in Chapter IX. This tabulates the family and marriage ties that exist between the two houses. In the present House of Commons 146 members are related to members of the other and non-elected house.

Part III, consisting of seven chapters, is an "endeavor to make constructive suggestions for bringing about a more satisfactory state of affairs." Its second chapter, An Ideal Member of Parliament, should encourage an American political scientist to draw up a parallel set of specifications for an ideal member of Congress. Two of the chapters which follow, on electoral reform, present the argument for and the details of the Hare system. This, with certain financial reforms, is seen to be the only proposal that "makes sense" in view of the facts—many of which are arranged in simple graphs—already placed before us.

The British citizen when he votes is fortunate in not having to consider anything but "policies," for he elects only members of policy-making bodies. This difference in "gestalt" between the American and British systems should always be kept in mind by those who compare the two and who may use these two books as tools for such comparison. The council-manager system is a parallel of the British system, for under it only the council, the policy-making body, is elective. Now that the Hare system is found by the careful study that Mr. Ross has made of the "controlled executive system" to be essential to the proper operation of the latter, the use of the Hare system by American council-manager cities is "indicated."

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[1] Published by Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, W. C. 2, 1943. 245 pp. 10/6.

[2] Published by Secker and Warburg, London, 1943. 144 pp. 5/-.

P. R. Recommended

The unconcealed anger of a majority of the present British House of Commons at the demand of Winston Churchill that it reverse itself on the question of equal pay for men and women teachers gives rise to great speculation as to what the next House of Commons will be like. Mr. Mackay's book is written "to focus people's attention on the urgent need for electoral reform now, before the next general election." His thesis is that Britain will endanger the confidence of her own people in the democratic method, and possibly prevent the organization of a permanent peace, if that election produces a Parliament as non-representative as the seven elected since 1917. He gives in Chapter III the reasons why they were non-representative and these include some not dealt with by Mr. Ross.

Mr. Mackay's main recommendation is that of Mr. Ross—the Hare system of proportional representation should be applied to the election of the House of Commons. His explanation of the system is a model of clarity. The last chapter, Representative Government and Democracy, is a discussion of the relation of method to principle and principle to method which deserves to have many American as well as British readers. It is stimulating and challenging, even though one may not agree with such sentences as: "If this war has any meaning in terms of economic conflict it is that capitalism and political democracy must inevitably be in continual conflict, which can only be resolved by some form of fascism or socialism." There are many Americans who believe that "capitalism," if not too narrowly defined and made part of what is called a "mixed" economic system, is both compatible with and requires political democracy.

The two books complement one another admirably. The first gives a mass of meticulously gathered facts and forces one to a general conclusion; the second applies that general conclusion to the immediate need of the British nation and does it with a passion and eloquence which bring to mind Professor R. H. Tawney, whom Mr. Mackay quotes with admiration. Both deserve careful reading by thoughtful Americans. We need to be aware of the shape of things to come in each of the Allied Nations. These books will influence, there is no doubt, the political form of the democracy of one of them—Great Britain—and their message has importance for this nation also.

W. J. M.

May 21 Is Citizenship Day

In accordance with the Congressional resolution setting aside the third Sunday in May of each year as citizenship day for the recognition of new citizens who have attained their majority or have been naturalized, President Roosevelt has proclaimed May 21 "I Am an American Day." In his proclamation the President called upon "federal, state, and local officials, and patriotic, civic, and educational organizations to plan and hold, on or about May 21, exercises designed to assist our citizens, both native-born and naturalized, to understand more fully the great privileges and responsibilities of citizenship in our democracy."

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Chicago Changes Basis of Property Valuation

Assessment to be raised to 100% of full value basis

CHANGES being made by the Cook County assessor in fixing the 1943 taxable valuation for Chicago and its sister governmental units threaten to cause almost as great a disturbance in the community as did the revaluation of 1928, from all of whose effects the community has not yet recovered. Where the 1928 reassessment effected the wholesale revaluation of property to overcome gross inequalities as found by the State Tax Commission, however, the present change is for the more limited purpose of raising the ratio of assessed value from a present level of approximately 37 per cent of so-called full or true value to the 100 per cent basis required since 1927.

The change in the basis of assessment will be accompanied by a roughly proportionate decrease in the tax rate. The decrease will be only roughly proportionate, however, because the city and other governments all have tax rate limits for their operating funds, and the increased valuations will permit higher levies than are presently permissible.

Chicago has for many years been caught in the vise between declining taxable valuations and tax rate limits on its numerous operating and special funds. From a peak of $4,250,000,000 in 1927, taxable valuations declined to $3,789,000,000 for 1930 and have since dwindled, more or less steadily, to $1,862,000,000 for 1942, the valuation on which taxes collectable in 1943 were based. Annual levies have also dwindled, despite increases in the rate. The following table, from data reported by the Chicago Civic Federation, summarizes what has happened since 1930

	Assessed Valuation	*Overall Tax Rate per $100*	*Overall Tax Levy in Chicago*
1930	$3,788,915,049	$ 6.74	$252,876,877
1933	2,397,652,228	6.49	153,383,325
1940	1,995,827,539	9.52	190,009,685
1941	1,935,481,424	9.89	191,425,646
1942	1,861,585,339	10.42	193,977,192

It is to be noted that the assessed valuations, rates, and levies apply to the budget for the year designated, but the taxes are not collected until the following year. Thus, 1942 taxes were not placed in collection until the spring of 1943, and were not finally delinquent until last fall.

The assessed valuation now being fixed by the county assessor (Cook County is the assessing and tax-collecting agency for all the local units) will be the basis for 1943 taxes, which will go into collection later this spring and become finally delinquent in September 1944. Consequently, the first rates and levies on the new 100 per cent basis of assessment will reflect 1943 budgets, and the effect of the higher basis of assessment will not be fully reflected until 1944 taxes are put into collection next year.

For 1943 it is estimated that the city valuation on a full 100 per cent basis of assessment will be in the vicinity of $5,000,000,000. (The 1942 assessment of $1,862,000,000 would have been $5,031,000,000 on a 100 per cent basis, but indications are that the downward trend of valuations will continue when final 1943 figures become available.)

In drawing 1944 budgets some units have taken advantage of the prospectively higher valuation and are budgeting tax requirements which would not have been permissible within their tax rate limits on the old 37 per cent basis of assessment. In all, according to Civic Federation estimates, something near $4,258,000 has been budgeted for 1944 in this manner for taxes collectable within Chicago. Most of the increase is for Cook County's general fund, which has long been on a deficiency basis and which last year became so involved that a supplementary levy to take up part of the accumulated deficit is clearly justified. Other increases have less justification and have been severely criticized by Chicago civic and service groups.

While taxes collectable this year will not reflect the larger budgets arising from the expansion of permissible levies within the tax rate limits, some increase over what would otherwise be permissible is in prospect. This is because in a few cases budgets called for levies higher than could have been collected under the 37 per cent basis of assessment. About $711,000 in higher levies arise from this source. A smaller amount will be added because of the operation of the method of computing the rate and extending the levies. In fixing their budget requirements the units estimate taxes on rates carried out to as many as six decimal places, but the assessor, in computing taxes for collection, is required to use a rate in even cents per $100 of valuation, raising the fractions to accomplish this purpose. Obviously, the larger the valuation, the greater the excess over budget estimates that is produced by raising the rate to the next cent to eliminate fractions. It is estimated that about $551,000 will be added to the 1943 levy in this manner. Even so, it is estimated that the 1943 tax bill in Chicago, collectable this year, will be only about $188,472,000, or about $5,500,000 less than in 1942.

The 1944 budget developments are likely to lead to litigation and to changes in the legislation respecting taxation, since there is evident a conflict as to what present controlling tax limits are. For a number of years the tax limits as established by maximum tax rates have been so restrictive that successive legislatures have authorized more adequate levies by providing alternative limits in the shape of "pegged" levies. On the new 100 per cent basis of assessment the yield under the tax rate limits is of course greater than that under the "pegged" levy laws, and a legislative re-examination of the whole matter of tax limits is being urged.

The raising of the basis of assessment is also having repercussions outside Cook County. Under Illinois law railroad property is valued by the State Tax Commission, which in order to avoid discrimination between counties using different bases of assessment finds it necessary to equalize its valuations. For this purpose a statewide weighted average has been used in the past. If the same procedure is used for 1943 the practical effect will be to lower railroad property taxes in Cook County by something like $2,000,000 and raise those downstate by about $8,000,000, since downstate counties use ratios predominantly well below 50 per cent.

The situation is to some extent indicative of the chaos resulting from too-long delayed changes in a tax system badly needing overhauling. The fund system of tax rate limits in use has long contributed to the piling up of operating deficits which must eventually either be met by the taxpayer or repudiated, and the lack of home rule for Chicago and its other units has unnecessarily brought the state legislature into the picture as special legislation was sought, permitting buck-passing between Chicago and downstate and making it next to impossible for the Chicago units to formulate their own program.

Assessment of property at as near full value as practicable is usually regarded as a healthy practice, and if the Cook County assessor in raising his valuations to 100 per cent of full value precipitates a good housecleaning of Chicago's tax system, he will have performed a doubly beneficial act. The danger is that the change may become the occasion for long-protracted delays in collections, destruction of taxpayer morale, and increased tax delinquency, such as followed the reassessment of 1928 and were aggravated by the depression of the early 1930's.

Simplified Income Tax Plan Approved

A simplification of the federal income tax rate structure and returns is promised under the plan adopted by the House Ways and Means Committee; it will probably go through without substantial change. Under the plan provision will be made for collection at the source without the necessity of filing a return on incomes of up to $5,000 where income not subject to withholding does not exceed $100. In the rate structure, the victory tax is to be abolished, and the normal and surtaxes combined into a single rate ranging from 20 per cent up to 91 per cent. Tables showing comparatively the tax liability under the proposed set-up and that under the present revenue law indicate small increases for all taxpayers except those in the married with two or more children category of the middle income group, who will receive small reductions.

Taxes of All Government Levels Take 24% of Country's Income

Total tax collections throughout the country—federal, state, and local—were $30,398,000,000 for fiscal year 1943, or 23.5 per cent of the country's total income for the same year. This is an increase of 141 per cent in total tax collections between 1939 and 1943, but represents a rise of only 5 per cent in proportion to the rising national income during those years.[1]

The three levels of government collected (excluding social security payments) $12,602,000,000 during the 1939 fiscal year—18.5 per cent of national income for that year. The national income (excluding undistributed corporate earnings), however, rose 90 per cent during the five-year period, from $68,021,000,000 to $129,350,000,000.

Relatively moderate increase of total tax collections in proportion to national income is explained by the fact that local taxes decreased, not only in proportion to the growing national income but in absolute amount, while state collections during the same period did not keep pace with the swift rise in national income.

State tax collections rose from $3,057,000,000 in 1939 to $3,906,000,000 in 1943, an increase of 27.8 per cent, though they were only 3 per cent of national income in 1943 compared with 4.5 per cent in fiscal 1939. And significance of local tax collections in proportion to national income was cut almost in half during the five-year period, dropping from 7 to 3.6 per cent.

Federal collections increased 360 per cent, from $4,760,000,000 for fiscal 1939 to $21,880,000,000 for 1943. On the basis of per cent of national income the increase was from 7 per cent—equalled by local collections in 1939—to 16.9 per cent for the 1943 fiscal year.

Preliminary estimates for federal, state, and local tax collections for the 1944 fiscal year indicate that present trends are being accentuated still further.

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[1] From an analysis by the Federation of Tax Administrators based on figures issued by the U. S. Department of Commerce, U. S. Treasury, Bureau of the Census, and Tax Institute.

Books in Review

Edited by **ELSIE S. PARKER**

City Problems of 1943-1944. The Annual Proceedings of the United States Conference of Mayors. Edited by Harry R. Betters. Washington, D. C., The United States Conference of Mayors, 1944. iii, 216 pp. $3.

The latest edition of the Conference of Mayors' *Proceedings* contains articles giving extensive information about war and postwar problems of cities by outstanding authorities. Manpower, economic stabilization, disposal of federal surplus property, and postwar public works planning are but a few of the subjects covered. Two of the most important problems which will continue to confront cities—federal-state-local fiscal relations and metropolitan areas—are discussed. As striking as the scope of articles are the outstanding authorities who write them.

EDWARD W. WEIDNER

American Housing: Problems and Prospects. Factual Findings by Miles L. Colean; The Program by the Housing Committee. New York City, The Twentieth Century Fund, 1944. xxii, 466 pp. $3.

This book gives a comprehensive treatment of production and marketing problems in housing, together with a recommended program for action. The survey finds that postwar housebuilding should be concentrated in the $2,000 to $4,000 price range where the need is greatest, and the committee recommends "a reduction of production costs through the encouragement of larger producing organizations, through greater use of machinery and factory-produced parts, more highly productive industrial techniques, and the establishment, for the bulk of house production, of more direct and economical methods of materials distribution." Building codes and antitrust and anti-racketeering laws need to be changed to meet the postwar needs of an adequate housing program, the committee says.

E. W. W.

Municipalities and the Law in Action. A record of experience covering the second year of the war. Proceedings of the 1943 War Conference of the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers. Edited by Charles S. Rhyne. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1944. 553 pp. $10.

The 1944 edition of *Municipalities and the Law in Action* emphasizes postwar planning, intergovernmental relations, taxation, and public utilities as well as certain problems of wartime confronting cities. Two trends are especially noticeable in this year's volume: First, the shift in emphasis from civilian defense to postwar planning and, second, the emphasis on the effects upon tax receipts of the rapid expansion of federal ownership of real estate in carrying out the war program.

E. W. W.

Additional Books and Pamphlets[1]

Accounting

Proceedings—Conference on Federal Government Accounting. Sponsored by the American Institute of Accountants in coöperation with United States Treasury Department, General Accounting Office and Bureau of the Budget. New York 17, American Institute of Accountants, 1944. 118 pp.

Debt

Governmental Debt in the United States: 1943. City Debt on June 30,

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[1] See also Research Bureau Reports, p. 246.

1943. By Woodrow L. Ginsburg. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1943. 12 and 16 pp. respectively.

Hospitals

Small Community Hospitals. By Henry J. Southmayd and Geddes Smith. New York, The Commonwealth Fund, 1944. ix, 182 pp. $2.

Initiative and Referendum

State Proposals Voted Upon in 1943. By Abe Blanar. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1944. 7 pp.

Legislative Councils

Progress Report—March Council Meeting. A Summary of the Activities of the Legislative Council Committee Reports and Considerations of Proposals, Quarterly Meeting, March 15-17, 1944. Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, Research Department, 1944. 13 pp.

Postwar Planning

American Rural Life and War and Postwar Planning. Proceedings of the 1943 American Country Life Conference, Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, June 9 and 10, 1943. Apply Dr. O. F. Hall, Secretary of the Conference, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana.

Marching Home. Educational and Social Adjustment After the War. Considerations relating to the training of community and national workers, leaders, and counselors to be concerned with the educational, vocational, social, and personal adjustment and the rehabilitation of men and women leaving government service. By Morse A. Cartwright. New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1944. iv, 44 pp. 25 cents.

Planning and Postwar Planning—State Organizations. Membership Directory. Chicago 37, American Society of Planning Officials, 1943. 34 pp. $1.

Proportional Representation

Coupon or Free?[2] By R. W. G. Mackay. London, Secker and Warburg, 1943. 144 pp. 5/-.

Parliamentary Representation.[2] By J. F. S. Ross. London, W. C. 2, 1943. 246 pp. 10/6.

Real Estate Development

Rules and Regulations—Guide for Real Estate Developments and Land Subdivisions—Filing of Plats. Wilmington, Delaware, Regional Planning Commission of New Castle County, 1944. 25 pp.

Retirement Systems

The Scope of Protection under State and Local Government Retirement Systems. By Dorothy F. McCamman. Washington, D. C., Social Security Board, Bureau of Research and Statistics, 1943. 150 pp.

Surplus War Property

Cities and Surplus War Property Disposal. A Report Submitted to the Surplus War Property Administration by The United States Conference of Mayors on Behalf of 230 Major Member American Cities over 30,000 in Population. Washington 6, D. C., The United States Conference of Mayors, 1944. 5 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Summary of Finances of State Governments in 1943 (Preliminary). Washington, D. C., Governments Division, Bureau of the Census, 1940. 10 pp.

Urban Redevelopment

A Chart for Changing Cities. A progress report on urban redevelopment, reviewing the record to date and surveying future possibilities. San Francisco 11, California Housing and Planning Association, 1944. 21 pp.

War Contract Termination

War Contract Termination (Part I). By Cecil E. Fraser and others. Duke Station, Durham, North Carolina, *Law and Contemporary Problems,* 1944. 134 pp. $1.

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[2] For a discussion of these volumes see p. 265, this issue.

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— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

The League's Business

League Welcomes James W. Clise

THE Executive Committee of the Council of the National Municipal League met May 17 at luncheon at the Uptown Club in New York to welcome James W. Clise, a business man and civic leader of Seattle, as one of the League's vice presidents and to transact routine business.

Attending, in addition to Mr. Clise, were: Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Council; Dr. George H. Gallup, vice president; Carl H. Pforzheimer, treasurer and chairman of the Steering Committee; George Arents, Dr. Frederick L. Bird, C. G. Hoag, John S. Linen, Ralph B. Maltby, Lawson Purdy, and Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary.

Describing situations in his own and many other cities in which he had witnessed the constructive effect of the League's coöperation, Mr. Clise urged that steps be taken at once to expand the organization's staff and services.

"There is a healthy urge throughout the country on the part of individuals and citizen groups to learn how they can improve their communities," Mr. Clise said. "More specific on-the-spot service from the League would help many of them to influence their communities powerfully within a relatively short time.

"The traditional approach of the business man and the public-spirited citizen is still, unfortunately, to 'throw the rascals out.' This has been done literally thousands of times by enraged citizens but all too frequently they have rested on their oars and the 'rascals' soon are back in control again. The League, through its program of basic reorganization, has developed sound, permanent solutions, as hundreds of well governed cities can testify."

The executive secretary reported that the editorial advisory committee had agreed on the contents of the special issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW which will mark the fiftieth anniversary of the League, to be published later this year; that because of widespread activity in local government improvement efforts, nine of the League's publications were out of print and in process of revision; that there were more movements in progress for the modernization of local governments than at any other time during the last twenty years; and that the total number of communities and counties having the council-manager form of government is now 602.

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY
Executive Secretary

No 1944 Debt Figures

For the time being at least, the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW will not publish "Bonded Debt of U. S. Cities," a regular feature of the June issue since 1923. The article and its accompanying tables have been prepared by the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, first under the direction of C. E. Rightor, later under that of Miss Rosina Mohaupt. Since the Governments Division of the Bureau of the Census has begun publishing figures of a somewhat similar nature, under the title of "City Debt," it was felt that the REVIEW's compilation was to a certain extent a duplication of effort which might properly be eliminated during wartime.

National Municipal Review

For the Record

WITH "I Am an American Day" becoming more firmly rooted as an occasion on which to help our citizens "to understand more fully the great privileges and responsibilities of citizenship in our democracy," rival claims as to who originated the idea are inevitably developing.

A prominent group of newspapers is now confidently stating that it has the honor, ignoring the fact, among others, that it was the founder of an organization which included the words "I Am an American" in its name who flew to Washington in 1940 and lobbied successfully to persuade Congress to amend a pending resolution for "Citizenship Day" to include words he had thought up.

"I Am an American Day" clearly is a child of "Citizenship Day."

Five years ago, in the spring of 1939, Manitowoc County, Wisconsin, attracted nation-wide attention with its pioneer celebration of "Citizenship Day," preceded by some weeks of careful preparation of 21-year-olds for their new responsibilities as citizens. This program was widely discussed. The Wisconsin legislature endorsed it and 38 Wisconsin counties used the plan in 1940. Also during 1940 a resolution entered Congress referring to "Citizenship Recognition Day" and emerged calling upon the President to proclaim "I Am an American Day."

Six months prior to the Manitowoc citizen induction ceremonies, C. A. Dykstra, president of the University of Wisconsin and then president of the National Municipal League, in an address at the League's national conference at Baltimore in 1938, had advocated a national holiday similar to the one then being planned in Manitowoc. This, he said, should be to the youth of our country what the solemn ceremonies practiced by our tribal ancesors were to those passing from boyhood to manhood in earlier civilizations.

The New York *Herald Tribune,* in a news account of the observance of Citizenship Day published May 5, 1940, said:

"These 'Citizenship Days,' the outgrowth of an idea which a University of Wisconsin political science professor, Roy Jefferson Colbert, brought to fruition last year after fourteen years of effort, follow a practical educational program planned to acquaint America's new native-born voters with their government. . . .

"After having tried for fourteen years to 'sell' his idea to other communities, he suggested it to the Manitowoc citizens who, after some hesitation, accepted it. . . .

"The program attracted nationwide attention. Delegations from the middle west, the east, and from as far off as Helena, Montana, attended. Programs of similar nature have been planned by at least twelve states and by dozens of communities throughout the United States. Representative Joshua Johns, of Appleton, Wisconsin, has introduced a 'Citizenship Recognition Day' bill which has passed the House and is to be introduced in the Senate by Senator Alexander Wiley, of Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin."

The Johns-Wiley bill was the one in which the day's name got changed (may it some time retrieve both the name and the character it had before the promoters started to coöperate). The idea may be just as sweet by any name but it appears to be much less constructive now than it was in Manitowoc. Indeed, it undoubtedly would help to call it "Citizen Induction Day." At any rate, it seems pretty clear where the credit for "Citizenship Day" or "I Am an American Day" belongs.

More on Secret Sessions

THE practice of holding secret sessions of city councils and school boards appears to be even more prevalent than was believed when the REVIEW published an editorial last month protesting that this tends to stifle popular understanding of and interest in local civic problems.

Editorial Research Reports, a national service for newspaper editors, distributed excerpts from the REVIEW's editorial and polled the editors to learn how widely the custom prevails.

Some newspapers reported that they had attacked and successfully discouraged the practice. Others seemed little disturbed. One of the most distinguished dailies accused the school board of its city of "shabby wire-pulling" in killing a resolution for open sessions and added that "at present, charges of patronage and other irregularities made by the former comptroller are before the board. It has decided to investigate these charges itself, though five of the twelve board members are mentioned in them, and the investigating will be done in closed sessions." A Michigan newspaper, reporting that secret meetings of its school board had been abandoned twenty years ago, observed that "formal open sessions created a better understanding of school problems." This is exactly the principal point of the REVIEW's editorial.

A number of editors have pointed out that, although their councils and school boards held open sessions, informal "caucuses," discussions, etc., were held prior to the open meeting—which, of course, is just kidding the public.

A writer in a Scranton, Pennsylvania, newspaper, after graciously conceding that "the theory that the city's business should be conducted on the city hall steps is a very high-sounding one," says "it does not work out as well as the businesslike method of the executive chamber."

He asks what would happen if the thousands of stockholders of big businesses insisted that they be allowed to "sit in on every meeting of the directors." And "Why do all large businesses have boards of directors? The answer is obvious: to get the work done efficiently and quickly and with the least amount of noise, debate, and interference."

He then contrasts the smoothly

(Continued on page 318)

Utilities Need Regional Basis

Strains of war emphasize importance of planning service throughout metropolitan areas; many cities cooperate in current study of methods, organization, trends, future needs.

By **JOHN BAUER**, Director
American Public Utilities Bureau

THE war has accentuated the importance of providing unified utility services throughout metropolitan areas. Whatever the ownership and form of organization, adequate service at reasonable rates has become a comprehensive district matter. This applies to the basic utilities of water supply and sewage disposal, electricity and transportation, and often gas.

Furnishing regional utility services is an important part of the difficult problem of adjusting municipal organization between a city and its adjacent communities which together constitute a single industrial area. Practically all large cities have seriously outgrown their legal boundaries, fixed under earlier conditions in accordance with industrial regions. As time passed the cities pressed beyond these legal lines; satellite communities were created whose economic life has remained largely integrated with the central cities, but whose separate political existence has prevented adjustment to regional realities.

In the light of experience and probability, regional problems are likely to be worked out piecemeal as particular needs and pressures emerge. While comprehensive unification of municipal and economic territory will doubtless be the goal and trend, the apparent line of development will be through provision of individual metropolitan services as regional requirements begin to dominate and push aside municipal diversities and cross-purposes. This is the type of adjustment that appears suited to the important utilities upon which future metropolitan welfare greatly depends.

Prompted by a study of the Hartford, Connecticut, water and sewage metropolitan district organization, a summary of which was published in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for October 1943, a survey has been made of utility practices in U. S. cities of 100,000 population and over. Reprints of the Hartford article, together with a questionnaire on local utility organization and services for the city and its related communities, were sent to the mayors of these 92 cities, together with a letter which submitted the problem.

The questionnaires called for information under three major parts: First, city-owned and operated utilities, their form of organization and control, provision for serving adjacent communities, and the basis on which such outer-community service is furnished; second, present metropolitan district organization, form of organization and control, and operating and financial policies; third, opinion in regard to the problem of furnishing metropolitan service, how best provided, and the most suitable organization and control.

The response was gratifying. In all, 45 replies were received, covering a wide range of cities as to size, geography, and industrial conditions. The largest was Chicago, with a reported population of 3,397,000, and the smallest Duluth with 101,000. They furnish a good cross-section of what has been done, and provide a basis for considering effective organization and control.

This article—first in a series of four—discusses the status of the principal utilities in relation to the central city and its surrounding territory. The second will present an analyzed summary of what the large cities have done in supplying outlying areas. The third will summarize the special district organizations created for comprehensive service of the metropolitan territories. The fourth will consider the type of central city and district organization which appears most suited to meet common regional needs.

At the outset emphasis is directed to an important organizational distinction. In the case of water supply and sewage disposal, the organization is mostly municipal or public; for electricity, transportation, and gas it is preponderantly private. Whatever the type of ownership, however, the services themselves are public in character, the needs are metropolitan in scope, and the status of the systems will be viewed from the standpoint of the entire metropolitan area.

Roughly 90 per cent of the country's water utility consumers are served by municipally- or other publicly-owned systems; only about 10 per cent by private companies. Mostly the large cities own and operate the water properties, and usually they provide also the sewage systems.

Water and Sewage

The problem of furnishing metropolitan water service thus directly confronts the great majority of the large cities. Where they own the water systems they must not only assure an adequate and economical supply for their own population, but also can hardly escape regard for their neighbor communities. Obtaining an adequate water supply depends ordinarily upon resources that are common to the entire territory and which extend beyond the metropolitan area. From this physical standpoint, supplies must be developed and made available jointly for the entire locality. Likewise sewage disposal, generally an integral part of the water system, is essentially a regional matter.

Postwar requirements will necessitate comprehensive district consideration. This involves, first, planning for an adequate, economical, and safe joint supply, and, second, such transmission and distribution connections as will assure the territory of proper service. Planning and development must certainly be regional, but organization may be by cities, with the form varied. Where private systems exist, the possible advantages of public purchase at proper compensation are subject to consideration.

From the standpoint of outright life necessity, water is the most essential utility for a city and region. But from the social, commercial, and industrial viewpoint, especially for future advancement, electricity stands today as the No. 1 utility. For the country at large approximately 85 per cent of all electric customers are served by private companies.

Low Cost Electricity

The postwar problem before each city-region will be to obtain electric costs and rates that will furnish maximum advantage in competition with other localities for production and industrial advancement. As to adequacy of supply mere capacity can be readily expanded, especially steam electric generation. The need will be, first, to obtain generation at maximum efficiency, and, second, to deliver the energy to consumers at minimum cost. Technological improvements have become available but have been held back from application during the depression and war years. Virtually all private systems are operating far below realizable efficiency and economy. This lag in making improvements available is a matter of serious concern for the metropolitan areas.

Private development of the present chief public utility is understandable. To start with, electricity was a novel thing which had to win its way to extensive use against already existing modes of furnishing light, heat, and power. Private organization doubtless stimulated early development. Furthermore, as the public importance of electricity increased, private flexibility also facilitated extension from one municipality to another. The private systems usually furnish unified city-regional service, generally under the same schedule of rates.

While private electric companies have had the distinct advantage of by-passing fixed municipal boundaries, they have been subjected to other serious difficulties, including far-flung holding company control, over-capitalization, official elaborateness, small group absentee management, and disregard of public interest for narrowly pyramided private gains. Furthermore, against this widely prevalent situation, public regulation has not been particularly effective, and often has served more as a shield for the holding company management rather than as a positive means for the protection and advancement of public interest. At any rate, in many metropolitan sections electric rates are so high as to hamper future industrial development in competition with low-rate regions.[1]

For the future, corporate simplification can be brought about, and private management can be redirected to observe more fully its underlying public functions; regulation by states and municipalities can be improved. The inherent conflict between private and public interest can hardly be eliminated altogether, however, and there are other conditions which raise the question as to whether public organization for metropolitan regions might not advantageously displace private, with fair compensation.

This question of city-regional public organization of electric power has been accentuated in recent years by three major factors. The first is the experience of many municipal and other public systems, demonstrating that on the average they have been as efficient as the private companies, and on the whole have done a better community job.

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[1] See "Cities Must Seek Cheap Power to Hold Their Industries," by John Bauer. NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, November 1942.

The second factor is the break-up of holding company systems under the federal Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935. Under the administration of the Securities and Exchange Commission, every holding company must dispose of its control over all operating companies which are not part of a single integrated service territory. This disposition will affect most large cities and related territories, and raises the question of public acquisition. In a number of instances municipalization has taken place, and in others its desirability is receiving consideration.

The third factor is the federal income tax. This applies to private companies just as to other business corporations, but not to publicly-owned systems. During the war this tax has increased enormously. Under present law a company's net earnings above operating expenses, depreciation, and fixed charges is subject, first, to a 40 per cent tax on income roughly up to 6.5 per cent on its stated invested capital, and then an excess profits tax of 95 per cent on all additional income. After the war the excess profits tax may be eliminated, but an over-all tax of less than 30 per cent can hardly be expected for many years. While the excess profits tax can be avoided by proper rate reductions, the regular income tax will remain as an unavoidable cost to the companies, to be included in the rates paid by the consumer.[2]

In contrast, localities supplied by municipal or other public systems will be free from the tax burden. Because of deeply entrenched national policies and law this fundamental tax difference, which affects relative rates substantially, will doubtless continue indefinitely. Under such disparity a privately-served community will be under a competitive disadvantage in production and development as compared with localities served by public systems.

In a locality served by a private electric company the desirability of public replacement will depend upon the balancing of relative advantages and disadvantages. In case of public acquisition, this would normally include the entire region, without break-up of the integrated properties. It would thus provide directly for the district as well as for the central city. It might be effected through a special metropolitan unit, or through an existing county, but in most instances probably best by the central city. Such municipal take-over would provide immediately for unified district service as against separate city operation.

Modern Mass Transportation

Transportation is the third essential utility after water and electricity. Like the latter, it has developed predominantly under private organization. While no definite statistics are available, roughly 90 per cent is privately owned.

The historical forces which produced private transportation development are largely the same as those for electricity. Originally the horsecar had to win its way on private initiative. Subsequently, when real utility status was attained, the problem of public control emerged because of public importance and because of the abuses that had developed during the 1890's and the first decade of the present century. Meanwhile transportation has become essential as an integrated service for the central city and its surrounding territory. Private companies have succeeded readily in attaining territorial unity. For the future, however, there is the same question as for electricity, whether needs for the locality might not be better provided through public displacement of private systems, at reasonable compensation.

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[2] See "Relation of the War Taxes to Utility Rate Making," by John Bauer, *Public Utilities Fortnightly,* February 17, 1944.

The factors that enter into the decision are mainly the same as for electricity. They include relative over-all efficiency, the conflict between private and public interest, and federal taxes. There is also the fact that street railway operation has become almost wholly obsolete, and should be replaced by modern bus transportation. In many cities this has already happened. The process was interrupted by the war, when the manufacture of buses was rigorously restricted. After the war, however, the established superiority of buses will doubtless result in their rapid substitution for street railways, with probable abandonment of the latter within ten or fifteen years.

Displacement of street railways has created an extraordinary complexity in most communities. Despite the fact that buses have been crowding steadily forward since the first world war, few companies have made provision for depreciation and amortization of their outdated investment. Usually the defunct physical systems remain as the chief or sole support of the bonds and stock orginally issued for construction and equipment.

Under these conditions, the companies naturally are averse to comprehensive conversion to bus transportation, and strive to save their street railway investments. As they nevertheless effect abandonments and substitute buses, they try to support the securities issued and outstanding against the dead street railways through fares paid by the bus riders. This situation directly or indirectly confronts most metropolitan areas. Any such region will face the issue as to whether bus fares shall be kept high enough to maintain the total company capitalization, or reduced to the independent costs of bus service. The unavoidable dilemma will be to require bus riders to pay a return on abandoned street railways or to force the company into insolvency. Not many companies can escape receivership if bus fares are reduced to cost of bus operation.

The question as to whether private operation might not better be displaced by public control thus becomes urgent. This would usually involve no physical or financial difficulties except for undue legal barriers. The required investment would not be extensive, being limited largely to the cost of the buses. The financial problems of the companies would be readily obviated, leaving to private disposition the hangover street railway capitalization. As with electricity, the public unit would continue the regional service and would naturally come under the ownership and control of the chief city. Fares would be based exclusively upon bus costs, and the consequent low fares would contribute to the coherent development of the entire metropolitan area.

Manufactured and Natural Gas

The furnishing of gas is the least important of the major utilities for city-regional needs. The status, however, differs as to the kind of gas—manufactured or natural. Manufactured gas will probably have no increasing public importance for the future. Natural gas, where it can be economically supplied, will have significance for city-regional progress.

Like electricity and transportation, the gas utilities are overwhelmingly privately owned. Only in a few large cities are there publicly-owned and operated systems. Manufactured gas has been subjected to severe competition with electricity. Under present relative economies, lower electric rate schedules can be justifiably established for general residential purposes than for gas. In cities where the gas and electric properties are separately owned and controlled, the gas companies have been steadily crowded, and probably can do little more than to hold a struggling position in the service field.

With natural gas the situation is different, if an adequate and economical supply can be obtained. Then the consideration of metropolitan needs is essentially the same as for electricity and transportation. Likewise the question of displacing private with publicly-owned properties is much the same. There is, however, one special factor to be considered. The tasks of providing the gas supply and its distribution are usually separated. Natural gas is brought into an extensive territory by a transmission company which then delivers it wholesale to various operating companies for local distribution; further, there is no interconnected network of distribution lines between the jointly served localities. Under this situation distribution properties could readily be acquired by the community, but the gas would continue to be purchased from the transmission company. Each distribution unit would come within a single city-metropolitan area. If acquisition of the distribution system were effected by the central city, it could continue the regional service.

What should be clear is that all the common utilities excepting manufactured gas have a vital and progressive importance for city-metropolitan welfare. In each instance there should be a comprehensive survey to determine how adequate and efficient and economical service can be obtained for the entire locality. This calls for full inquiry as to needs, and for open-minded consideration of what should be done in providing proper physical facilities and in assuring suitable organization, control, and management for maximum city-regional advantage. It may also require adjustments in the law so as to permit the cities and their surrounding communities to provide reasonably for future needs.

Boy Legislature Plan Spreading

Observers from other states study program developed by YMCA in New Jersey with Princeton's aid; see vehicle for youth training for active participation in civic affairs.

By **EDWARD W. WEIDNER**
National Municipal League

ON APRIL 21 Governor Walter E. Edge of New Jersey delivered his "annual message" to the legislature. It probably was the most attentive legislature that any governor ever addressed. Undoubtedly it was the youngest. The legislators, average age seventeen, constituted the annual New Jersey YMCA "Model Boy-Legislature." In the six years of its life the model legislature had attracted nation-wide attention. Proof of that fact was the Hi-Y (high school YMCA groups) observers from fourteen widely scattered states in the galleries. To them the spectacle opened new possibilities for Hi-Y program planning, new possibilities for training youth throughout the nation in democratic processes and civic responsibility.

It was back in 1937 that Clement A. Duran, then on the staff of the Albany YMCA, conceived the idea of a model legislature composed of representatives of Hi-Y groups throughout the state of New York. That year New York held the first model legislature. Two years later Mr. Duran was transferred to Newark where he became secretary of the Central Atlantic Areas Council of YMCA's. He immediately proposed his idea in New Jersey, and in 1939 that state became the second to hold a Hi-Y model legislature.

Although New York first started the program, this story is concerned mainly with New Jersey because it soon became the leader of the "Youth and Government" movement. This was due not only to the influence of Mr. Duran but also to the enthusiasm of the other members of the Statewide Committee on Youth and Government and especially of Dr. John F. Sly and President Harold W. Dodds of Princeton, both, incidentally, prominent National Municipal League members. Dr. Sly was made chairman of the statewide committee and was to an important degree responsible for the program's development. President Dodds coöperated by making the resources of Princeton University available.

The casual onlooker at the State House in Trenton could not hope to guess the scope of the program. It is no two-day publicity stunt put on by a handful of Hi-Y members. It is a year-round proposition participated in by every member of Hi-Y's in New Jersey. Only when this is realized does one understand the significance of the statement of William E. Speers, former mayor of Montclair and member of the statewide committee: "Back of the plan is the conviction that the best way to assure a belief in democracy and to increase its effectiveness is to educate young people to understand by actual participation what representative democracy means."

To develop a Hi-Y model legislature as in New Jersey, there are certain advisable prerequisites. Active local Hi-Y clubs are needed together with a statewide committee composed of outstanding educators, civic leaders, and YMCA secretaries and committeemen. A sponsoring university and the coöperation of local and state officials complete the picture.

Plan of Program

There are seven steps to the New Jersey program. Early in the year "Boy-Senators" and "Boy-Assemblymen" are elected by Hi-Y clubs of the towns and cities of the state. The election is not a routine process. It is held only after such subjects as the implications of being a good citizen, the importance and significance of government in the community, and the role and function of local and state departments are thoroughly discussed.

The first meeting of the boy-legislators is at Princeton in February. At this Pre-Legislative Conference state leaders in education, government, business, and religion help to orient and instruct the boys in citizenship and government. Special attention is given to the problems of how to draft a bill, suitable subjects for legislation are discussed, and officers of the year's model legislature are elected.

Each boy-legislator is told that he should be responsible for at least one bill. While it is his bill, he is nevertheless responsible for seeing that it represents the result of his Hi-Y group's discussion and thinking. Subjects for the bills are found in a number of ways. Interviews with community leaders are held. Bills presented at last year's model legislature are scanned. Personal and club interests are examined for areas of legislation.

To help in the search for suitable subjects for legislation, the New Jersey Public Opinion Poll was begun a few years ago. The poll is conducted by the boy-legislators, assisted by Dr. George H. Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion and vice president of the National Municipal League. The result each year has been to broaden the scope of the subjects of bills introduced into the model legislature.

Hi-Y clubs in New Jersey do not stop at drawing up bills and introducing them in the legislature. There would be only a limited amount of value in such procedure. After the bills are drawn up, a club takes what local action it can to remedy the situation with which it is concerned. During a discussion on vocations in a club in a rural community, the fact was established that boys were leaving these farm areas and going to cities for jobs. It was pointed out that none of the vocational work done in school dealt with agriculture. A bill was drawn up "to provide for state-operated schools for youth interested in agriculture." Seeing an opportunity for club action, the boys made a list of all students graduated from high school within the last five years, showing those who were in college, those working in the city, and those who remained on farms. A series of talks and discussions was held by the club on "Opportunities in Agriculture." The boys visited a farm where a successful farmer talked to them. Finally, catalogues of colleges having agriculture courses were displayed prominently in the school.

Another Hi-Y club was discussing a current movie showing conditions which brought about juvenile delinquency. Housing, it was found, played an important part. The boys felt that the percentage of juvenile delinquency in their own community was too high. The bill which developed was "An act for the creation and appointment of a commission for the purpose of studying the question of housing, detention, and supervision of juvenile delinquents." The boys then made and exhibited a city map showing poor housing areas. A local children's court judge addressed a Hi-Y meeting, and the statistics he presented and explained were made the subject of several discussions. A trip was made to a home for delinquents. A list of recreational opportunities in the city was compiled and distributed to the boys in the grade schools, and the Hi-Y club volunteered to assist the YMCA and the Boy's Club in its program.

In March Princeton plays host to the boy-legislators once more at the Local Government Conference. At this meeting leaders in education and government interpret the theory and practice of government in New Jersey's counties, cities, townships, and villages. This completes the setting of the stage for the model legislature itself.

In April the boy-legislators gather at the State House in Trenton for their two-day session. Bills have been submitted beforehand and mimeographed, and each member is given a "Bill Book" to help him follow the subject under discussion. The legislature opens with the official reception of the Boy-Governor and the Governor of New Jersey. After preliminaries the real work of the session gets under way, and, except for some simplification in order to cope with the two-day time limit of the session, the procedure resembles that of the actual state legislature. Bills are read, referred to joint committees; then, if recommended for passage, are reported back to the house in which the bill originated for debate and action.

Session in Action

Each committee is assigned a "resource leader" who is usually a state official in the field covered by the committee. These leaders help to give background information on the subject under consideration, and they are of great help in informing the boy-legislators about their state and local governments.

The sessions are marked by earnestness and a sense of responsibility. Each bill is considered on its merits. An example is the debate which took place in the Boy-Senate on a bill to lower the voting age to eighteen. After a long and thorough debate, the body found itself evenly divided on the bill; it was up to the Boy-President of the Senate to cast the deciding vote. He voted against it.

It was a reassuring experience to see how boys of different races, creeds, and colors could harmoniously formulate policies. Aware of the existing racial problem, the boy-legislators passed "An act to provide fair employment practice in industry or government" and "An act to abolish segregation of colored and white students in public schools of New Jersey and to provide for equal educational facilities and opportunities for all people in New Jersey regardless of race, creed or color."

The theory of democracy was discussed on the House floor when a bill was debated which would have required all persons of voting age who fail to vote to pay a five-dollar penalty. The young legislators decided it was not alone the quantity of votes which counted in a democracy, and the bill was lost.

As each boy-legislator defends his bill and tries to gain his colleague's support, the values of the Youth and Government program become evident. As stated by Dr. Sly, "It is essentially a program for potential leaders in public life, drawn from the student bodies of high schools throughout the state by standards established and developed by the Hi-Y clubs of the YMCA. It is designed to confirm the principles of democracy in every member, to develop and sustain moral fortitude and courage in the solution of public problems, and to prepare for effective participation in the policy-determining aspects of the democratic process."

The program may be divided roughly into three parts: training, practice, and application. It is the third aspect which has not yet been completely described. The principle of application is observed not only in following up with local action on bills introduced into the model legislature, but also in conducting local youth and government programs in the counties and cities. These programs are flexible and considerable variation is to be found from one community to another. Some take the form of model city and county governments. Others stress more of an informal examination of local government with visits to local officials and offices, talks and discussions on local problems, and examination of certain publications of local government, for example, the mayor's report. In some cases the Hi-Y clubs have coöperated with other boys and girls clubs and with junior and senior high schools in carrying out these programs.

Idea Spreading

The program has not been confined to New Jersey and New York. In the last two years it has spread to Connecticut, Maine, Maryland, and to Wilmington, Delaware. There are local variations to suit the individual state. In New York and Connecticut girls as well as boys are elected to the model legislature. In New York, particularly, girls' Hi-Y clubs have long been closely connected with the YMCA, and so it was natural to include girls. Yale University and the University of Maryland coöperate with the programs in their respective states, while no university is closely associated with the program in New York. New Jersey has been the leader of the movement, however, and has served as a model for those adopted elsewhere.

Dr. Sly was not satisfied that

(Continued on page 294)

Intercity Cooperation Increases

Tennessee Valley communities, stimulated by great power development, progress rapidly in joint action and self-improvement efforts; urban-rural understanding improved.

By **JAMES P. POPE**
Director, Tennessee Valley Authority

A DISTRESSED world, going through cycles of economic crises and wars, may need to look for new bases of coöperation and stability. In such a quest it may have a good deal to learn from the experience of cities. For city life has always of necessity involved coöperative action. Needs such as a water supply or the disposal of wastes, while largely individual matters in rural areas, present problems in cities that must be solved—and they can be solved only by united effort.

There are historians who insist that most of the great cultures of the world have been born in cities and that cities have been in the vanguard of progress. It was Bagehot who said that it is in "the crowd, the hum, and the shock of men" that the intellect is sharpened, initiative stimulated, and people are aroused to united action. However this may be, it seems pretty clear that it was united action, the development of coöperative procedures, that enabled the cities to deal with their problems and to play an important part in the progress of nations and peoples.

And not only have cities set the pace for coöperation in their internal affairs; they have in recent years taken long steps toward intermunicipal coöperation. The three Americas have made great strides in the direction of international friendship and coöperation at the municipal level.[1] And the pressure of common war-connected problems is forcing cities in the United States to band themselves together to achieve joint solutions of region-wide municipal problems.[2] For instance, in California twelve cities under a mutual aid plan have placed their police forces under one coördinator; and in the Boston area 30 cities are interconnected by a fire alarm system. In one region 43 airports are being operated jointly by several cities.

In the Tennessee Valley area great emphasis is being given to the advantages of intermunicipal coöperation, and new ways have been found for cities to work together. In this area is located the Tennessee Valley Authority, one of the few federal agencies whose program is integrated on a geographic basis. A little more than a decade ago President Roosevelt requested Congress to enact legislation to create an agency "charged with the broadest duty of planning for the proper use, conservation, and development of the natural resources of the Tennessee River drainage basin and its adjoining territory."

The Tennessee Valley Authority

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[1] See "Intermunicipal Coöperation in the Americas," by Carlos M. Moran, *Public Management*, December 1943, pp. 354-356.

[2] See "Administrative Organization," by John B. Blandford, Jr., *The Municipal Year Book*, 1943, p. 312.

was so created and its work has gone forward on that basis. The Tennessee River drainage basin and its adjoining territory, within which TVA electricity is being served, comprises a region of about 86,000 square miles, or twice the size of Cuba. It has more than 6,000,000 people and 108 cities (over 2,500 population). Only four of the cities have populations of over 100,000, and eighteen more have populations in excess of 10,000. About one-fourth of the people of the region live in these cities, which is well below the average for the United States.

TVA Activities

The program of TVA is broad. It includes generation and transmission of electricity from a score of dams and half-a-dozen steam plants. It provides for the navigability of the Tennessee River, for flood control of the Tennessee and the lower Mississippi Rivers, for the production and distribution of improved fertilizers, and programs in forestry, malaria control, research, and other regional activities.

Early in its history TVA recognized that its program was dependent upon the coöperation of the citizens, the institutions, and governments of the area. This conception was formally expressed in the third annual report: "The planning of the river's future is entrusted to the TVA. The planning of the Valley's future must be the democratic labor of many agencies and individuals, and final success is as much a matter of general initiative as of general consent."[3]

This many-sided program of TVA has called into existence a variety of new and significant relationships[4]—relationships between TVA and states, counties, municipalities, educational institutions, farm organizations, other federal agencies, and individuals. It has created new relationships between and among these various agencies. None of these relationships is more significant than the coöperation that has developed in the region between TVA and the cities and towns and among the municipalities themselves.

In the electrical field this coöperation has been developed in a remarkable way. TVA generates and transmits electricity to the city's gates. From there on to the consumer the city handles the distribution. TVA sells the power at wholesale (4 mills per kwh) to the city, which in turn sells it to the consumer (2 cents per kwh for home use). This operation is carried on under a contract between TVA and the city, in which are specified the terms as to resale rates, taxes, and other features of operation.

More than 50 municipalities have participated with TVA in the purchase of the properties of private utility companies operating in this area—TVA buying the generating and transmission equipment and the cities buying the distribution facilities. These cities are now furnishing power to consumers within the boundaries of 62 other municipalities.

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[3] Annual Report of the Tennessee Valley Authority for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1936, p. 2.

[4] See "Local Government and the TVA Program," by Lawrence L. Durisch, *Public Administration Review,* Summer 1941, pp. 326-334.

TVA now has contracts with 84 cities and 45 coöperatives. The coöperation of these cities with TVA and with each other is one of the highlights of the Tennessee Valley development. There are constant conferences and meetings to consider the mutual problems. Once each year there is the annual meeting of all the cities and towns in the TVA system, with outside prominent speakers and with unforgettable discussions among themselves about their experiences and their problems. These meetings are not the result of a formal organization, but the fulfillment of the normal desire of each other to keep abreast of developments of this rapidly expanding field of activity in the region. At every such meeting there comes a fresh realization that these cities and towns are working together in a region-wide program of great usefulness.

Billing Cooperative

Another form of coöperation has grown up with this system. The local units engaged in distributing TVA power are generally small. Fifteen of the municipal systems have less than 1,000 customers, and 30 units have less than 28,000 customers. Only six of the 84 municipal systems distributing TVA power serve more than 5,000 customers. The smaller systems have found that routine jobs of administration unduly extend their overhead costs. For example, few of the municipal systems and none of the coöperative systems have a volume of accounts large enough to justify purchase of expensive billing equipment. However, hand billing is also costly.

Out of this situation has grown a unique form of coöperation. The Central Service Association was organized as a coöperative in 1937, its principal purpose being to supply machine billing services for municipal and coöperative distributors of power. The first year of operation found the Association supplying a billing service for one municipality and three nearby coöperatives. By 1942 it was serving 66 municipalities and 40 coöperatives in six states, preparing electric bills for the most part, but some water and gas bills as well. It will be noted that most of the municipalities and nearly all the coöperatives are now coöperating in this service.

This coöperative association has expanded its functions along with its membership, although it has confined its operations to the utility field. It now provides central purchasing services and prepares basic statistical data for its members, and it has under consideration group insurance and retirement plans. It is constantly seeking to develop new services for its members. The successful operation of this coöperative may cause some of the smaller municipalities to consider application of the same principle to services outside the utility field, on work in which unit costs are greatly lowered as volume of operations is increased. The Association has pioneered by demonstrating to the region how sometimes the efficiency of centralization might be combined with the advantages of local control.[5]

Another field of coöperative effort is rapidly coming into the picture, that is, stream sanitation. The TVA program of river improvement has focused attention on problems of stream sanitation. Domestic sewage and industrial wastes already interfere seriously with utilization of the waterways resource. A large number of communities are using the same river system for industrial and domestic water supply, for recreation, and for disposal of wastes. The growth of cities and industries along the river is making stream pollution more critical, and leads to a situation of growing concern to all communities affected. Practices of each city with regard to waste disposal affect the river system's availability for other uses by downstream communities. Only nineteen municipal sewage disposal systems in the Valley now provide for treatment adequate to prevent stream pollution.

On the basis of present studies, it is estimated that domestic sewage in the river would be adequately abated by joint action of fourteen municipalities in building or improving their local disposal plants. Plans for such action are now going forward with the assistance of federal, state, and local agencies concerned. Coöperative activities by cities in the control of stream pollution present special problems of financing the projects, since benefits derived by each city from the program may bear little or no relation to the size of the local plant investment. At the same time this type of intermunicipal coöperation is of vital significance to the regional development program.

River Terminal Facilities

With the new availability of river transportation after TVA channel improvements, communities on the river realized their common interest in the development of river terminal facilities. As it is with telephones, a river terminal has value only after other terminals are built, and the value of each terminal rises sharply as the number of terminal facilities in other communities increases. In 1940, 54 delegates from nine river cities met to organize the Tennessee Valley Waterways Conference. A permanent executive committee was formed, consisting of one member from each of the nine charter cities. The membership is made up of business interests, although the organization has the endorsement of each of the municipal governments concerned. The Conference has studied plans for a system of river terminals and has made recommendations for public action. It has also given assistance in developing barge-line services on the river. The organization and activities of the Conference make it an important illustration of a type of intercity coöperation necessary for more complete utilization of a new regional resource.

Four small cities in the Muscle Shoals area, where TVA and private chemical plants are clustered, recognized the needs and opportunities for planning at an early date, with industrial expansions and the Tennessee River development both taking place in their midst. Each organized a municipal planning commission.

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[5] "Cooperation Pays Dividends," by M. H. Satterfield, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, September 1942, pp. 431-435.

The four planning groups soon found they were working on common problems of housing, stream sanitation, recreational facilities, and river terminals. They found too that joint action on such problems was the only way they could be successfully met. These and other considerations led to organization of a Central Committee, composed of three representatives from each of the municipal commissions, to coördinate plans for the entire area. Intermunicipal coöperation in the field of planning is developing in other parts of the area and promises to become of major importance.

Coöperation between cities in the seven states wholly or partially in the Tennessee Valley has a firm foundation in state leagues of municipalities. In every state efforts of municipalities to coöperate with each other extends over a period of twenty years. In Tennessee, however, the present Municipal League was organized only in 1940, well after the advent of TVA. In each state the League is interested in and concerns itself with state legislation concerning cities. It is also interested in the technical processes of government and in the improvement of administration.

The TVA has been able to coöperate with cities in efforts to improve administration. It has assisted in the conduct of surveys of municipal government in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and Tennessee. These studies provided the first comprehensive surveys of municipal government in each of these states. The TVA has also made available studies of local government accounting, assessments of real property for tax purposes, and in other ways rendered technical assistance to institutions in the area seeking to improve local government.

Coöperation between cities is one of the most promising aspects of the development of the region. There are still elements of competition between cities, of course, and some phases of intermunicipal competition are undoubtedly desirable. Cities should, for example, compete with each other to make themselves better places in which to live, to achieve better and more efficient governments, and to increase civic spirit and pride. The important thing is that cities are discovering new grounds of common interest, are attacking more problems jointly. The growth of intermunicipal coöperation in the Tennessee Valley augurs well for other aspects of intergovernmental coöperation and for better understanding between rural and urban areas.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Reprinted from *Boletin de la Comision Panamericana de Cooperacion Intermunicipal.*

— **Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps** —

One Man Grand Jury in Action

Michigan's unique system of exposing wrongdoers wrings confessions of legislative corruption; citizen interest and action again start process of legal investigation.

By **WILLIAM P. LOVETT**
Executive Secretary, Detroit Citizens League

AGAIN Michigan reaps rich rewards with its unique one-man grand jury system. More than a score of men—members of the state legislature, lobbyists, and others—have faced enough cold evidence to induce them to confess their part in the game of graft: paying or accepting money for votes aiming to pass or defeat certain bills. There will be more to follow.

Judge Leland W. Carr of the Ingham Circuit court, where the state capitol is located, is the jury. His chief associate, Kim Sigler, was appointed by Judge Carr to be the special prosecuting attorney for this procedure, assisted by a staff of trained investigators and attorneys. The real job of clinching preliminary inquiries with official investigation began about six months ago; it will continue probably a full year or more.

By this method Homer Ferguson, formerly circuit judge in the Detroit area, now U. S. Senator, in three years (1939-42) accomplished a vast and successful warfare against syndicated gamblers. This, in the opinion of good authorities, surpassed anything done in New York by Thomas E. Dewey. From the beginning Dewey enjoyed advantages and had assets lacking in the work of Ferguson. But Ferguson even raided out the crooks in the Detroit Police Department.

Catching political grafters in a state legislature, however, is a more difficult task than anything done by Dewey or Ferguson. Tangible, convicting evidence is hard to get, largely because payments of money involve too many people whose memories are bound to suffer lapses. There is too much fear of unearthing the powerful political sources of the malignant growth. Not only the briber and the bribee are concerned, but the cause of the iniquity in some organized group seeking to profit by legislation somehow must be found by legal process.

Citizen interest and action are the foundation of this kind of job Disgust with increasing reports of legislative corruption prompts citizens to start legal investigation. Courage, faith, willingness to incur personal, political, and financial risks, must be backed by moral resentment against practices which make a mockery of the task of government. Fortunately, Michigan, practically free of enduring party machines, can trace its ethical heritage back from Ferguson and Carr to Pingree, of the late '90's. The present campaign brings back the name of Henry M. Leland, founder of the Detroit Citizens League, a few of whose leaders started both the Ferguson and the Carr projects.

Under Michigan law one citizen may initiate this kind of grand jury process—provided he furnishes evidence sufficient to convince some judge, prosecuting attorney, or, as in this case, the attorney general of the state, that the expensive grand jury effort is justifiable. Seven citizens signed the petition which was granted by the Wayne Circuit Court when Ferguson began his work.

Last summer these citizens spent several months convincing Attorney General Rushton that the current enterprise should be undertaken; he knew of too many previous demands which had stemmed largely from selfish politics or the futile indignation of amateur reformers. His name is Herbert, not George, and he didn't want to have a hot "buck," with nothing else, left in his lap by citizens who liked to shake the state capitol and then run away.

"The salvation of the state is the watchfulness of its citizens," runs a motto carved high above the entrance to the Nebraska State Capitol. Laxity, carelessness, or plain sinfulness among rank-and-file citizens must explain graft and the grand jury necessary to unearth it. When voters are willing to pay the price of electing honest men to the legislature, bills will not be passed or defeated by the bribery method. But the dishonesty begins outside the halls of legislation. "Sandbag" bills result generally after one or more lobbyists have paid the price in money for what they want.

The combination of money and politics doubtless offers a major test of character in public office. But the majority of legislators, when elected, mean to do nothing wrong.

Grand jury methods are adopted as an extreme measure, after normal implements of prosecution have failed to stop known evils. Honesty, vigor, and independence among prosecuting attorneys generally reflect a high level of citizen ethics, public interest, and attention to trends in governmental affairs. No acts of government, including legal prosecution, can make honest men out of crooks. But even the prosecution of wrongdoing too often is not attempted because the great majority of citizens would rather keep out of trouble—and let politics stay dirty.

Will More Pay Help?

The financial rating on public service explains most of our troubles in this field. So-called successful men think they "can't afford" to accept public office—the pay isn't large enough to offset their business or professional incomes. Some people imagine that more pay for members of the state legislature will prevent continuance of the game of graft. Next November Michigan will vote on a constitutional amendment which, if adopted, will increase this pay from $2,000 for the biennium to about $3,500. But others have their doubts about the results of this idea. Charles Edison, former governor of New Jersey, well said:

"If our democracy is to be made effective, this tradition that there is honor in going to Washington, but no honor in going to the state capitol or the city hall, must be reversed."

While some citizens, including members of the legislature, are amazed at the facts already disclosed by the current grand jury, it is still to be revealed whether the choice of a new legislature this year will mean a great access of new candidates from those quarters known to represent ability and honesty, as well as high character and willingness to endure the penalties of service in political office.

Many believe that the one-man jury investigation shows results superior to those of multiple juries. Especially where the political complexities of legislative graft come in, it is a larger order to get agreement among 23 jurors than to satisfy the legal mind of one tried-and-true judge. The court trials which must follow present indictments will furnish interesting experience in this record.

Detroit naturally hopes that the present activity, like that directed by Judge Ferguson and Prosecutor O'Hara, will go far to relieve the black eye which this city suffered because of the campaign against gamblers, followed by the race riot of last June. A low level of legislative quality from this region has not been denied. "At least we should have credit for cleaning up our own door-yard," says the citizen who knows what goes on in some other metropolitan areas.

A sound conclusion of the whole matter was stated fifty years ago by George Burnham, Jr., president of the Municipal League of Philadelphia, as he welcomed the delegates to the conference in which the National Municipal League was organized:

"I do not know, gentlemen, what sovereign remedies you may have brought in your grip-sacks for the evils we are here to discuss, but this I do believe, that none of them can succeed that are not based upon such an awakening of the public conscience as shall lead our citizens to give the same serious attention to their political duties that they now grant their business, church, and social obligations."

BOY LEGISLATURE

(Continued from page 286)

New Jersey and a few of her neighboring states should be the only ones with youth and government programs. If the program had such excellent value in one state, he argued, why shouldn't it be promoted throughout the entire country? Dr. Sly easily convinced the National Council of YMCA's that the program should be a point of emphasis for Hi-Y programming throughout the country in 1944, the YMCA's centennial anniversary.

National extension of the program is now under way. A National Hi-Y Youth and Government Committee has been appointed with Dr. Sly as chairman. A National Youth and Government Extension and Coaching Conference was held at Princeton University on April 20-21. There, representatives from fourteen states discussed the possibilities of the program and it was decided to launch a nationwide campaign for youth and government programs in municipalities, counties, and states.

With a membership of 200,000 in 7,000 Hi-Y clubs in 46 states, the YMCA has the organization necessary for carrying out this proposal. It is now up to community and state leaders—educators, civic leaders, and YMCA secretaries—to provide the impetus in organizing youth and government committees.

Researcher's Digest: June

Maxims by a researcher, Middletown and postwar planning, Illinois considers billboards, Indiana's representatives.

By MIRIAM ROHER

LONG hair or short, when a researcher lets his down the result is likely to be monumental. William C. Beyer, of the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research**, has just done so. *The Walrus Has the Floor* is the piquant title he has given a privately printed booklet of epigrams, maxims, and "sayings" which have been a rich by-product of his years in the governmental vineyard.

Like all works of humor and wisdom, Mr. Beyer's is a sore temptation to a reviewer who doesn't find quotable "quotes" on every lamp-post. Without reflection on the aptness of the 90 other observations of the researcher, here are a few samples:

"I have found that the fly swatter and the fly are rarely in evidence at the same time."

"The true researcher's most prized reward for completing a project is the opportunity to start another."

"Democracy is a form of government under which the people are permitted to make their own blunders."

Pattern for Planning

A real Middletown is demonstrating that America can plan for peace as well as for war. This Middletown is in Connecticut. The **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council** tells what it is doing in *Middletown—Testing Ground for Connecticut Postwar Planning.* The plan is for the rest of the state to learn from this one medium-sized city and, if the lesson is a good one, perhaps to pass it on to the rest of the country.

The organization plan Middletown chose is a familiar one to wartime America. There is the council of civic leaders which might be the equivalent of the local defense council. There are the committees of leaders in specific fields: agriculture, building construction, commerce, commodity markets, employment statistics, finance, industry, institutions, public works, recreation, utilities and transportation, and three subcommittees on publicity, research, and rehabilitation and reemployment of veterans.

What these committees are doing is not necessarily complicated, but it is important. They are gathering facts, figures, ideas, plans, recommendations —with perhaps a few hopes and dreams thrown in to make it truly American. Action will result. It is grass-roots research and planning in its purest and most democratic form.

Who They Are

Who are the men who make our laws? To illustrate that vituperative jumping to conclusions is not the only way to classify legislators, Robert D. Rosenbush has produced *Indiana's Representatives—A Study of Background Interests and Political Trends,* under the aegis of the Institute of Politics of Indiana University. A foreword by the acting director of the Institute points out that the conclusions must necessarily be tentative because the author acquired the title "Corporal" to replace the designation "Mister" midway in his work.

Some of the findings: Through the years Indiana has tended to elect older and older men to Congress. Now the median age is 50—early in state history it was 36.

The trend is to longer and longer terms of office by repeated re-election of the same men.

There has been a gradual increase in the number of native-born Hoosiers elected to Congress.

New Congressmen tend to have less and less previous experience in public office.

Throughout history, there have been a preponderance of lawyers elected to Congress from Indiana.

There has been a noticeable trend toward electing those candidates having a high degree of formal education.

Those Billboards

Some day there will be enough gasoline and enough rubber and America will once more take to the highway. In anticipation of that happy hour, the **Illinois Legislative Council** has made a study of *Billboard Control,* pursuant to a resolution on that subject introduced in the state legislature. The Council has neatly marshalled the arguments, the history, the courts' views on every aspect of the subject, statutory regulations in other states. Pending the day when we all take to air travel and leave the roads free for "kiddy kars," this is an important subject, from the standpoint of safety as well as aesthetics.

This and That

Citizens Research, Inc., of Columbus, Ohio, has two recent reports—*Columbus Fire Study* and *Deficit Financing and the Bonded Debt of the City of Columbus.*

Because the postwar period will unquestionably demand the expenditure of public money, the **Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research** has made a study of the *Possible Role of the State of Minnesota in Postwar Public Works Program,* consisting of an analysis of state fiscal operations during the past ten years.

For the Metropolitan Boston Contest, the **Boston Municipal Research Bureau** has published a list of selected references available at the bureau.

Among its leading activities during the past year, the **Bureau of Municipal Research of Des Moines** lists, in its April first annual report, the forestalling of a higher 1944 tax, a comprehensive report on city civil service and personnel practices, studies on street paving preservation, postwar planning, and a fight for state aid.

The **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research** muses in a recent issue of *Just a Second,* "About Budget Balancing," on the relative merits of retiring debt out of windfall revenues or of earmarking such extraordinary income for postwar planning.

Joint regional conferences in Los Angeles and Berkeley, California, held by the **Western Governmental Research Association** and the **American Society for Public Administration** in December, are reported in mimeographed *Proceedings* by the WGRA. The postwar period ranked most important in the topics discussed in these streamlined, half-day conferences.

No prepared addresses, but a free exchange of information, marked the proceedings of the Section on Public Library Administration on *County Library Service in Washington* at the Eighth Annual Institute of Government at the University of Washington a few months ago. A transcript is provided by the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of Washington.**

The **Philadelphia Bureau,** in *Citizens Business,* recently reviewed the city's borrowing capacity in depressions and concluded that its debt limit should be based on the average of the last ten assessed valuations, instead of, as now, on the last only. This would give the city more borrowing power during depression periods.

Buffalo's 1944-45 budget and Erie County's tax collections were the subjects of issues of *Just A Moment,* the **Buffalo Bureau's** publication. Similarly, the **San Francisco Bureau** has devoted two bulletins to that city's 1944-45 budget requests.

The **Citizens Bureau of Milwaukee** has examined the need for redistricting the wards of the city, last done in 1931. The Bureau points out that although resolutions and ordinances are passed by a majority vote, that vote could represent only 23 per cent of the voters under present districting.

The first of a series of bulletins on social security has been published by the **Citizens Research Institute of Canada.** It discusses the need for social security, the meaning of the term, and stages in attaining it.

The *Ohio Citizen,* publication of the **Ohio Institute,** examines the prison population trends in that state, and the adequacy of institutional facilities.

The natural gas rate issue in Cleveland was given a thorough airing in the **Citizens League** publication, *Greater Cleveland.*

The **Virginia Bureau of Public Administration** has issued a bibliography on research in the social sciences in Virginia's colleges and universities.

The excessive number of governmental units in Missouri is the subject of an issue of *Dollars and Sense in Government,* published by the **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute.**

The **Rochester Bureau's** *Municipal Research* examines the legal background and the organization of political parties in Monroe County.

Research Bureau Reports

Billboards

Billboard Control. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, March 1944. 20 pp.

Finance

A Report on Deficit Financing and the Bonded Debt of the City of Columbus. Columbus, Ohio, Citizens Research, Inc., December 1943. 30 pp.

Fire

Summary of the Columbus Fire Study. Columbus, Ohio, Citizens Research, Inc., 1943. 15 pp.

Libraries

County Library Service in Washington. Seattle Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Washington, 1944. 13 pp.

Metropolitan Areas

Metropolitan Boston Contest — Selected References. Boston, Municipal Research Bureau, March 1944. 9 pp.

Postwar Planning

Middletown — Testing Ground for Connecticut Postwar Planning. Hartford, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, 1944. 32 pp.

Possible Role of the State of Minnesota in Postwar Public Works Program. Minneapolis, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, March 1944. 30 pp.

Representative Bodies

Indiana's Representatives. By Robert D. Rosenbush. Bloomington, Institute of Politics, Department of Government, Indiana University, 1943. 8 pp.

Miscellaneous

Proceedings, Joint Regional Conference, Western Governmental Research Association and American Society for Public Administration. Berkeley, California, Western Governmental Research Association, 1944. 25 pp.

The Walrus Has the Floor. By William C. Beyer. Philadelphia, the author, 1944. 18 pp.

On the Local Front

Prepared by the Office of Community War Services
Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

Municipal Responsibilities in the Field of Recreation—Need for a Summer Program

SOME people think that municipal officials, harassed with a multitude of wartime problems, would be tempted to dismiss any proposal for a "summer recreation program for youngsters" with an impatient: "We can't spend money on frills. There's a war on."

Fortunately men and women experienced in municipal affairs take a more realistic and farsighted view. They realize that a sound recreation program is no less essential to a good community than fire protection, a pure water supply, and well paved streets. For recreation, like these, is a preventive—of human waste. Like these it contributes to the health and well-being of the community. Perhaps even more than these—it helps to determine the quality of what we call community life. It is the outward symbol of the "good community," difficult to define but easy to recognize.

Parks and playgrounds, lighted schoolhouses and civic centers—these speak more eloquently of the calibre of its people than a town's skyscrapers or monuments.

Easier to appreciate are the results of a community's failure to provide for the leisure of its youngsters. Some of these problems are apparent today in overcrowded war areas. They are reflected in turnover and absenteeism among women war workers, in neglected children and mounting rates of delinquency.

Surveys show that a primary cause of absenteeism among women workers is their inability to make adequate provision for their children. This problem—difficult at all times—is acute during the school vacation periods.

The Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that throughout 1943 absentee rates among women workers have been higher on Saturday, a school holiday, than on other week days. The absentee rate for women dropped from 6.6 in August 1943, a vacation month, to 6.1 in September 1943, a school month.

According to the War Manpower Commission, three hundred mothers in the Los Angeles area quit war jobs on the day school closed, and the local Board of Education met the problem by keeping school facilities open for the summer.

Many progressive communities have recognized that community-wide recreation programs for youngsters—important at all times—are especially necessary during the summer months. In discussing the need, Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission, has pointed out that the problem will be a crucial one when more than eighteen million children come out of school for the vacation period, and when increasing numbers of women will be needed to fill the gaps in the manpower ranks.

Municipalities already experienced in providing recreation for young people will find that to extend and expand activities throughout the summer is a relatively easy task. Other towns, embarking on community-wide programs for the first time, will find helpful guidance in these examples.[1]

What Cities Have Done

In **Montgomery County, Maryland,** the 1943 summer program was operated by the Park and Planning Commission in coöperation with the County School Administration. It was financed by $60,000 appropriated by the Board of County Commissioners. About 2,500 children enrolled at the 21 recreational centers and five day-care centers.

Fifty-three teachers, recommended by the school administration, were appointed as full-time program leaders, and four physical education instructors and coaches, the athletic director, and a school principal from a neighboring state acted as directors. In addition, seventeen part-time leaders, recruited mainly from the teaching staff, were employed, and 52 college and high school students were paid assistants.

Sports scheduled included baseball, softball, horseshoe pitching, tennis, badminton, volley ball, and archery. Instruction was also offered in dancing, music, singing, and handicrafts.

In **San Diego, California,** a joint ordinance created a City-County Recreation Commission with a paid executive secretary. Together the city and county set up a fund of $15,000 to renovate a camp for boys. A camp director has been hired and the camp will be kept open for eight weeks this summer. With a capacity of 175, it will be used by organizations such as boys' clubs, church clubs, and neighborhood houses and will be open to other youngsters as well. A contract has recently been made between the San Diego City-County Recreation Commission and the State Park Department, giving the Recreation Commission an abandoned CCC Camp, one of the largest in the area.

Sweetzer, Indiana, a town of 1,000 with no public park or playground, nevertheless solved its recreation problem. The citizens developed a four-acre tract, owned by the school, into a modern playground. Drainage and water systems were provided and play areas were laid out. A quarter-of-a-mile track fourteen feet wide was built, with a baseball diamond inside it, and at the other end of the track was a smaller diamond for younger children. There are tennis courts, a basketball court which may also be used for volley ball, a croquet court, horseshoe courts, swings, bars, and teeters. Two shuffleboard courts have been added and a complete lighting system was installed.

What is the blueprint for action if a town, inexperienced in carrying on summer recreation programs, accepts it as a responsibility of municipal government and sets out to do something about it? Every municipality, of course, has its own way of going about these things, but certain elementary procedures have emerged from the experience of the past and may be of use to those who are embarking on programs for the first time.

To initiate the program, the mayor may appoint a Recreation Committee widely representative of public and private groups and civic leaders. This body usually studies and reports on facilities, funds, and leadership. Recreation leaders from the schools, the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, churches, and other youth groups should have membership on the committee. They can be helpful in planning activities suited to the varied interests of children.

Such organizations as the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the Federation of Women's Clubs, and the Parent-

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[1] Compiled by the Office of Community War Services, Division of Recreation, Washington 25, D. C. Further guidance may be obtained on request.

Teacher Association, should be asked to accept responsibility for some part of the program.

Existing recreation groups should be called upon wherever possible to shoulder increased loads. Youth organizations can serve as a nucleus for a larger program, expand their activities, and integrate them in a community-wide plan.

The chairman of the Board of Education, and other officials of the municipal government having responsibility for parks, playgrounds, and public buildings, should, of course, be part of the Recreation Committee and help to implement its recommendations.

Funds for the Program

Communities without year-round recreation programs will have the problem of finance, and the Recreation Committee has this task as one of its responsibilities. Funds are required to provide a director and activity leaders. Volunteer part-time leaders are extremely important to supplement the paid staff; they are generally sought from the ranks of teachers and students, housewives, business and professional people with special skills. A small additional sum of money will be needed for equipment, transportation, and maintenance. Since recreation is basically a matter of health and welfare, the program is a public concern, and the committee should recommend the expenditure of municipal funds. Generally, the budget can be augmented by contributions from civic-minded organizations and individuals.

While basic plans are being made, the committee should ask local newspapers and radio stations to enlist public support for the program through feature articles, editorials, and broadcasts. Parents can be reached through the schools and the P.T.A.'s.

Most communities have buildings and outside areas which can be put to use for the summer program—schools, playgrounds, parks and playfields, camp sites, swimming pools, community halls, church buildings, and recreation centers. A thorough survey of all these resources should be made, and plans worked out for their fullest possible use.

Activities arranged directly under municipal departments, as well as those provided by private organizations, should have adult recreation supervisors—paid and volunteer. Older and more responsible youngsters can serve as volunteer aides.

In planning a varied program of activities, consideration must be given to the needs of various ages and interests. For the very young the result may be a "day care" program. For older boys and girls the idea of participation should be stressed.

This is an emergency war job—this job of providing safe and wholesome recreation for children over the summer months.

"It is a responsibility which cannot be ignored by our municipalities," said Mark A. McCloskey, federal director of Community War Services and formerly recreation director of New York City's Department of Education. "The role of the municipal government in meeting the emergency needs of its children, cannot be overemphasized, for without its leadership, its facilities, and its resources, the job will not be done in many American towns. In the light of my own experience in New York City, I am convinced that the free hours of children are a responsibility of every democratic municipal government."

From fire hydrants and paved streets to recreation programs for children is but a short step in the logical expansion of municipal services. But it is a step which will assure that, in our total mobilization for war, we are not at the same time penalizing the generation for whom we fight.

Contributors in Review

LONG known as a public utility expert, **John Bauer** (*Utilities Need Regional Basis*) is well qualified to conduct the survey of public utility organization in large American cities on which he renders the first of several reports in this issue. Dr. Bauer has been director of the American Public Utilities Bureau since 1925. He is a consultant on utility problems and as such has been called in by many cities and states. He is author—or co-author—of a number of volumes including *Public Utility Valuation for Purposes of Rate Control; The Electric Power Industry—Development, Organization and Public Policies;* and *National Welfare and Business Stability.*

SINCE 1916 **William P. Lovett** (*One-Man Jury in Action*) has been executive secretary of the Detroit Citizens League. During his service with that organization Mr. Lovett has been a leader in local and state affairs. He was organizer and first executive secretary of the Michigan Merit System Association which in 1937 successfully campaigned for the merit system for state employees and is widely known as a speaker and consultant on city charters, county reorganization, state organization and legislation, and the promotion of higher standards of citizenship through citizen organization. Mr. Lovett was a member of the Council of the National Municipal League for nine years and served several terms as secretary of the National Association of Civic Secretaries.

PRIOR to his appointment in 1939 as a director of the Tennessee Valley Authority, **James P. Pope** (*Intercity Coöperation Increases*) served as United States Senator from Idaho (1933-1939), when such matters as agriculture and forestry, mines and mining, and irrigation and reclamation claimed a major share of his attention. Senator Pope began the practice of law in Boise, Idaho, and for 24 years he was active in the civic life of his city and state. He served as deputy collector of internal revenue, city attorney, and assistant attorney-general of Idaho, was a member of the Boise Board of Education, and served two terms as mayor of the city.

THE most recent addition to the staff of the National Municipal League makes his formal bow to REVIEW readers in this issue. **Edward W. Weidner** (*Boy Legislature Plan Spreading*) spent two days in Trenton recently, observing the Boy-Legislature in action and interviewing leaders in the project. Mr. Weidner is a graduate of the University of Minnesota (M.A. 1943). More recently he has done work toward a Ph.D. degree at the University of Wisconsin. He has acted as teaching assistant at both universities.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

News in Review

City, State, and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Housing Looms Large for Postwar Era

Correlation Urged for Public Improvements and Master Plans

THE need of fitting housing and other types of postwar public improvements into general plans for community development was stressed at the annual meetings of the American Society of Planning Officials and the National Association of Housing Officials in Chicago last month. The first organization met on May 1, 2, and 3, with some three hundred in attendance, and the second on May 3, 4, and 5, with about five hundred present. A joint meeting occurred May 3.

At the joint session John B. Blandford, Jr., head of the National Housing Agency, urged that federal and local authorities and private interests work together in housing and other community development. He stated that the national government should develop broad economic and fiscal policies designed to promote national prosperity, while local authorities and private enterprise should coöperate on city rebuilding without having to cope at the same time with problems of depression and unemployment.

The housing group received the report of its committee on postwar housing which had been approved by the Association's Board of Governors. This urged that as soon as the manpower and materials situation allows, preferably before the end of hostilities, there should be a start on construction of houses for peacetime, to help provide satisfactory homes for servicemen and war workers returning to communities with housing shortages. This would enable the building industry to begin to meet the estimated need of over a million dwelling units per annum for the first fifteen years after the war. The report asserted that the goal of adequate homes for all can be attained if government, private enterprise, and labor coöperate effectively.

The report recommended that a permanent federal housing agency be established now, to be ready for postwar housing activities. Such an agency would coördinate the administration of funds for aid in slum clearance and low-income housing, and supervision of requirements as to need, standards, and planning in justification of federal aid. Actual planning and construction were declared local responsibilities; cessation of federally-constructed and operated housing at the end of the war was advocated. Removal of temporary structures as soon as possible after the war before they deteriorate into slums, care in placing permanent buildings on the market, and leaving the general problem of disposal of war housing to the localities, were also recommended.

Proposals of some real estate representatives for a public rent subsidy instead of public housing were opposed in the report, which stated that a comprehensive postwar housing program would require public housing subsidies—local, state, and federal—for low income groups, and possibly aid in writing off excess land costs to enable development of urban blighted areas by public or private enterprise.

At the first session of the planning group Carl H. Chatters, executive director of the Municipal Finance Officers Association, warned that unless public works are built in conformance to a master plan, the proper physical development of a city would be seriously handicapped for possibly a generation or more. He urged prompt determination by the federal government of its postwar policy on public works and grants to local authorities, so as to help localities in their current planning. Most cities, in his opinion, should do their own planning for public improvements, to be built from their own funds so far as possible, but Washington should give immediate planning aid to cities that were unprepared and lacked the means.

The establishment of a federal agency to extend credit on a sound basis was suggested as an alternative to grants. Mr. Chatters estimated that municipal public works would provide employment for only 3 to 8 per cent of the persons who may need new jobs after the war, but declared that they would have a stabilizing influence if properly timed.

A committee report was adopted by the planning group, advocating a metropolitan authority to correlate expected state and federal highway projects with the location and improvement of urban transportation routes and also with housing and other urban developments.

A joint committee on urban redevelopment, with representation of seven national organizations, grew out of the sessions. The seven bodies are the planning society and the housing organization, the American Municipal Association, the Council of State Governments, the United States Conference of Mayors, the Urban Land Institute, and the National Committee on Housing. An early meeting was expected, to formulate principles of federal, state, and local legislation to encourage private builders to reclaim blighted areas.

Fear of unplanned and improperly controlled building activities on the outskirts of cities after the war, with the danger that they will cause further depreciation of central areas and higher community costs, led to emphasis on comprehensive urban planning both for the center and the periphery.

The two conferences pointed the need of foresight, coördination, and prompt, well guided action, to prevent tragic dislocations and to stimulate wise and widespread physical and social development in the postwar era.

New York Shows Models of Postwar Projects

On May 1 Mayor LaGuardia of New York City opened a Postwar Program Exhibit of that city, prepared by the City Planning Commission at the direction of the Mayor and with the coöperation of city departments and agencies at a cost of $90,000. It is to be on display for an indefinite time.

The exhibit sets forth the city's $1,200,000,000 program, planned for the years shortly after the war, and designed to round out the city's physical development along scientific lines. It will guard against postwar unemployment by offering direct employment to over 200,000 at the peak, and indirectly to many more.

The exhibit occupies 8,000 square feet in the former headquarters of the Board of Education and includes a floor map of the city, approximately 15 by 25 feet, on which the postwar projects are shown by colored three-dimensional symbols. Many larger models and details of projects in each of the five boroughs are shown.

The program, much of which is at the blueprint stage, includes express highways, parkways, and other street improvements, rapid transit facilities, bridges, parks, hospital additions, health centers, schools, libraries, playgrounds, housing, markets, sewage disposal plants, sanitation facilities, fire and police stations, water-front improvements, the huge Idlewild airport, and also completion of the vast Delaware River water-supply project. The magnitude of the program is predicated upon the expectation of state and federal financial aid to the extent of at least half the total.

City Home Rule Extended in New York

A bill signed by Governor Thomas E. Dewey[1] rounds out for New York State what is possibly the most useful home rule city charter revision machinery to be found anywhere in the country. The new law makes it possible to put extensive charter revisions on the ballot by petition. It was drafted by the New York Citizens Union and sponsored by the chairmen of the legislature's two Cities Committees, Senator Thomas C. Desmond of Newburgh and Assemblyman Harold Ehrlich of Buffalo. In spite of vetoes of similar (but not identical) bills in the two previous years, it passed both houses with little opposition.

New York cities now have the following powers of local legislation, all secured in their present form within the last few years:

1. The power to pass ordinances and local laws on a very wide range of subjects so long as they do not contravene state law. Local legislation on certain important matters is subject to a mandatory referendum or referendum on petition.

2. The power by local law to supersede even acts of the legislature, so long as such acts do not apply to all cities alike, on a considerable number of important subjects, including all matters within the scope of the "property, affairs, and government" of cities as somewhat narrowly interpreted by the courts.

3. The power to control special legislation by the state within the field of property, affairs, and government of cities. The legislature can act within this field only by general law applying alike in terms and in effect to all cities or by request of each city affected. The request must take the form of a request for a particular bill and must come from the mayor and a majority of the council or from two-thirds of the council.

4. The power to amend a city charter or adopt a new charter by action of the city council in the same way as other local laws. A new charter is always subject to referendum, an amendment sometimes but not always.

5. The power to set up a city charter commission by vote of the people initiated either by the city council or by petition. An initiating petition may name the commission or specify how it is to be chosen. If approved by the voters the commission proceeds to draft a new charter and submit it to the voters, either as a whole or in parts, with alternatives if it thinks best.

6. The power to amend a city charter by petition and popular vote. Two petitions are required, the first to bring the amendment before the city council, the second to force it onto the ballot if the council does not act favorably of its own accord within two months after submission of the first petition. The purpose of the double petition arrangement is to permit the council to correct errors in the amendment or to submit a satisfactory alternative, but not to block an amendment unless the people behind it are satisfied with what the council does.

It is this last power that has just been extended by providing that an amendment may be as extensive as desired and shall not be rejected on the ground that it constitutes a new charter. When originally enacted in 1937 it was intended to cover any sort of amendment, but the courts held that an amendment extensive enough to be considered a new charter could not be presented by petition. This limitation has now been removed.

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[1] Chapter 602 of the Laws of 1944, signed April 5.

The new law makes one other change of substance. It requires any city charter amendment submitted by petition to set forth new matter in italics or with underlining and to reproduce old matter to be discarded either in brackets or with lines run through it. This will make it easier to see exactly what changes are proposed.

G.H.H., Jr.

Council-Manager Plan News

Two manager cities won first place in their respective population groups in the 1943 national fire waste contest, conducted annually by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States in coöperation with the National Fire Waste Council. They were Cincinnati among cities of over 500,000, and Fort Collins, Colorado, among those under 20,000. Other manager cities winning awards in the various population groups were: 250,000 to 500,000, Rochester, New York, Norfolk, Virginia, and Oklahoma City; 100,000 to 250,000, Wichita, Kansas, Sacramento, California, Schenectady, New York, Berkeley, California, and Grand Rapids, Michigan; 50,000 to 100,000, Beaumont, Texas, Kalamazoo, Michigan, Clifton, New Jersey, Roanoke, Virginia, Hamilton, Ohio, and Austin, Texas; 20,000 to 50,000, Gastonia, North Carolina, Watertown, New York, Charlottesville, Virginia, and Bluefield, West Virginia; under 20,000, Bartlesville, Oklahoma, and Gainesville, Florida.

Manager communities winning awards in the national health contest sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and the American Public Health Association were: Arlington County, Virginia, Austin, Texas, Hackensack, New Jersey, Houston, Texas, Jackson, Michigan, Pasadena, California, San Jose, California, and Schenectady, New York.

Eugene, Oregon, voting on May 19, adopted a council-manager charter. On the same day **Salem, Oregon,** defeated a manager proposal.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Independence, Oregon,** has been devoting much attention to the manager plan. A committee of three was appointed in April to meet with a committee from the City Council and the Women's Club to investigate the feasibility of the plan for that city.

Mayor E. S. Johnston of **Pasco, Washington,** has advocated the manager plan before the City Planning Commission, which referred the proposal to a committee in April.

Ottumwa, Iowa, will vote on adoption of a council-manager charter at a special election on June 20.

Petitions for a change to the manager plan have been in process of circulation in **Columbus, Ohio.**

The town of **Crystal, Maine,** voted at its annual town meeting to abandon the manager plan.

Boston Stages Greatest Cleanup in Its History

The Finance Commission of the city of Boston has reported to the Mayor and the City Council that since the first of the year Boston has witnessed probably the greatest physical cleanup in its history of streets, private ways, alleys, backyards, and vacant lots. This was done without new legislation or abnormal additions to city personnel or equipment.

In the conclusion of its report the Commission said: "The administrative pattern of the city government through the Health, Fire, Public Works, and Police Departments has been set up and clothed with adequate authority to attain a desirable standard of cleanliness. The recent successful cleanup drive represented the proper functioning of those several agencies. It represented also the coöperation of the public, an essential element in the picture."

Nine States Cooperate for Missouri River Development

The Missouri Valley States Committee,[1] now comprising representatives of nine states, Colorado having joined in March, is striving to reconcile conflicting interests and to overcome difficulties in the way of plans for the basin-wide development of the Missouri River valley, according to the Council of State Governments. An engineering committee has been appointed; representatives of each member state are to work with engineers of the Bureau of Reclamation, the Army, and the Department of Agriculture.

Virginia Legislative Council Makes Many Studies

Recently enlarged from seven to nine members, the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council has been assigned a wide variety of subjects for research and study to assist the next legislature, according to the Council of State Governments.

It is to make a survey and report on industrial development, postwar employment, and aviation in Virginia. Other studies include the advisability of a cancer control division and the possibilities of a laboratory and additional office space for the State Health Department, revision of regulations governing building and loan associations, an over-all tax structure, fishing, hunting, trapping, and dog licenses, laws relating to fiduciaries, revision of annuity tables for insurance, pollution control, causes of boiler explosions and the extent to which they could be prevented by boiler inspections, and the advisability of revising the sanitary district code.

Citizen Action

Another Citizens' Council for Kansas

Kansas City and Wyandotte Co. Organize for Clean-up Program

AT A recent meeting of representatives of Kansas City, Kansas, and of Wyandotte County, a Citizens' Council of 59 members, and many more in prospect, was organized. Because the city occupies so large a part of the county, and because the problems of city and county are so closely related that they are in reality identical, the new organization took as its name **The Citizens' Council of Wyandotte County.**

The city and county are the most heavily populated of any in Kansas. Since they are on the eastern border of Kansas and just across the river from Kansas City, Missouri, their civic problems, like many border communities, have been greatly accentuated. Following the downfall of the Pendergast regime in Kansas City, Missouri, and the cleaning up processes which have followed, many of the worst elements who formerly plied their trades in the Missouri city have taken refuge in Kansas. Perhaps the majority of these have found shelter and a promising field in Wyandotte County. It is widely reported that lawlessness of many types is very active in the Kansas community, and that liquor and gambling joints and places of disorder abound.

Therefore, the first emphasis of the new Citizens' Council is to be a clean-up program. In line with this purpose a strong law enforcement committee, headed by Frank H. Korab, was appointed. Mr.Korab is a widely known business man and a prominent

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, November 1943, p. 550.

Congregationalist actively identified with the Laymen's Fellowship movement.

The new Council has no intention of confining its efforts to a program of law enforcement, however, important as that may be. It envisions a program that will develop a comprehensive civic interest in the city and county, be a focus for a great variety of civic activities, and a continuing force for good citizenship. E. A. Benson, prominent Kansas City business man, was elected president. Many of the foremost clergymen of the city have identified themselves with the Council and many representative citizens have pledged their support.

P. P. Womer,
President Emeritus
Washburn College

Rochester, New York, Welcomes New Citizens with Banquet

The **Chamber of Commerce of Rochester, New York,** paid tribute to 459 naturalized citizens at a dinner and program on April 20, to give recognition of their new affiliation and welcome them into the great body of citizens.

The huge ballroom of the Commerce Building was crowded with tables at each of which Chamber members and their wives served as host and hostess to welcome the new recipients of "final papers." Although there were an unprecedented number of new citizens at this banquet, there were more than enough hosts and their wives to go around, indicating the decided interest of the community in this enterprise.

During dinner badges bearing "New Citizen" were distributed. One Italian-American remarked proudly, "Ah, I'll wear this to work tomorrow and show them." The pride of one Russian-born new citizen was vividly revealed when she joyously waved to her full-grown American-born children who had come as spectators to celebrate the accomplishment by a parent of a step they had steadily encouraged.

The Chamber orchestra played during the dinner and for the lusty group singing which followed. This included a new verse to be sung to the tune of "America" which was written by one of the guests to express the feelings of naturalized citizens toward their adopted country:

From foreign shores to thee,
Champion of liberty,
We found our way.
Though not in flesh born here,
Our love is as sincere
For thee, whom we hold dear
To our last day.

The program consisted of the Color Ceremony by the American Legion, the singing of "The Star Spangled Banner" with the Pledge to the Flag, selections by a high school chorus and folk dancing by a school group, two *short* addresses, and the singing of "Land of Our Choice." A standing roll call of citizens by land of birth showed 37 countries represented. Each guest shook hands with the president of the Chamber, the speaker of the evening, and the chairman of the **Council for Better Citizenship** in a reception which concluded the program.

This was the 59th affair of its kind which the Rochester Chamber has held in the last 25 years. Under the auspices of the Council for Better Citizenship it also enlisted the coöperation of proper officials in the federal, state, city, and county governments as well as the Council of Boy Scouts, American Legion, Rochester Board of Education, and the Rochester *Democrat and Chronicle*. Representatives of each of these groups were seated at the speakers' table along with one new citizen representing the honored guests, industrialists who have constantly had new citizens in their employ, and the heads of other civic and education groups. The federal government was there in the persons of two directors of the United States Immigration Service at Buffalo and Rochester.

Such dinners are the periodic climax of work which the Chamber staff has for a quarter of a century carried on, proferring aid to aliens and training them for admission to citizenship. This responsibility in most cities has been conducted haphazardly if at all. In recent years as the war clouds gathered and broke, there has been an increasing interest in inaugurating new citizens and a nationwide "Citizenship Day" has been set up. But to make certain that this country-wide emphasis is not just a wartime phenomenon but a permanent community activity, the undertaking should be assumed by some responsible community agency. The long successful experience of the Rochester Chamber of Commerce should commend this same work to similar groups elsewhere. New citizens are certain to understand better their privileges and accept more readily responsibilities when the federal naturalization is accompanied by local education and celebration.

John A. Perkins
University of Rochester

New Citizens Committee Active in Rockland, Maine

Civic interest and activity have taken a long step forward in Rockland, Maine. It all began in February when the **Rockland Chamber of Commerce** appointed a committee on municipal research, headed by Edward C. Moran, Jr., former Congressman and commissioner of the U. S. Maritime Commission, to investigate the possibilities of an active citizens research committee.

The committee found widespread interest in the proposal; six of the seven living ex-mayors favored it, for example. Although the city had not been too badly run, the legal debt limit was being approached. The committee concluded that the city faced both an immediate and a long-term problem. The immediate problem was preparation for the postwar period. The long-term problem was good municipal government, present in every community.

In order to meet these problems the committee felt that a citizens research group would help keep the citizenry informed and continuously alert. In March the committee recommended unanimously the establishment of an independent citizens committee.

Later that same month, after a public invitation to citizens to volunteer for service on such a committee, the **Rockland Citizens Committee on Municipal Research** was formed. Mr. Moran was continued as chairman.

The activity of the group since its organization has been great. About 150 citizens have volunteered. Subcommittees on public works, education, administration, insurance, public safety, finance, legal activity, health and welfare, civil service, and planning and zoning were established. The elected chairmen of the subcommittees together with the general chairman constitute the executive committee. Each has in turn divided itself into two or more further subcommittees to study and report upon specific subjects.

The subcommittees have been assigned their duties, and a suggested short reading course has been drawn up for their benefit. The Rockland Public Library has coöperated by drawing up a bibliography and by arranging that the State Library make available volumes on many phases of municipal affairs in Rockland for use by committee members. In addition, the committee has purchased additional material independently and through the library which is coördinating purchases in order to assure a useful selection. The reading list includes standard works on city government, the theory and practice of municipal administration, and many National Municipal League and International City Managers Association publications.

The committee has already issued a collection of statistical data designed to give basic historical and current facts about the city's population and financial affairs. In addition to being a project in adult education and the creation of sustained civic interest, two objectives are in view: (1) The making of a survey of Rockland's municipal government by its citizens to culminate in a report of findings with recommendations; (2) the presentation of a proposed new city charter to the state legislature in January 1945 embodying such provisions as may appear from the survey to be desirable. If approved, the charter would be subject to referendum.

Here and There—

Advice from an Expert

"I was born with a subscription card in one hand and my first recorded words were, 'How much will you give?'" said Mrs. Dwight Morrow, widow of the former ambassador to Mexico. The occasion of the remark was a tea at the home of Mrs. Arthur Lehman during the recent finance drive of the **New York City League of Women Voters.** Some points made by Mrs. Morrow, as reported in *The Active Voter,* include: (1) Every member should undertake to raise money. (2) Don't use the excuse, I can't do this sort of thing. Your ability to do it depends on your faith in the organization for which you are asking the contribution. (3) Never say *if* we raise the money. Say . . . *when* we raise the money. (4) In these days of continuous money-raising the technique of asking must keep one step ahead of the technique of refusing.

Cincinnati Women Organize

The **Cincinnati City Charter Committee,** one of the most active city parties in the country, announces the formation of a **Charter Women's Club.** "Many women in the Charter movement have felt that between elections they completely lose track of each other, not to mention the Councilmen whom they had labored so hard to elect," says the *Charter News Letter.* "They propose to remedy this by meeting informally a few times each year with Charter officials and Councilmen to hear about current events in Council and the city at large."

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Primary Candidates and Issues

Greater Cleveland, issued by the **Cleveland Citizens League,** devotes two issues to its pre-primary report on candidates. This year, for the first time, the League recommendations have been extended to include candidates for Congress from the three districts within Cuyahoga County, and to state offices other than governor and lieutenant governor. League recommendations are expressed in these terms: preferred, well qualified, qualified, not qualified, not recommended, should be defeated.

The **Hamilton County Good Government League** at Cincinnati lists candidates for state offices in the Republican and Democratic primaries and gives instructions as to who is qualified to vote in the primaries.

The **Ohio League of Women Voters** sent questionnaires to candidates for governor asking: (1) What do you consider your special qualifications for the office you seek? (2) What is your idea of the relationship which should exist between the legislature and the executive? Of ten candidates running in the primaries of the two major parties, seven replied. Other candidates were asked the first question only. Replies were published in the *Ohio Woman Voter.*

A seventeen-page pamphlet listing candidates for all federal and state offices to be elected in the county has been published by the **Civic Club of Allegheny County** (Pittsburgh). Information given is obtained from the candidates themselves. The Civic Club gives information only and does not make recommendations.

The **Portland City Club** issued a comprehensive report on four issues submitted to the city's voters in May: sewage disposal bond issue, dock commission program, school tax levy, and highway bond issue. The Club's *Bulletin* carried the complete reports of the committees which had made studies of the proposals. Just previous to election the Club held a "special election forum" to discuss the issues.

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How Not to Be a Good Citizen

Supplementing its release analyzing the non-registered population in the city of Chicago,[1] the **Citizens Association of Chicago** has now issued "Ward Scores in the Primary Election" in which it states, "The April primary election marked a low point in the record of citizen participation in the activities of representative government." For the city as a whole 59.5 per cent of the registered voters failed to vote at the April 1944 primary election, as compared to 32.7 per cent in the primaries of the last presidential year, 1940.

* * *

Now It Makes Sense!

Oh, Mazie votes and Lizzie votes
And Uncle Josh and wifey,
The kids'll be voting, too,
How about you?
Yes, Susie writes and Gussie writes
And Congressmen step lively,
Our boys write to Senators, too,
Why not you?
If you think you're not important enough
Please just change your mind in a hurry,
Vote, vote each time and fall in line
Make dictators grey with worry.
Oh, Mazie votes and Lizzie votes
And Uncle Josh and Wifey,
The kids'll be voting, too,
HOW ABOUT YOU? ? ?

—From *The Active Voter,* issued by the New York City League of Women Voters

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School Enrollment

The **Holyoke (Mass.) Taxpayers Association** has issued a bulletin on school enrollment in Holyoke. The report compares attendance figures for the past twenty years in all public and parochial schools. No such comparative school figures had been made available previously and percentages of loss in the high school and elementary divisions came as a surprise to many.

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Merit System in Peril?

Warning that the merit system in the civil service will face a critical period in the postwar transition from a war to a peace economy, the annual report of the **National Civil Service Reform League,** adopted at its 62nd annual meeting, declares that it will be necessary to make government service more attractive in salaries, in opportunities to advance, and in reward for unusual capacity and accomplishment if we are to encourage persons of unusual talent and training to continue to serve after the war. The League points to two threats to the merit system: (1) the clamor for political patronage, now relatively less active but ready to burst out when opportunities for industrial employment decline after the war; (2) the zeal of politicians vying for the soldier vote by securing laws virtually turning over all government places to war veterans without considering the demoralizing effect that these hastily conceived, sweeping proposals may have on the efficient management of our governmental agencies.

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[1] See "Chicago Group Investigates Non-registration," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April 1944, p. 205.

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New Constitution

The **New Jersey Taxpayers Association** has notified its membership and that of affiliated local taxpayers associations and committees on public spending that it approves the revised state constitution which will be submitted to the voters at the November election. It urges those groups to work for the constitution's adoption. In a recent issue of *Taxegram* the Association comments that a number of its long-term objectives have been accomplished by the present legislative session "which will go down in history with an epoch-making record for drastic and vitally needed reforms in state government and administration."

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Let's Discuss It

Spring is evidently the time for civic groups to get together to discuss the year's work and lay plans for another season.

Among the **State Leagues of Women Voters** holding conventions are those in **New York,** meeting May 16-17 at Glens Falls; **Massachusetts,** May 16-17, at Boston; **Wisconsin,** May 9-10, at Green Bay; and **Minnesota,** May 17-18, at St. Paul. The **New York City League** held its annual meeting on May 24.

The **State Taxpayers' Association of Arizona** celebrated 30 years of service at its recent annual meeting. "It is evident that the record of these years has been one of steady progress toward accomplishment of the aims of the organization," states its *Taxpayers' Magazine.*

The **Yonkers (N. Y) Committee of 100** held its annual meeting on April 27; the **Albany (N. Y.) City Club** met on May 20; the **Detroit Citizens League** held its annual meeting on April 24, addresses and discussion centering around Detroit and Wayne County.

Community Service, Inc., announces a ten-day conference on "The Postwar American Community—What Its Possibilities Are and How They Can Be Realized," to be held July 5-15 at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

The Citizens Conference on Postwar Planning of the **American Planning and Civic Association** meets in St. Louis June 14-16. This year's conference celebrates the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Civic Association at St. Louis in 1904.

Dr. Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultant, addressed the **Citizens League of Baltimore** at one of a series of meetings sponsored by the League in its study of a revision of Baltimore's charter. Dr. Reed recommended adoption of the council-manager form of government with proportional representation for electing the City Council.

* * *

Strictly Personal

The Seattle Municipal League announces the appointment of **C. A. Crosser,** director of the Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research for the past eighteen years, as its new secretary. Mr. Crosser succeeds Ewen C. Dingwall who resigned some months ago.

Miss Anna Lord Strauss, president of the New York City League of Women Voters for six years and now its honorary president, was elected president of the National League of Women Voters at its recent biennial convention in Chicago. Miss Strauss succeeds Miss Marguerite Wells, who has been national president since 1934.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Irish Dail Elected Again by P. R.

Constitutional Proposals Introduced in Missouri

BEFORE this department appears in print the Irish Dail Eirean will have been elected by the Hare system of proportional representation for the tenth time. The election has been scheduled for May 30.

On May 9 Premier De Valera was defeated on a government transport bill by a vote of 64 to 63 and promptly appealed to the people, although the last election was held less than a year ago. He was criticized by minority leaders, who wished him to remain as prime minister even though they could not agree to support him on every issue, for being unwilling to adjust himself to democratic controls.

Mr. De Valera has held office continuously since 1937, most of that time with an absolute majority in the Dail, but last June his Fianna Fail party won 67 seats to a total of 71 for all others. His was easily the largest party delegation, however, and he was reelected premier with the help of independent and minority party votes. Mr. De Valera has always been impatient of restraints and took the first opportunity to appeal to the people for a renewal of the absolute majority control which his government has enjoyed during most of its long life.

The government's neutrality policy is not the issue. That is agreed to by nearly all members of the Dail.

Under the constitution of Eire not only the parliament but all other representative bodies are elected by a system of P. R. similar to that used in New York, Cincinnati, and other American P. R. cities. Mr. DeValera was one of the original advocates of the plan. Speaking at the annual convention of Sinn Fein organizations (Ard Fheis) in Dublin in 1919, he said:

> Minorities have rights, and if Sinn Fein had all the machinery of government in their power, they would secure the right of minorities. Every man living in this island is of equal value in it, and each man and woman would get the share to which he or she is entitled. Whether it [P. R.] benefited us or not, I would be in favor of the principle, because it is justice.

Nearly all Irish leaders have taken the same position and the system, first imposed by the British Parliament to safeguard Irish minorities, has been voluntarily continued, first in the 1922 constitution of the Irish Free State and then in the 1937 constitution of Eire.

Two or three times Mr. DeValera has hinted that if the plan did not give any one party a majority he might favor reconsideration of it at a popular referendum, but no such move has actually been made and most of the time the results have given no occasion to consider it. The record of Ireland for stable government under P. R. may well be the envy of Europe.

P. R. Before Missouri Constitutional Convention

Stratford Lee Morton of St. Louis, Republican delegate to the Missouri Constitutional Convention, has introduced a proposal (No. 41) to revise the amending procedure of the constitution and provide for the election of constitutional conventions by P. R. Under this proposal the question of electing a convention would be submitted in 1962 and every twentieth year thereafter and whenever the General Assembly wished to submit it at other times. If the vote were favorable, delegates to a convention would be elected at a special election as follows:

> Delegates shall be elected by proportional representation. Except as otherwise provided herein, any qualified voter of the state shall be eligible to membership in the convention. As many delegates shall be elected to the convention from each existing legislative district as there are representatives in the General Assembly from that district; in addition there shall be elected from the state at large, by the Hare system of proportional representation, a number of delegates equalling one-fifth of the membership of the General Assembly.

The present convention was elected, not by P. R., but with an arbitrary provision which assured a large representation from the second party. Two members, one from each of the two largest parties, were elected from each of the state's 34 senatorial districts, and fifteen were elected by majority vote at large.

This method, though it assures minority representation, is obviously defective in that it denies the voters in each district the right to make a choice and to give the more popular party an advantage over its principal rival.

Efforts are being made to apply the principle of minority representation in better form to future elections of the legislature. One proposal is to have five members elected together by P. R. from each of the state's thirteen Congressional districts. A one-house legislature is strongly favored in a minority report of the convention's committee on the legislative department signed by Mr. Morton and others, who are trying to have such a plan submitted to the voters by the convention as an alternative to the majority plan.

Efforts are also being made to change the language of the constitution relating to the qualifications of voters so as to remove the basis for challenging the constitutionality of P. R. for local elections under the precedents of the adverse decisions in three of the six states whose highest courts have ruled on the question.[1]

Developments in Cambridge under "Plan E"

The second city council elected by P. R. in Cambridge has continued Colonel John B. Atkinson in office as city manager and the new regime of businesslike administration under "Plan E"—the council-manager plan with P. R.—has gone forward without interruption. Efforts to remove Colonel Atkinson as manager were defeated five to four, former Mayor Lynch, who was supported by the Plan E Committee in the first P. R. election but not in 1943, voting with the four Plan E Committee councillors, Mayor Corcoran, Morton, Gerould, and Pill, against Sennott, Sullivan, Cassidy, and Neville.

Different alignments appear in the recent votes on other important issues. The councillors continue to follow their individual judgments. One significant move is an appropriation of $1800 for the employment of a city planner to assist the Planning Board in the preparation of postwar plans.

City Manager Atkinson presented a budget this spring which reduced the amount to be raised by tax levy by $417,000. The Council reduced it $18,000 more. The total tax levy budget is approximately $8,190,000.

Plan E Committee members constitute a majority of the School Committee elected last fall, Mayor Corcoran (ex-officio) and three of the six members elected directly. The one new Plan E Committee member is Dr. Richard M. Gummere of Harvard University, former head master of William Penn Charter School in Philadelphia.

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[1] P. R. has been held unconstitutional in Michigan, California, and Rhode Island; constitutional in Ohio, New York, and Massachusetts. Missouri now has constitutional language similar to that on which the arguments in these other states were based.

The vote cast in Cambridge last fall in the P. R. election of City Council and School Committee, though only 55 per cent of registration, was the heaviest percentage vote cast in any city in the state of Massachusetts. It is estimated that some 20 per cent of the registered voters were actually absent from the city, in the armed forces or in war work.

On April 4 the 30th annual debate of the Durrell Debating Society of the Cambridge High and Latin School was held on the subject: "Resolved, that the American system of proportional representation should be generally adopted in American cities."

These notes are gleaned from Volume 1, number 1, of a new publication, *Plan E in Cambridge,* to be published from time to time by the Plan E Committee which sponsored Cambridge's present form of government and has recommended candidates at both P. R. elections.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

County Finance Subject of New Study

Census Bureau Report Covers Three Thousand Local Units

IN a report entitled *State Summary of County Government Finances in 1942,* dated April 1944, the U. S. Bureau of the Census has issued "a preprint of the summary section of the compendium on *County Finances: 1942* to be issued by the Bureau of the Census this summer." The complete report will give a detailed account of the finances of each of the 3,050 independent county governments, excluding only those 50 areas where there is nothing sufficiently comparable to county government for valid analysis. A second preliminary report to be issued shortly will interpret major trends and recent tendencies in county finance.

The present summary report embodies seven tables of county finances presented in the form of state totals. Table I compares county finances for 1932 and 1942 on the basis of revenue, expenditure, and gross debt. Table II identifies the major sources of 1942 county revenue, and Table III indicates the primary purposes of current and capital expenditures. Tables IV and V present separate figures distinguishing current and capital expenditures for various functions in eighteen selected states. Table VI indicates county debt trends and shows the extent of such debt outstanding in 1942. Table VII is a general information table which includes data on area, population analysis and trends, county employment and payrolls, urban governments, retail sales, and federal income tax returns filed.

Three methods of collecting the material were employed. More than half the data was collected from state auditors, state tax commissions, and other state offices that receive local government reports. In states which were not organized to collect the information needed for this report, a direct mail canvass of the counties was made through use of forms devised for this purpose. A third method, used only to a limited degree, involved field agent collection of the data directly from the counties.

The forthcoming *County Finances: 1942* will mark the most complete study of county finances to date, since the 1940 and 1941 studies attempted to cover selected large urban counties in detail and certain additional counties only in summary fashion.

1943 County Government Improvements Summarized

Although frequently termed the "dark continent of American politics" county governments have, during the past year, made numerous strides toward good government. A study by the International City Managers Association lists improvements in financial administration, health, and welfare facilities, and various other services during the past year. It cites scores of counties, for example, which are building up postwar reserve funds, particularly in North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Maine, and New Hampshire. North Dakota counties are commended for their improved accounting, auditing, and budgeting procedures. Rutherford County, Tennessee, reforms include a complete annual audit by an independent agency, centralized purchasing, and strict adherence to its budget.

All of Michigan's counties, with the exception of Wayne (Detroit), now use the calendar year as the fiscal year and Wisconsin county highway departments, with state financial assistance, are devising a uniform accounting system. In Kentucky the State Department of Revenue is authorized to give examinations for county assessors seeking office, the constitutional question having been adjudicated.

Many Nebraska and Illinois counties are working toward the establishment of joint county or district health departments under recent permissive legislation. Indiana counties now may discontinue county indigent homes whenever the number of occupants becomes ten or less.

The last year has seen continued expansion of county rural library service. Nevada counties now are spending up to $3,000 a year to establish county libraries. Illinois' legislature last year authorized the creation of public library districts and allowed an increase in tax rates for support of county libraries.

In the merit system field, Ramsey and St. Louis Counties, Minnesota, two of the state's most populous counties, have set up civil service systems as authorized by voters in November 1942. Other counties which placed civil service systems in operation as a result of authorization by voters include Wayne County, Michigan, San Mateo County, California, and Warren and Burlington Counties, New Jersey. The merit system became operative in all New York counties last July 1, and during the year Wisconsin authorized any county to establish both a civil service and a pension system.

Wayne County Again Considers Home Rule

Home rule for Wayne County will be presented to the voters of Michigan next November in the form of a proposed constitutional amendment. A similar proposal was rejected in 1942.[1]

A recent issue of *The Civic Searchlight,* published by the Detroit Citizens League, discusses various aspects of the question. Of chief concern is the problem of minority control. The Michigan constitution permits city and county separation only if the area outside the central city agrees, by majority vote, with the central city in favor of such separation. Residents of the area outside the central city, representing only a fractional part of the population and wealth of the county but securing disproportionate benefits from the county property tax which is most productive within the city, naturally oppose any attempt at separation. Furthermore, spokesmen from that area vigorously defend a governmental structure which secures for them disproportionate strength on the county board.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, July 1942, p. 386; February 1943, p. 105.

The article finally discusses results of city-county separation and consolidation in other metropolitan areas as offering possible solutions for the Detroit problem.

Pennsylvania Township Supervisors Meet

The Pennsylvania State Association of Township Supervisors at its recent annual convention adopted resolutions providing:

1. Requests for additional authority to engage in health, police, sidewalk construction and planning activities;
2. Opposition to further transfer of township roads to the state;
3. Opposition to federal taxation of local governmental bonds;
4. Endorsement of a postwar highway improvement program.

City-County Unification Again Proposed for Cleveland

The Citizens League of Cleveland strongly urges city-county consolidation as the only cure for the confusion resulting from the area's 54 overlapping governments. The League is strongly opposed to piecemeal functional consolidation because it believes that only complete consolidation can produce a satisfactory unified government to meet the problems of the social and economic unit that constitutes greater Cleveland.

Some time ago the director of the League made a tour of metropolitan centers where various methods of consolidation had been attempted, and it is on the basis of these observations that he concludes, in an article in *Greater Cleveland*, that the solution for Cleveland must be "a city-county charter unifying and consolidating the separate urban governments, but retaining local boroughs for the administration of strictly local affairs."

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Cities' Postwar Projects Estimated at Billion a Year

Many Cities Reply on Federal Aid to Help Finance Projects

MUNICIPAL planning for public improvements to cushion the shock of demobilization in the postwar period has now reached a point where it is possible to estimate the aggregate volume of expenditures which may be forthcoming.

Excluding expenditures by the states, there seems reason to believe that about a billion dollars a year may be expended for a period ranging from three to five years after the end of the war. A considerable part of this volume has reached the blueprint stage—part is ready for contract letting, in fact, but much of the program is still tentative.

An estimate of at least four and one half billions to be expended within five years of the war's end is made by the International City Managers Association, which polled cities of 10,000 population and over in preparation for the postwar discussion in the 1944 *Municipal Year Book.* While the total is impressive, it is especially interesting that sewer and sewage disposal projects lead the list of proposals among reporting cities, with street improvements second. Airports, although a matter of considerable concern in some cities, ranked seventh.

Project totals for the individual cities are of course led by New York City, with between $1,200,000,000 and $1,500,000,000 pending. Chicago has something over $1,000,000,000. Other large programs include $300,000,000 for Philadelphia, $255,000,000 for Detroit,

$150,000,000 for Cleveland, $72,000,000 for Milwaukee, and $60,000,000 for St. Louis. Most of the more ambitious plans rely heavily on the expectation that considerable federal aid will be available to help finance the projects, anticipation of 50 per cent of the total from this source not being uncommon. Many smaller places, however, expect to meet all or nearly all the cost without outside aid, either from funds presently being accumulated or by sale of their own bonds.

No. 1 Expenditure: War

Expenditures at the federal level are not usually a subject of discussion in this column, but a recent issue of *Tax Policy,* the monthly bulletin of the Tax Institute, contains a highly interesting review of war-cost estimates which are herewith passed along for Review readers.

Noting that "The cost of war is not measured in dollars and cents," Dr. Mabel L. Walker, editor of the bulletin, assembles a variety of authorities on the dollar costs of earlier wars. The National Industrial Conference Board estimated in 1925 that the cost of wars to the United States for the period 1775-1921 was almost $53,000,000,000. This included nearly $14,000,000,000 for the Civil War and just over $33,000,000,000 for World War No. 1, whose total costs are estimated by Professor Seligman at about $210,000,000,000.

Between 1930 and the end of 1938, about $62,000,000,000 was spent in preparation for the present war by all combatants. Since the outbreak of the European war in 1939, the rate of expenditure has greatly accelerated, and Dr. Walker sees to the end of 1944 a cost to the belligerent governments of close to $900,000,000,000, with the "trillion" mark to be reached some time in 1945.

War expenditures through the fiscal year 1943 are estimated at approximately $330,739,000,000 for the United Nations and $251,252,000,000 for the enemy, with an added $49,600,000,000 lost in indemnity and loot by occupied European nations and unknown costs in loot, etc., in China, the South Pacific, and elsewhere. The largest enemy costs are to Germany itself, with an estimated $218,000,000,000. Among the United Nations, Russia has made the greatest expenditure, an estimated $140,000,000,000, followed by the United States with $106,078,000,000, and Great Britain with $58,200,000,000.

California to Amend Constitution

At the May 16 election California voters adopted an amendment to the state constitution removing the present restriction in California against taxation of any property owned by the federal government or its agencies.

Federal property is, of course, exempt from taxation by the states and their agencies, in general, but Congress had by law authorized the taxation of property held by numerous federal agencies, and a large number of the states have taken advantage of this privilege. California, however, has been unable to join the procession to date, although it is stated that some 43 per cent of the state's land area is now held by the federal government.

Martial Law Increases Honolulu Costs

The 1944 budget of the city and county of Honolulu is up nearly one-third from 1943, according to the Municipal Finance Officers Association, as a result of war conditions in Hawaii. The total for this year is $12,675,726, an increase of $3,881,200 over 1943. About $1,300,000 is for salary increases, necessary to retain employees in the face of competition from federal agencies and war contractors. Operations of the military courts and liquor control agencies are expected to yield the city a current revenue of $859,000.

Bond Authorizations Increase

During the first four months of 1944 municipalities have approved issuance of $24,554,000 bonds, according to the *Daily Bond Buyer.* This represents a definite upward swing, as a summary of *Bond Buyer* figures shows:

	April	*Four Months*
1941	$8,957,000	$30,057,000
1942	7,051,000	22,482,000
1943	1,378,000	1,929,000
1944	7,546,000	24,554,000

Significant was the fact that the April 1944 authorizations were more numerous than in any one month since November 1942. During the month $11,680,000 of bonds were voted down, but $11,500,000 of this was a proposed issue of electric and power plant revenue bonds rejected by the voters of Madison, Wisconsin. During April 1943, the total voted down had been $8,560,000.

Tries Local Income Tax to Offset Homestead Tax Exemption

Florida's $5,000 homestead tax exemption has severely reduced local property taxes, and the city of Fort Myers, faced with the need of additional funds for current purposes and to accumulate a reserve for postwar improvements, has decided to try a local income tax as a replacement. The tax, modeled on Philadelphia's income tax, will be used for a 60-day period to determine its productivity.

The Fort Myers tax will be levied at the rate of one-half of one per cent on the gross receipts of every person, firm, or business operating within the city. Payment of the tax will be a prerequisite to securing or retaining an occupational license. The tax will also be made a lien on the property of the taxpayer. Half the receipts will be used for general purposes and half to set up a "postwar public works and employment security reserve fund."

EDITORIALS

(Continued from Page 276)

functioning closed session method of the Scranton School Board with the open meetings of the City Council which, he says, have resulted in unwarranted delays, lawsuits, recriminations, and name-calling. He thinks it would be much better if the Council and administration sat down in executive session and "calmly and deliberately and without the interference of crackpots or special interest groups discussed the problems at hand and then formally took them into open meeting."

Fortunately there are a good many communities which would be deeply shocked by sentiments such as these, where government is not looked on solely as an agency to get things done "efficiently and quickly and with the least amount of noise, debate, and interference," where it is recognized that there is a fundamental difference between operating a business to show a profit and operating a self-governing community to serve a people. Big business is not exactly a public self-governing proposition.

Granted, democracy must achieve efficiency. The crumbling of the inefficient democracies in the path of the dictatorships (for a time) offers eloquent testimony of this need. But we can lose our democratic heritage also if the public's business be permitted to function in a vacuum and appear in the open only after all the rough edges have been carefully polished and sugar coated.

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Lords of the Levee. By Lloyd Wendt and Herman Kogan. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1943. 384 pp. $3.

Bathhouse John and Hinky Dink, the two real but incredible persons who for 50 years were Chicago politicians and for 30 years were principals in its municipal drama, play their nauseous roles once more in this book, which should fascinate all those who realize that though politics is a science it is played by artists. The two authors show great industry in unearthing many details and also a fine sense for highlights so that the almost four hundred pages are never tedious. The result is a story which, while it will not edify today's generation, will let them know the manner of men their grandfathers were who gave power to such tawdry characters as John J. Coughlin and Michael Kenna—the real names of the "Lords of the Levee."

Because the authors are men as well as reporters they cannot help putting some interpretation into their recital but they have subordinated the question of values to what may be called political photography. Consequently the book may well be used by those concerned with teaching intelligent American citizenship; it is as important to know the story of Hinky Dink as it is that of Hamilton, and of Bathhouse John as of Lincoln.

The great state of Illinois lags in the process of bettering the government of large cities because its constitution provides neither for direct legislation nor for municipal home rule. In Chapter 14 in particular we are aware of the "back-drop" this produces and its effect on the story. The story presents not only full length pictures of the two men who were the lords of that malodorous area, but also glimpses of those who provided them with funds—they still provide them for what are today less colorful but more subtle and "respectable" politicians than were the "unheroes" of this book.

Walter J. Millard

The Administration of the American Public Library. By E. W. McDiarmid and John McDiarmid. Chicago, American Library Association, 1944. xii, 250 pp. $3.

This study of public library administration emphasizes both the librarian and the public administrator aspects of the subject. By questionnaire and interview, over two hundred libraries of all sizes in all parts of the country were included in the study. Board-librarian relationships, library executives, departmentation, finance, personnel, and planning are some of the phases examined.

Edward W. Weidner

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Administration

An Agency Management Program: A guide for self-appraisal and planning economies in operation. By Executive Office of the President, Bureau of the Budget. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1944. 12 pp.

Question Period for Cabinet Members and Heads of Independent Agencies During Sessions of House—Better Teamwork Between Congress and Executive Departments. By Estes Kefauver. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1943. 13 pp.

Business and Government

The American Way—Business Freedom or Government Control? By Maxwell S. Stewart. New York 20, Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1944. 32 pp. 10 cents.

Education

Educational Inbreeding. By Harold E. Snyder. New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943. x, 160 pp. $2.35.

Fire

A List of Cities and Towns of Texas with Fire Protection and Fire Record Data. Austin, Board of Insurance Commissioners, 1944. 49 pp.

Highways

A Selected List of References on Highway Intersections. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, Harvard University, 1944. 3 pp.

Housing

Housing for War and the Job Ahead. A common goal for communities . . . for industry, labor, and government. By National Housing Agency. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1944. 24 pp.

Planning

American Planning and Civic Annual. A record of recent civic advance in the fields of planning, parks, housing, neighborhood improvement and conservation of national resources, including the addresses delivered at the Citizens Conference on Planning, held at Omaha, Nebraska, on June 14, 15, 16, 1943. Edited by Harlean James. Washington, D. C., American Planning and Civic Association, 1944. xii, 195 pp.

Planning Detroit 1943 and **Toward a Greater Detroit.** Detroit, The City Plan Commission, 1944. 34 and 20 pp. respectively. Maps, illus.

Planning Progress 1943 and **Preliminary Analysis of the Postwar Position of Greater Kansas City.** Kansas City, Missouri, City Plan Commission, 1944. 14 and 10 pp. respectively.

Postwar Planning Now. 286 selected postwar digests of factual industry plans. New York, The Journal of Commerce, 1944. 24 pp.

A Selected List of References on Landscape Construction and Maintenance Costs. By Katherine McNamara Cambridge, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, Harvard University, 1944. 2 pp.

Public Health

Educational Qualifications of Health Educators and **Educational Qualifications of Public Health Laboratory Workers.** By Committee on Professional Education. New York 19, American Public Health Association, 1943. 7 pp. each.

Social Security

Joint Statement on Social Security. By the Agriculture, Business and Labor Committees on National Policy. Washington 6, D.C., National Planning Association, 1944. ix, 34 pp. 25 cents.

Taxation and Finance

Kentucky Incomes. A Statistical Study of the Tax Returns 1941 and 1942. Frankfort, Kentucky Department of Revenue, 1944. 137 pp.

Water Conservation

Water Conservation Plans for West Fork River Basin West Virginia 1944. By Scotland G. Highland. Clarksburg, West Virginia, Water Board, 1944. 25 pp.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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Public Library
Kansas City,

Wanted: Better Politicians

Editorial

Shall U. S. Use Occupancy Tax

Clarence Heer and Herbert D. Simpson

with Carl P. Herbert, Lawrence G. Holmes, J. M. Leonard, Herbert U. Nelson, Edmund A. Nightingale, Albert W. Noonan, Dixwell L. Pierce, Cuthbert E. Reeves, Harland C. Stockwell

City Utilities Serve Neighbors

John Bauer

More Civil Service Control Urged

H. M. Olmsted

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— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

The League's Business

League Pamphlets Revised

Indicative of an increase of interest and activity in efforts to improve local affairs, the supply of a number of the National Municipal League's more popular publications was exhausted in recent weeks. Following is a brief report on current publication activities:

Model City Charter. Basic document widely used by local charter revision commissions and draftsmen. Revision of 1941 by the Committee on a Model City Charter reprinted with several minor corrections. $1.

The Story of the Council-Manager Plan. History, principles and accomplishments of the Council-Manager Plan, with directory of the 604 municipalities and counties which have this form of government. Revised and brought up to date. 15c.

Forms of Municipal Government—How Have They Worked? A popular description of the several most commonly used forms of local government with an evaluation and comparison of their advantages and disadvantages. Revised and reprinted. 25c.

Answers to Your Questions About the Manager Plan. The 25 questions most commonly asked about the Council-Manager Plan, with answers. Reprinted. 5c.

What Happens to Labor Under the Manager Plan? Facts from manager plan cities and testimonials from leaders of organized labor. Reprinted. 5c.

The County Manager Plan. Principles and administrative organization of the Council–Manager Plan as applied to counties and accounts of the experience of the counties which have adopted it. Manuscript written and in process of being edited. 15c.

The Citizens' Council Plan. History, principles, accomplishments and methods of organizing Citizens' Councils to promote understanding of governmental problems and create informed public opinion; with typical by-laws. Manuscript written and in process of being edited.

Citizen Organization for Political Activity—The Cincinnati Plan. The story of how the citizens of one community organized effectively to obtain and defend good government, with organization chart and detailed organization and campaign plans. Reprinting under consideration. 35c.

Recent Visitors

Among those who have called at the office of the League recently are Herbert Emmerich, associate director of the Public Administration Clearing House; Professor Hsiao Tung Fei, visiting professor of sociology who has been lecturing at Chicago, Harvard, Columbia, Cornell, etc., under the auspices of the U. S. State Department, author of two forthcoming books, *Peasant Life in China* and *China Enters Machine Age*; Dr. Yung-Shun Hsu, formerly chief administrator of Wenshang County and lecturer at the National Institute of Rural Reconstruction in China, recently granted a Ph.D. degree by the University of Minnesota; J. W. Clise, Seattle civic leader and vice president of the National Municipal League; H. Eliot Kaplan, secretary, National Civil Service Reform League; Charles M. Carpenter, president, Yonkers Committee of One Hundred; and Max L. Roessel, president, Civic League of Westchester (County, New York).

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Wanted: Better Politicians

THE low opinion our people have of politicians is indicated again by a recent survey[1] which found that seven out of ten voters would not like to see their children go into politics. They believe graft and dishonesty virtually inevitable in politics, that it is "rotten and dirty," that "a politician has to obey the bosses or he doesn't get anywhere."

The truth is that there are thousands of men and women in public life who are honest and well-intentioned. But it is also true that a great many of even the best of these find it "practical" to compromise with political crooks—*because they cannot depend on decent citizens to appreciate and support them!*

There is not as much dishonesty and graft in politics as most people think but there is more of it than is realized by some people who think corrupt political machines went out with the horse and buggy.

The survey's fleeting look into the public mind should shock good citizens, but it probably won't. There, perhaps, lies the answer to just what's wrong. Too many citizens who vaguely want "good government" leave it up to someone else to get it for them. Politics, they are sure, is too rotten for decent people, so they hide their heads in the sand of inaction. A man who comes forth to do battle with the politicians is a civic leader. He defeats the politicians and gets elected. Presto! Almost overnight he, too, is a politician and therefore not to be believed or trusted.

That is what the Tweeds, the Pendergasts, the Hagues and the hundreds of smaller fry have done to the public mind. They have proved more destructive of the ideal of self-government than any Caesar, Hitler or Mussolini. In the minority though they and their kind always are, stories of their dictatorships have been so dramatic as to damn politicians generally and destroy essential confidence in our system. Their game is to rig the machinery to conceal the truth, confuse issues and defeat the people's wishes.

The people want good government. A Gallup poll showed that more than 88 per cent disapprove spoils politics. But spoils politics survives simply because of false political leadership and because the people don't know how to work together to destroy it. Another Gallup poll several years ago showed 75 per cent of the voters of Philadelphia ready to approve a streamlined charter which promised to give the city back to the people. The Pennsylvania legislature brazenly blocked the measure. Did the people understand the issue well enough to elect a new legislature which would carry out their wishes? They did not.

The *New York Times,* citing the "corrosive cynicism on the part of the French people regarding their political leaders" prior to the collapse of that country, wisely observes that the first step is to rid ourselves of the actuality that seems to justify distrust of politicians. The *Times* recommends further extension of the merit system in civil service to reduce the area of patronage and other reforms calculated to raise the level of politics.

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[1] By the National Opinion Research Center, University of Denver.

The National Municipal League has prescribed such mechanistic corrections for 50 years and continues to believe in their soundness, but apparently they are only part of the solution. Needed more desperately than these reforms is an alert, interested, participating citizenry which recognizes that local affairs constitute the heart and lifeblood of our entire system. When this happens, we will no longer see 30 per cent or less of the qualified voters take part in local elections, as is now the case more often than not. It is blind luck or inspired leadership that brings good results under such conditions, whereas the result is usually good when a large proportion of the voters goes to the polls.

In short, what this country needs more than anything else is good citizens who are concerned about local affairs. Without such good citizens we simply do not have self-government. If our educational system fails to produce intelligent citizens with an urge to participate, the system should be changed.

This is no mere wishful thinking. There has been specific progress in some places sufficient to demonstrate that we can deliberately and designedly produce better citizens but too often the experiments have been temporary or only partial. It should be possible to study and evaluate a large number of successful experiments and to group them in patterns which can be applied in many of our communities as sound formal methods of training citizens.

The politician is certain his first duty is to please his constituents and thus get elected and re-elected. Good citizens—and that means citizens who are not too "good" to participate in politics—will therefore produce a higher grade of politician.

Producing Better Citizens

THERE is a report in the Citizen Action section of this issue (page 362) which tells of the use of college students to make a survey of parking facilities and related problems in San Jose, California. The students probably did an intelligent, satisfactory job. What is more important, they are sure to have a livelier and more accurate understanding of a serious problem common to all municipalities.

This is a specific illustration of one means of producing better citizens, as advocated in the other editorial in this issue. The REVIEW and other publications have told of many things which have been done to give young people a feeling of responsibility toward their communities, a more lively awareness of their duties than of their rights.

Such ideas are not and should not be fanciful and theoretical. Almost invariably they are useful, sound and practical.

Shall U. S. Use Occupancy Tax?

Authorities cite pros and cons, discuss problems involved in a change in the basis of assessing real estate from a capital to a rental basis as used in England and Wales.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Because of widespread interest in the article "Occupancy Taxes in Britain," by Arthur Collins, financial advisor to public authorities in England, which appeared in the April issue, the editors of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and the Forum Committee of the Tax Institute are cooperating in presenting herewith a forum of authoritative opinion on the desirability of substituting the British system of real estate taxation for the one used in the United States.

The Forum Committee, consisting of Frederick L. Bird, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., Chairman; Welles A. Gray, Chamber of Commerce of the United States; Mabel Newcomer, Vassar College; and Mabel L. Walker, Tax Institute, have invited representatives of real estate and taxpayer groups, public officials, staff members of civic research organizations, educators and others to participate. Two prominent tax economists, recognized students of real estate tax problems, open the discussion. Brief comments from others follow.

This collection of opinions, together with the Collins article and supplementary bibliographical material, will be reprinted by the Tax Institute in a pamphlet, "Should the United States Adopt the British System of Assessing Realty?"

British System Means $3 Billion Housing Tax

By CLARENCE HEER
University of North Carolina

MOST of us in the United States know as little about the local tax system of Great Britain as the majority of Britishers presumably know about ours. One fact about the British local rates, however, has been fairly well publicized in the United States. Unlike our property tax, which is assessed on the capital or market value of real estate, the British occupancy taxes are assessed on annual income or rental value.

There are, of course, a great many other fiscal and social dissimilarities between Great Britain and the United States. It does not necessarily follow, then, that the adoption of the British method of assessment will automatically produce over here the same happy results which it seems to produce in England. Before pinning our hopes to a mere change in assessment procedure, it might, therefore, be well to pause and to consider some of the further differences, both fiscal and non-fiscal in nature, between the two countries.

The American property tax has a broader base than the British occupancy tax. Although over 75 per cent of all revenue from the American tax is derived from real estate, in most states the tax, in theory at least, also covers tangible and intangible personalty. The British tax covers only occupied real estate. Its base is further narrowed by the exemption of farm land and buildings and by the taxation of industrial and railroad properties at one-fourth of net annual value. According to Shirras and Rostas, approximately two-thirds of the total yield of occupancy taxes in Great Britain is derived from the rates on dwellings.[1]

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[1] Shirras and Rostas, *The Burden of*

Property taxes in the United States are billed to the owner. To the extent that they apply to real estate, they constitute a lien against the property. The occupancy tax is not a tax on real estate nor does it constitute a lien against it. It is a personal charge against the real estate occupier, be he owner or tenant, measured by the annual rental value of the property he occupies.

Capital Versus Annual Value

For purposes of taxation, property in the United States is assessed on its capital or market value. Since market value reflects potential future as well as current income, there is no necessary correlation in the United States between the current taxes on a piece of property and its current net income. Moreover, since most taxable property changes hands infrequently, market value must usually be estimated. In assessing real estate, land is ordinarily valued separately from improvements on the basis of actual sales of land having the same potential uses. Buildings are customarily valued on the basis of cost of reproduction new less depreciation. For certain kinds of property, however, estimates of market value may be obtained by capitalizing the normal net earnings of the property as indicated by past and current experience.

Real estate in Great Britain is assessed on its net annual value, which is obtained by subtracting certain standard deductions for presumed expense from the "gross value." Since gross value is defined as the rent at which a piece of real estate might reasonably be expected to let from year to year, and since reassessments are made at five-year intervals, gross value does not necessarily correspond to the actual rent which a tenant pays in any particular year. It is an average or normal rent. Mr. Collins points out, however, that owing to the steadiness of rents in Great Britain in normal times, gross values for tax purposes and actual rents are identical in from 80 to 90 per cent of all valuations. Net annual value, likewise, is not necessarily equal to the actual net income which an owner receives from his property in any year, since the allowable deductions for repairs, insurance and other expenses are standardized and are based on presumed, not actual, costs.

The rates chargeable in respect to a given property in Great Britain are, however, much more closely related to its current net earnings than would be the case in the United States. This is because current rentals are taken as the point of departure in making valuations. Moreover, since the tax is on the occupier, it is proportionately reduced for any period during which the property is vacant or only partially occupied.

The most significant difference between the American property tax and the British occupancy tax has nothing whatever to do with form and procedure but concerns the relative magnitudes of the tasks which these taxes are respectively called upon to perform. Prior to our entry into the war, the general property tax was the most important tax in our entire register of taxes, federal, state

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British Taxation, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1943, pp. 18 and 20.

and local. Its yield in 1941 was close to $4,500,000,000 and represented over a quarter of all tax collections by all levels of government.[2] The role of the occupancy tax in the British system of central and local taxation is decidedly more modest, its yield of approximately $900,000,000 in 1941 representing only about 12 per cent of the aggregate of central and local tax collections.[3]

U. S. Tax Greater

For the entire United States the average burden of the property tax per capita of total population was around $34 in 1941. For the same year, occupancy taxes in Great Britain represented an average burden of about $19 per capita. The American property taxes of 1941 were equal to 5.3 per cent of the national income of that year. The corresponding income ratio for the British occupancy taxes was only 3.7 per cent.[4]

It is thus apparent that the American property tax carries a burden which on an income basis is over 40 per cent greater than the burden carried by the British occupancy tax. Since inequities and administrative difficulties generally increase in geometric ratio to the revenue a tax is called upon to raise, the greater weight of the property tax must be borne in mind in judging whether a shift to the British method of assessment would bring with it the felicitous results which characterize the administration of the occupancy taxes in Britain.

British local governments are as fully dependent on the occupancy tax as a local tax source as American localities are dependent on the property tax. The lighter weight of the British tax is explained by the more liberal national support of locally administered functions which prevails in Great Britain. National grants in Great Britain for the general support of local government and for such specific functions as education, police, highways, health and housing were about 82 per cent as large as the entire collections from local rates in 1936.[5]

Local governments in the United States also receive various kinds of fiscal aid from national and state funds. The net amount of this aid was approximately $1,794,000,000 in 1941. This represented the equivalent of 42 per cent of the $4,224,000,000 of property taxes collected by local governments on their own account during the same year.[6] Were central grants for the support of local functions as relatively liberal in the United States as they are in Great Britain, it is apparent that the average burden of the local property tax could be reduced by about 40 per cent.

National grants in Great Britain give a certain degree of weight to the equalizing principle. Were national and state aids in the United

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[2] U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Financing Federal, State, and Local Governments,* 1941, p. 22.

[3] Shirras and Rostas, *op. cit.*

[4] Musgrave and Seligman, "The War-time Tax Effort in the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada," *Federal Reserve Bulletin,* January 1944, p. 18.

[5] Midland Bank, *Monthly Review,* July-August 1938, London.

[6] U. S. Department of Commerce, *op. cit.*

States increased to the British level, and were such aids more extensively distributed among local jurisdictions with a view to ironing out interlocal differences in tax rates, the burden of the property tax could be reduced by considerably more than 40 per cent in those localities which now have excessively high tax rates by virtue of their poverty and lack of taxable property. It is in these localities that the hardships and difficulties connected with the property tax are most severe.

Since the British method of assessment is associated with so many fiscal arrangements which differ from our own, the question of whether we should adopt it can scarcely be considered intelligently unless we first define the exact nature of the changes which this proposal is to comprehend. Any one of at least three different sets of measures, involving varying degrees of departure from our existing fiscal pattern, might conceivably be meant.

Possible Alternatives

First, without changing its existing fiscal structure and procedures in any other respect, the United States might abandon the concept of market value in the assessment of real estate, substituting therefor some measure based on the capitalization of current income.

Second, the United States might abandon the general property tax altogether, putting in its place the British occupancy tax which would be expected to carry the entire load now borne by the property tax.

Third, in conjunction with a comprehensive reshifting of central-local financial responsibility, together with other changes designed to reduce the burden of local taxation to a level commensurate with that of Great Britain, the British occupancy tax might be used in place of the property tax as the basic local tax.

The first of these possibilities involves a minimum of change in our existing fiscal pattern. A number of states, in fact, already have statutes making income a consideration in arriving at fair market value. Moreover, practically all states use income as a factor in arriving at the tax valuation of railroads and other public utilities. Income valuations are commonly supported on the ground that they remove the element of estimation and guesswork from our assessment procedure. It is also claimed that they promote greater ease, certainty and equality in assessments and that they eliminate the hardship of requiring an owner to pay taxes for years in which his property has made no income.

The validity of these claims depends to a considerable extent on the particular procedure followed in arriving at income value. One method that has been suggested is that the actual net income of each parcel of real estate be ascertained annually, and that this net income be capitalized at some fixed rate, say 5 per cent, to obtain the tax value for the year. This proposal merely means substituting the difficulty of ascertaining net income for the difficulty of ascertaining market value.

Anyone who supposes that the determination of net income is devoid of estimation and guesswork should consult the accountants who will frankly tell him that income accounting involves estimates and judgments at every turn—judgments as to which expenses should be capitalized and which charged to income; estimates as to inventory valuations and rates of depreciation and obsolescence. Anyone who supposes that the auditing of an income return is easy should consult the Income Tax Unit of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. Finally, anyone who supposes that net income taxation is conducive to certainty should recall his feelings in preparing his last income tax return.

The British method of assessment does not, of course, require the annual determination of the actual net income of real estate but merely its presumed net income at intervals of five years. From the normal annual rent or gross value there are allowed certain deductions according to a schedule which varies with the character and value of the property. Use of presumed net income certainly simplifies the administrative problem, but from the standpoint of equity one is left to wonder what virtue a tax value based on the capitalization of presumed net income possesses over a tax value based on presumed market value.

Whether actual or presumed net income is used as the basis for capitalization, it will no doubt sometimes occur that the tax value thus obtained will exceed the known market value or the owner's estimate of the market value. Will owners who now feel aggrieved when their tax value exceeds the capitalized current income of their property feel any less aggrieved when their tax value exceeds market value?

Tax valuations based on capitalized current income will indeed eliminate the hardship of having to pay taxes on unproductive property. But as long as there is no reduction in the total amount which the property tax is called upon to raise, what is saved by the owners of unproductive property will simply be added to the taxes of owners of productive property in the shape of higher tax rates. Moreover, unless tax rates are kept from exceeding the rate at which incomes are capitalized, income valuations will not protect the owners of productive property from the possibility of tax levies which exceed current income.

It is significant that the National Association of Real Estate Boards, which advocated income valuations in 1933, did not put this proposal forward as an isolated measure. The Association proposal was part of a six-point program which included state administrative control of local expenditure, an over-all property tax limitation of 1½ per cent and the expansion of state and federal fiscal aids to local governments. The intent of all the companion measures was to secure a drastic reduction in the total burden of the general property tax.

Burden on Housing

Adoption of the British method of assessment might possibly be taken to mean the complete abandonment of the general property tax and the transfer of its present burden to a new type of levy similar in all respects to the British occupancy tax. As long as local tax requirements remain at their present level, this proposal scarcely merits serious consideration. About two-thirds of the yield of the British occupancy tax is derived from taxes on dwellings. Use of the occupancy tax as the sole means of raising the $4,500,000,000 now derived from the general property tax would thus involve a tax of some $3,000,000,000 per year on housing. The net result of such a shift would be to make our tax system more regressive.

Adoption of the British method of assessment might, finally, be taken to mean the employment of the occupancy tax as the basic local tax after appropriate fiscal readjustments had been made designed to cut down the volume of local taxation to something approaching the British dimensions. This is essentially what the United States Treasury Committee on Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations seems to have had in mind in connection with the suggestion cited by Mr. Collins at the beginning of his article.

The Treasury Committee in its recent report[7] proposed the occupancy tax as a possible replacement or supplement to the general property tax, to be introduced step by step on a gradual and experimental basis. This proposal, however, was presented as one element of a comprehensive program which included measures aimed at reducing the present volume of local taxation.

Were the Treasury Committee proposals adopted to the extent of reducing American local taxation to the British level, there is little reason to suppose that the occupancy tax would work any less well over here than it does in Britain. Under these conditions, in fact, one might hazard the opinion that our own property tax, whether based on income or on market valuations, would also give satisfaction.

U. S. Property Tax Sounder in Principle

HERBERT D. SIMPSON
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Northwestern University

FOR purposes of discussion we may ignore certain minor variations and assume that the cardinal feature of the British system is taxation of the occupant on the basis of his rental—actual or imputed—in contrast with our taxation of the owner on the basis of the capital value of his property. What are the essential differences in the impact of the two systems?

Both are property taxes, notwithstanding frequent reference to the British system as a tax on use. Our property tax measures property by capital value; the British "property tax" measures it by annual value. But annual value is just as intrinsically an attribute of property as capital value. It is only an American usage that limits property and property taxes to capital values. What then are the essential differences?

1. *As between owner and tenant.*

As between the owner and the tenant it is difficult to discover any way in which the form of the tax will affect the final incidence of the burden. I do not say this because "the owner will shift the taxes to the tenant anyhow," or, conversely, because "the tenant will shift the taxes back to the owner." Both statements are current, and both are obviously inadequate. There are conditions under which the major part of the burden will be borne by building owners, and other conditions under which the tenant will bear the final burden.

---

[7] *Federal, State and Local Government Fiscal Relations,* Senate Document No. 69, 78th Congress, 1st Session.

These conditions will include the supply of building space, the demand for space, changes in building costs, the extent to which recent building operations have been governed by speculative factors, and sometimes still more complicating elements. But whatever the conditions may be, I am unable at the moment to discover any way in which they will be altered by the form of the property tax, assuming, of course, the same amount of taxation.

If this is true, there is then no problem of relative justice between owner and tenant, since, under any given set of conditions, the impact of the burden appears to be the same. (We are omitting for the time being consideration of the exemption of vacant land and idle property, where no owner and tenant relationships are involved.)

But we may hazard one qualification here. We are familiar with the fact that under our property tax the pressure of taxation on the owner of unimproved land frequently forces him to make improvements which otherwise he would not make or would delay indefinitely. Freedom from this pressure would therefore relieve the market of this segment of supply, and to that extent should raise the general level of rents.

But there are two other factors which would seem to operate more powerfully in the opposite direction. The first arises from the fact that the pressure of taxation on the owners of older properties has forced an enormous demolition of improvements which were still capable of useful service. The absence of this pressure would preserve this segment of supply and to that extent reduce the level of rents.

The second arises from the greater security of ownership under the British system, the freedom from confiscatory procedures in the collection of taxes, and the freedom of the ownership itself from tax liability, all of which would afford substantial encouragement to a type of ownership which in this country is heavily penalized. I would hazard the conjecture, therefore, that under a given set of conditions the British system would offer substantially greater inducement to building and ownership, which would have the effect of reducing the general level of rentals—the owners, in accordance with familiar investment psychology, accepting a lower yield in return for greater security of yield.

2. *As between both owner and tenant on the one hand and the taxing authority on the other.*

The essential differences in the two systems lie not between the owner and tenant, but between the property on the one hand and the taxing authority on the other. These differences have been discussed by Mr. Collins and other writers and need only be enumerated here. They would include the following:

> (a) Reduced liability in times of decreased occupancy and rentals; that is, the flexibility of the system in its adjustment to the situation of the taxpayer—in contrast with the extreme rigidity or *inverse* flexibility of American assessment. In New York City assessments continued to increase for three years after the collapse of property values in 1929.
>
> (b) Entire freedom from confiscatory procedures against the property.
>
> (c) Ease and certainty of collection, with practically no problem of delinquent taxes.
>
> (d) Exemption of vacant land and idle property.
>
> (e) Perhaps we should add, reduced revenue from property taxes in times of depression because, to the extent that relief is afforded the taxpayer, the taxing authority must necessarily forego revenue. In this way, English municipalities automatically relinquish the "distressed" taxes upon which our local governments subsist for years at a time, with only Walrus tears for the victims.

If the summary above may serve to set out the essential differences—and lack of difference—between the two systems, what are the grounds for choice between them?

Theoretical Aspect

Theoretically I am obliged to hold that our property tax rests on sounder principle. Property ownership is a valid index of financial ability and is universally regarded as such—except, strangely, when discussing the property tax. Sometimes it may be a less accurate index than income, but sometimes it is more accurate. Of two men with $5,000 income each, one of whom owns $100,000 worth of property and the other none, the former certainly has an element of taxpaying ability not possessed by the latter.

Since, however, this analysis would seem to indicate that the final impact of both systems on the taxpayer is essentially the same, we may perhaps assume that both must now embody much the same principle, whatever their original theories may have been—with one exception. This is the exemption of vacant land and idle property. Here the difference in theory emerges visibly. And whatever considerations may be advanced, it is certain that American thought will not support the complete exemption of vacant land and unused natural resources.

One-third of the area of Chicago was vacant in 1930; much more of it is vacant now, and destructive taxation is partly responsible for this new increment of vacancy. But why one-third of the urban area should be completely exempt from any contribution to the city whose growth created its value is not clear. To Americans it doesn't make sense.

In fairness to the problem, however, we must concede that exemption of vacant land is not a necessary feature of an occupancy tax. It would be possible to set up an occupancy tax, within whose framework provision could still be made for reasonable taxation of vacant land and temporarily idle property. With this adjustment I would concede that any theoretical differences between the two systems would largely disappear.

Furthermore, the difficulties of administration and the collateral evils associated with property taxation in this country have been such that we may cheerfully waive any theoretical superiority in return for a more workable system, if that can be found.

Administrative Aspects

The evidence is convincing that the British system has operated with greater flexibility, better adjustment to the taxpayer's situation, and better administrative results than we have attained in this country. How far the latter is a matter of the system and how far a matter of British civil service and administration is open to question. Mr. Collins speaks of difficulties being solved by "skilled assessors on each side of the table" and by "competent assessors serving the tax authorities." With competent assessors, supported by the tax authorities, almost any system will work.

It is not giving away any military secrets to say that we do not have these conditions in the United States. We do have some brilliant exceptions, but exceptions conspicuous by their rarity. If we do occasionally get a "skilled assessor" around the table, there will be a political boss sitting at the head of the table and a local political organization that must be served. With political practices as they are in this country today, particularly in the cities, it is difficult to foresee any material change in the quality of local tax administration.

Under these conditions the difficulties of applying an annual rental concept throughout the whole field of real estate and property taxation seem almost insurmountable. Even the more standard types of urban property, such as office and apartment buildings, would involve the assignment of rentals to each tenant, with the proper allocation of operating, overhead, and maintenance costs. More difficult areas would include the department stores and large commercial properties; industrial plants, some of them gigantic in size; public utility plants and equipment; theatres; garages and shops, large and small, operated by their owners; farms, special types of agricultural operations such as stockbreeding, nurseries and seed farms, greenhouses, poultry, and so on. Finding a valuation for these properties is difficult enough. But for the ordinary local assessor to undertake to ascertain or impute a reasonable rental for each of these units, many of them situations in which no one ever heard of "rental" and would scarcely know what was meant by it, somehow seems beyond the range of practical undertaking.

This may be over-estimating the difficulties, but, strangely enough, I find in my collection of British assessment manuals indications that, under the variety and complexities of modern forms of property, the British themselves are finding new difficulties. For example, one authority, referring to the Finance Act of 1931, says:[1]

> Speaking generally, the land value will be represented by the price which a purchaser would pay for the land in the open market.

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[1] W. E. Wilkenson, *The Land Value Tax—A Guide to Part III, of the Finance Act,* p. 8.

This sounds suspiciously like the "willing buyer, willing seller" phrase of our own statutes.

Another manual states:[2]

> The practice of valuing theatres and picture houses on a figure per seat has come into great favour, however. Sometimes hotels and boarding houses are valued per bed, and an attempt is made to value golf courses per hole.

We have our difficulties, but it is hard to see how these would be lessened by undertaking to "appraise" the beds in a boarding house; and it would require more than a competent appraiser to "assess" a difficult hole on a golf course.

Further on the British assessor is instructed:[3]

> If examples of rents are rare . . . a percentage on capital value (i.e., the price the property would fetch in the open market) gives the minimum rent the purchaser would require . . . and is *prima facie* evidence of the rent he would presumably be prepared to give if he wished to become a tenant.

Here we have assessment on "annual rental," to be sure, but it is a rental derived unblushingly from capital value, and capital value in the sense of ordinary market value. If we have to go through all the processes of determining market value first in order to arrive at a rental basis, it is apparent that the problem of assessment is not simplified.

And finally, at pages 137-138, we are told:

> The rental value of a hereditament valued on structural cost is: A commercial rate of interest applied to the present day cost of reproducing the hereditament. . . . Buildings are valued on cubic capacity, i.e., the number of cubic feet they fill, taking outside measurements, this being the normal basis employed by a contractor in his estimates. . . . The most important feature of the building is the substantiality of it.

Then to aid the assessor in applying our "brick and mortar" formula, a table of cubic foot costs for various types of structures is appended, which, except for differences in costs, might have been derived from any American manual.

Some British Features Good

In short, under the changing conditions affecting the forms of property and the ownership and operation of property, the traditional English methods are becoming less applicable. It would be a strange irony, indeed, if we should abandon our system for the English, just at the moment when the English find it necessary to shape their assessment technique in the direction of our own. It is a mistake to which great minds are prone, like Bacon laboriously translating his essays into Latin, in order to preserve them, just at the moment when Latin was to be replaced by native English as a vehicle for preserving the greatest literature of the world.

But whatever we may do about the British system as a whole, there are three features of British practice which we may borrow, with enormous benefit to ourselves.

The first is a lesser dependence upon local property taxation of any kind and a larger reliance upon broader types of taxation that can be administered by the states, with allocation of portions of the revenue to the local governments.

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[2] F. A. Amies, *The Law and Practice of Valuation for Rating,* p. 66.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 63.

The second is a larger reliance upon income, in the form of capitalization of income, as a factor in determining the valuations of property. This is a technique available to assessors, so far as the writer is aware, in every state in the Union, subject only to reasonable limitation imposed by the courts.

The third is the more flexible adjustment of assessments to the actual course of property values, in contrast to the rigid maintenance of assessments to suit revenue needs, regardless of the trend of actual values.

If we can incorporate these features, we shall be making substantial progress and may perhaps look with complacency upon the British appropriation of our "brick and mortar" method, where there is no other way to determine the "substantiality" of a hereditament.

Other Opinions

EDMUND A. NIGHTINGALE
School of Business Administration
University of Minnesota

ANY suggestions relating to the substitution of the British system of assessment of real property for the existing American system should be considered only in the light of the full implications of such a fundamental change. Comments on the British rating system will be restricted to that of England and Wales.

Ratable value of industrial hereditaments used for industrial purposes (factories) and freight transport hereditaments used for transport purposes (railways) is defined at only 25 per cent of net annual value thereof by the Local Government Act of 1929. These industrial and freight transport properties accounted in 1938-39 for only £9,571,832 of the total ratable value of £310,781,944 in England and Wales. Agricultural land and buildings—excluding dwellings, vacant sites and unoccupied properties—any optional compounding arrangements excepted — contribute nothing in the general case to meet the cost of providing local services.

Steadiness in the aggregate of ratable values of the local unit of government is apparently regarded by Mr. Collins as a *sine qua non* of the rating system. Other British authorities, however, emphasize the advantages of stabilization of rates (shillings and pence per pound of ratable value) as a psychological factor which encourages the development of industrial and commercial enterprises.

Fiscal adequacy, however, is generally regarded as one of the basic criteria of any major tax. Rate collections in England and Wales during the last five years have averaged around £200,000,000. According to the 1942-43 *Summary Report of the Ministry of Health*, rates amounted to only one-third of the income side of the revenue account of the local authorities in 1939-40. National government grants and reimbursements were £181,899,737 or about 30 per cent.

The report of the Bureau of the Census on the finances of 92 leading American cities for 1942 indicates that taxes accounted for 75 per cent of the general revenues of these cities; property taxes alone supplied 65 per cent of general revenues. Local units of government in agricultural areas still rely upon property taxes as the chief source of revenue.

Notwithstanding admitted administrative weaknesses in American property assessment, substitution of the English rating system and its derating provisions for certain industrial, freight transport, and agricultural properties would raise serious fiscal questions. Losses in revenues of the local units would undoubtedly have to be made up through grants by the state governments, financed presumably by increases in state taxes excluding any existing levies on property. It is even conceivable that some state governments might look to Washington for funds.

Those familiar with the proceedings of the annual conferences of the Incorporated Association of Rating and Valuation Officers, the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants, the representations of the Central Valuation Committee, the recent I. A. R. V. O. interim report on the rating system, and the unsuccessful efforts of the London County Council to get the British government to introduce legislation which would empower local authorities to levy a rate on site value are fully aware of British criticisms of the weaknesses and incidence of the existing rating system. Significant lessons in administration, however, can be learned from the able career men who are the rating and valuation officers in the more important local units.

LAWRENCE G. HOLMES, Secretary
National Council
of Real Estate Taxpayers

PROPERTY taxation based on capital value (*ad valorem* taxes) releases forces which are economically and socially undesirable.

Property taxation based on the usefulness of property and measured by the amount paid for that use—occupancy tax principle — avoids those undesirable effects and still provides adequate and stable revenues for essential government services.

The American *ad valorem* tax is levied against the physical property and against ownership of property regardless of its productivity or the ability of the owner to pay. This was workable in the past. Sensationally increasing population in America created demands for real estate which produced annual gains in property values enough to offset annual increases in *ad valorem* taxes. The fundamental weakness of the tax on capital value became apparent when the population pressure began to ease off which, with other economic factors, caused the financial slump starting in the 30's. Tax foreclosures against billions of dollars worth of private assets is one of the visible results. Its concomitant threat is complete socialization of land through this forced reversion to government ownership.

The dual principle on which occupancy taxation is based avoids these pressures and unhappy results. First, the property assessment is based on the productivity or "value-in-use." Second, the levy is directed against and paid by the user, whether he be owner or renter. The physical property is not taxed. The tax is against the earning power or productivity, not against bricks and mortar. The user of the property is responsible for paying the taxes, not the owner if he is not the occupant. Hence private ownership rights are inviolate against despotic taxation or conspiracies to use the power of taxation as a power of destruction.

Other injurious forces which are unleashed by *ad valorem* theories are controlled under the use taxation principle. For example, *ad valorem* taxation creates the need to build on vacant land just to try to pay the taxes—so-called taxpayers. The use tax system says in effect, "No use, no tax."

Only the United States and Canada hold on to the *ad valorem* tax. England has had 343 years experience with the occupancy tax, so the idea can hardly be called a radical, new experiment. The social and economic results seem much preferable to the *ad valorem* results. The fact, for instance, that private ownership is safeguarded from tax forefeiture is in itself enough to recommend the principle to a democratic culture.

In these three centuries administrative and technical difficulties have been met and solved. America, therefore, could start with the benefit of long laboratory experience to guard against technical errors.

Such a start is being made in the United States. Modern tax assessors are coming more and more to depend on the income of real property as the cornerstone of their valuation computations—one of the keystones of the occupancy tax principle. Fifty per cent of the U. S. property tax problem will be solved when dollars-and-cents facts replace esoteric theories of valuation for tax purposes.

ALBERT W. NOONAN
Executive Director
National Association of Assessing Officers

SHOULD the United States adopt the British system of assessing? My answer is "No."

It is my understanding that under the British system farm lands are exempt, all vacant lands are exempt, unoccupied improved properties are exempt at the option of the owner, while industrial and public utility properties pay only one-fourth the rate charged occupants of residential properties. The tax is a legal obligation of the tenant, not the owner. If not paid, the tenant's personal property may be seized, or he may even be sent to jail, but the owner incurs no penalty. In other words, the burden of supporting local government is imposed almost entirely on the resources of the tenant population. We seriously doubt if such overzealous regard for landowners would be tolerated long in America.

Mr. Collins attributes the continued success of the system in England to two factors—tradition and the pronounced stability of tenants—both of which would be absent in this country. Perhaps it is also due to the fact that the tax has not been subjected to severe strain, in that many municipal functions in England —education, safety, health, etc.—

are heavily supported by grants from national revenue, whereas in America such services are financed almost entirely from the property tax. According to one report, national grants were 47 per cent of municipal revenue in 1939-40.

In his article Mr. Collins mentions that in certain districts the owner, rather than the tenant, pays the taxes, whether the premises are occupied or not. It should be noted that this is a matter of agreement rather than legal obligation. Some districts permit such agreements where the ratable value of dwellings is below a certain but quite small amount and the rent is paid more frequently than quarterly. In consideration of his agreement to pay, the owner is granted discounts ranging from 5 per cent to 20 per cent. Thus, if the properties were almost continuously occupied, it would be to the advantage of the owner to enter into such an agreement, otherwise not.

These are features which I don't believe the American people would like. In passing, it should be noted that there has been considerable agitation in England in recent years to supplement the occupier's tax with a site-value tax or to abolish it and substitute a municipal income tax, but neither proposal has yet acquired sufficient support.

One feature of the British system which deserves consideration is the handling of personnel. Space does not permit much comment except to say that great emphasis is placed upon technical and administrative competence, security of tenure, adequate compensation and a promotional system unhampered by residence qualifications—all of which is encouraging to career service. On the other hand, we have noted many organizational defects which would be as undesirable here as apparently they are in England.

HARLAND C. STOCKWELL
Assistant Executive Secretary
Chicago Civic Federation

I BELIEVE that the present *ad valorem* system should be basically maintained in the United States, but that more weight should be given to the income factor than in the past in determining the value of the property for tax purposes. Where both parties agree, the practice of making "net" leases, wherein the lessee agrees to bear the property tax burden, might be developed. A practice of indicating on every rent bill the amount or percentage represented by the property tax would be desirable. This would tend to make the tenant tax-conscious and aware that he is contributing to the cost of government.

I am definitely of the opinion that the British system of assessing—wherein the occupant rather than the owner pays the tax—should not be applied to large local governing units in the United States.

The antiquity of the British system—customs built up and observed over hundreds of years, the relative stability of British communities, competent technical staff assistance down the line, relative steadiness of rental values, all these factors have apparently been conducive to the development of a system which works reasonably well in practice in Britain. Comparable factors do not exist in most United States cities.

CUTHBERT E. REEVES
Consulting Engineer, Buffalo

THE British system of assessing realty should not be adopted in the United States, but certain phases of its operation might well be followed in determining valuations for assessing here. Under the British system the central (federal) government makes the same demand upon an owner-occupier for an estimated rental as it does upon the rental income flowing to an owner from tenants. For ordinary property, no deduction is allowed for depreciation, perhaps because structures there have greater longevity. The first cited rule would set poorly with our home-owners and those who promote home-ownership; the other would be deemed harsh by operators and investors in real estate.

This Forum probably is more concerned with taxing by local government, the principal aspects of which considered herein are equability and collectibility of the levy. The British system exempts agricultural land and certain industries, but we, likewise, give preferential treatment to some classes of realty. Important differences are that bare land pays no local tax, thus fostering the possibility of unearned increment, and in England and Wales vacant improved property also is exempt. In Scotland, where the owner pays one-half the local tax, that half is collected whether the property be occupied or vacant. This conforms with the belief of many here who think that governmental costs specifically beneficial to property should be distinguished from expenditures for social services to people.

Many of those who favor discarding our *ad valorem* taxing seem to think that the determination of local assessments according to income productivity would be simple and infallibly equitable. Some insight into the difficulties and uncertainties can be gleaned from Mr. Collins' article. It appears, moreover, that such familiar terms as "comparative method," "contractor's rent or substituted building method," and "accountancy, competitive value or profits method" are involved in the British tax appraisal procedure.

As to collectibility, we can readily agree with Mr. Collins that the great fluctuation in rentals here would periodically jeopardize municipal financing, and that the more migratory propensity of our renters is another deterrent. Can we afford to have much real property tax securable only by controls against moving personal belongings from their taxed situs and from one state jurisdiction to another, knowing the difficulty now experienced in collecting taxes levied directly upon those same chattels?

The need here generally is adoption of methods whereby rental and other income-productivity data would be systematically collected, analyzed, and transmuted into capital value to be the base of, or at least a check upon, assessed valuations. That needs no enabling legislation, though in some municipalities mandates may be required. Progressive assessors already are resorting to the same income tests that are applied by appraisers in private practice.

CARL P. HERBERT, Director
Saint Paul Bureau
of Municipal Research

OUR adoption of the British system of taxing real estate would not remove the problems underlying its ownership today. Certainly it would not result in lowered taxes against property. Only a revision of our tax system, placing less demands for governmental revenues upon the real estate tax and more upon other tax sources, will do that. The question posed, therefore, is whether the British system distributes the cost of government more equitably than does ours, and whether its adoption would create new problems that militate against it in this country.

In my opinion the British method of assessment is not superior to ours. The net results are approximately the same, even though the procedures used differ greatly. Ours are direct and relatively simple; theirs are involved and cumbersome, costly and discretionary.

If the plan were put into operation by us, theoretically the incidence of the tax would be shifted from the owner to the renter; it is doubtful, however, whether practically that would happen, whether the net income to the owner would not be approximately the same under either method of taxation.

Since under the British system vacant land and unoccupied improved property (with some exceptions) are not taxed, its adoption by us would cause a shifting of that part of the tax burden now borne by owners of such property to those of productive property, and the fairness of this may be questioned. Then, too, real estate values would be disturbed continuously.

Nothing so far advanced in its favor convinces me that we should adopt the British system.

DIXWELL L. PIERCE, Secretary
California State Board of Equalization

SHORTCOMINGS of the general property tax have long plagued the cities and counties of the United States. Pressure of revenue requirements and federal and state preemption of other tax sources have made the plight of the local governments seem unavoidable. But is it?

What Arthur Collins has said concerning British experience with occupancy taxes may point the way to substantial improvement in our local tax structures.

Related inflexibly to value, applying mainly to real estate and collected from the owner, the general property tax leaves much to be desired both as to taxpaying ability and revenue productivity. Measured by rentals or their equivalent and paid by those who use the real estate, the occupancy tax is more closely related to ability to pay and is more nearly certain of collection.

Complete and immediate substitution of occupancy taxes for property taxes might prove too drastic a change. It would seem wiser to begin by utilizing the occupancy tax as a supplemental revenue source on a limited scale. This might involve duplication by requiring two tax bases for the same property but the defect would be more apparent than actual since rental value is a factor in the ascertainment of market value.

In short, Americans could profit from British experience with occupancy taxes, utilizing this local revenue source without major disturbance of existing tax structures. It would seem to be an experiment well worth making.

J. M. LEONARD, Director of Research
Detroit Bureau
of Governmental Research, Inc.

AGITATION for adoption of the English system of taxation of real property—on an income basis—was somewhat a depression phenomenon. It was claimed during the early 1930's that it made real property depression-proof—no income, no taxes. But these early enthusiasms were founded on only a remote understanding of the functioning of the English system.

The great appeal was: no taxes on vacant property, no taxes on improved idle property and taxes in proportion to depression rentals. This is all true, but it represents only the high spots of the system, and overlooks all of the difficulties which are a part of any assessing system when applied to a complex economy.

The English system advocated as an "ideal" has found favor only in England. After 200 years experience with it the English colonists did not import it to America. Nor have the British dominions followed the old country's assessing system. Even the neighbor Scotland has modified it considerably—vacant property is assessed at half rates.

The income assessment system, after 350 years, is found only in England. But that does not mean the capital value system current in America is perfect. In fact, there is little in our homespun and often bizarre assessing methods to which we can point with pride. But in the past twenty years there have been signs of better days to come. However, it is only after a reasonable period of development of present techniques, which are now meeting with favor among more progressive administrators, that any definite conclusion can be made of the relative efficacy of the English versus the American system of taxing real estate.

HERBERT U. NELSON
Executive Vice President
National Association
of Real Estate Boards

I FAVOR the British method of taxing annual rental value and holding the occupant of a property responsible for the tax payment, as against our own method of *ad valorum* taxation on real estate.

The British system does not necessarily result in lower taxes. It does, however, result in fairer taxes. The family which is the beneficiary of local services given by the local government pays for these services directly. The tax is essentially a tax on income and its amount is measured by rent-paying ability. Therefore, the tax is not regressive as is

(Continued on page 349)

City Utilities Serve Neighbors

Publicly-owned transportation, electric, water and sewage plants supply cities and towns in their metropolitan regions; such service sound basis for postwar expansion.

By JOHN BAUER, Director
American Public Utilities Bureau

Editor's Note.—This is the second in a series of four articles by Dr. John Bauer on public utilities in metropolitan areas. The first, "Utilities Need Regional Basis," in the June issue, discussed the present status of the principal utilities in relation to the central city and its surrounding territory, with particular emphasis on effective postwar planning. Article three will deal with metropolitan district organization, and article four will consider the type of central city and district organization which appears most suited to regional needs.

THIS article reviews the municipal provisions that have actually been made for utility services by cities of 100,000 population and over. Information is based on 43 replies to questionnaires sent to the mayors of the 92 cities of 100,000 population and over.[1] All but two of the cities own and operate one or more of the chief utilities—water supply, sewage disposal, electricity, gas and transportation.

City Water System

The tabulation on page 343 summarizes provisions made by the various cities for water supply. It shows how the systems are organized, whether outside metropolitan service is furnished, whether rate differences exist, and whether the outside rates are subject to control by the state public utility commission.

In the great majority of instances the main city owns and operates the entire water system, the basic utility in the community. Of the 43 cities all but four have complete municipal ownership. The exceptions are Oakland, Bridgeport, Wichita and Peoria. Oakland is served by a district system which is publicly-owned and operated. Wichita owns the supply, purification and transmission plant but distribution is private. Only Bridgeport and Peoria are served entirely by private companies.

With few exceptions the city-owned systems furnish outside metropolitan service which is usually predicated on agreements with neighboring communities and sometimes depends on legislative authority. The arrangements are various. In most instances, however, the chief city provides the water supply for practically the entire region, but distribution and rate provisions differ widely. Probably no city stops sharply at its own boundaries, furnishing no exterior service.

Four cities report no regular provisions for outside service—Los Angeles, Albany, South Bend and Duluth. The others provide the bulk of the water used in surrounding districts. The supply is usually de-

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[1] Forty-five replies have been received, but only 43 are available for use since it was impossible to identify the other two cities. For the contents of the questionnaire see Dr. Bauer's previous article, National Municipal Review, June 1944, p. 277.

	Population	*Type of Organization*[a]	*Outside Service*	*Outside Rates*	*Control by State Commission*
Chicago, Ill.	3,399,000	D	Yes	Same	No
Detroit, Mich.	1,623,000	B	Yes	Higher	No
Los Angeles, Cal.	1,504,000	B	No	——	——
Cleveland, O.	878,000	D	Yes	Higher	Yes
Milwaukee, Wis.	587,000	D	Yes	Higher	——
Buffalo, N. Y.	577,000	D	Limited	Vary	No
Minneapolis, Minn.	492,000	D	Yes	Higher	No
Cincinnati, O.	456,000	D	Yes	Higher	No
Newark, N. J.	430,000	D	Yes	——	No
Kansas City, Mo.	399,000	D	Yes	Higher	No
Houston, Tex.	385,000	D	Limited	Higher	No
Seattle, Wash.	368,000	D	Yes	Higher	No
Rochester, N. Y.	325,000	D	Limited	——	Yes
Denver, Col.	322,000	B	Yes	Higher	No
Portland, Ore.	305,000	D	Yes	Higher	No
Atlanta, Ga.	302,000	D	Yes	Higher	No
Oakland, Cal.	302,000	District organization			
Toledo, O.	282,000	D	Yes	Higher	No
Birmingham, Ala.	268,000	D	Industr. Plants	Same	No
San Antonio, Tex.	254,000	B	Yes	——	No
Providence, R. I.	254,000	B	Yes	Same	Yes
Dallas, Tex.	250,000	D	Yes	Higher	No
Dayton, O.	211,000	D	Yes	Higher	No
Oklahoma City, Okla.	204,000	D	Yes	Higher	No
San Diego, Cal.	203,000	D	Limited	——	No
Worcester, Mass.	194,000	D	——	——	——
Richmond, Va.	193,000	D	Yes	——	No
Miami, Fla.	172,000	B	Yes	——	No
Long Beach, Cal.	164,000	B	Yes	Higher	No
Des Moines, Ia.	160,000	B	Yes	Higher	No
Bridgeport, Conn.	147,000	No city system			
Albany, N. Y.	131,000	D	No	——	——
Kansas City, Kans.	121,000	C	Yes	Higher	No
Wichita, Kans.	115,000	City supply, but private distribution			
Wilmington, Del.	113,000	B	Yes	Higher	No
Knoxville, Tenn.	112,000	B	Yes	Higher	No
Reading, Pa.	111,000	D	Yes	Higher	Yes
Tacoma, Wash.	109,000	D	Wholesale		
Tampa, Fla.	108,000	D	Yes	Higher	No
Sacramento, Cal.	106,000	D	Limited	Higher	No
Peoria, Ill.	105,000	No city system			
South Bend, Ind.	101,000	D	No	——	——
Duluth, Minn.	101,000	D	No	——	——

[a] D—regular city department; B—separate board or commission; C—special corporation owned by the city.

livered to communities which have their own distribution systems, but also to other kinds of local distributing units including private companies. To considerable extent the central city itself also distributes in the surrounding territory and fixes the rates for service, usually about 50 per cent above inside rates. Where there is separate local distribution, the city commonly charges the same wholesale rate as for correspondingly large inside sales to industrial customers, or somewhat higher, and then the distributing unit fixes the rates to the customers. In four instances outside rates fixed by the city are subject to approval by the state utility commission. For only three systems are the outside rates reported to be the same as in the city.

Exact provisions for supply and rates are varied. Individual summaries for some cities, however, selected for size, geography and local conditions, will furnish a cross-section of relations existing between the chief cities and their surrounding territories.

Outside Service Arrangements

Detroit has agreements with a number of suburban communities to furnish city water. In some instances it sells to the government of the community served, which then distributes to local users and fixes rates; in others, it serves the customers directly. Most of the water is furnished wholesale, at higher than city rates, "based on the theory that Detroit has accumulated a large investment in the water supply system which should be compensated for."

Cleveland supplies water to suburban communities by separate contracts. Outside rates are higher than those in the city because "of capital investment costs financed as general city obligations." Rates are subject to approval by the state utility commission.

Buffalo supplies water in only a few cases outside the city limits. Recently, to facilitate war production, interconnections have been made between the city distribution system and that of Western New York Water Company, a private utility which serves surrounding areas. Rates to outside customers vary. Some pay approximately the same as city rates on the theory that the service connections are made within the city limits, but others are charged approximately twice city rates.

Cincinnati has contracts with suburbs in the same county, providing for local water service at 50 per cent higher rates than in the city, but the mains outside must be provided by the applicants.

Newark delivers water in bulk, under contract, to several suburban communities which operate their own distribution systems and fix local rates. In one small area it sells directly to outside customers. It has developed in effect a regional water supply system, with collection reservoirs and transmission mains far beyond the city limits.

Kansas City, Missouri, sells water generally at city limits to water companies, districts and associations for use outside by about 25,000 customers in a territory of 242 square miles. Outside rates are about one-third higher than those in the city.

The suburban communities of Houston have their own water systems, but rates for users of city water just outside the city limits are double city rates.

Rochester makes no regular provision for serving suburban communities, but about 25 outside customers are served at rates higher than those in the city. Some residential portions of the city and some city industries, and most of the suburban communities, are served by the Rochester and Lake Ontario Water Company. Rates for both the city department and the private company must be approved by the state Public Service Commission.

In Portland water is sold wholesale to outside towns, water districts and water companies, and is distributed by those units to their customers. Wholesale rates to outside purchasers are approximately 50 per cent higher than city rates for like quantities.

Atlanta supplies water outside the city limits according to ordinances and regulations passed by the city council. Rates are generally double the inside rate for domestic customers and 50 per cent higher for wholesale users; but where water is supplied to a neighboring municipality there is a bulk rate, with retail rates fixed by the local governments. The system has developed sufficient capacity for the entire territory, and furnishes one of the city's chief sources of revenue.

Birmingham supplies industrial plants in its area at the same rates as within the city. The San Antonio system covers the metropolitan area. Rates are fixed according to zones: the first consists of city territory; the second includes all service outside the city at higher rates.

Dallas suburban areas are supplied by the city system, usually at rates fixed by contract; individual users pay double inside city rates. San Diego makes no outside provision for service except that it supplies some federal agencies and certain individuals served by the predecessor company, at higher than city rates.

Miami provides practically all water production for its metropolitan territory. Miami Beach has its own distribution, and in turn wholesales a portion of the supply purchased from Miami to Surfside and other municipalities. In Coral Gables distribution is furnished by a private company. In some communities, including Miami Shores, Miami distributes water locally just as within its own borders. For such direct outside service the rates are the same as in the city; otherwise the rates are fixed by the distributing units.

Albany, with one minor exception for which city rates apply, furnishes no water outside the city limits. Kansas City, Kansas, sells at the city gate to township distribution systems, which blanket the suburban areas and fix local rates.

Reading wholesales to municipalities and companies in adjacent territory; it also retails along its own supply lines outside the city, and it owns and operates the "Angelica" system as a separate water company. Outside rates are 10 per cent higher than those in the city.

Form of Organization

Twenty-eight city-owned water systems are operated through regular city departments, usually under the immediate direction of a superintendent or manager. Ten are under the control of a special board or commission which appoints the plant manager. One reports the corporate form of organization, again the special board appointing the superintendent or manager.

Chicago, the largest city answering the questionnaire, furnishes water service through a regularly constituted department of the city government.

Milwaukee has a bureau within the public works department with a superintendent in charge. Departments within the bureau are collection, construction, purification plant, meters, pipe yards, distribution, power plant and pumping stations.

Minneapolis water supply is a subdivision of the city engineer's department. Seattle has a separate city department. Oklahoma City has a department in charge of a superintendent who is responsible to the city manager.

In Worcester the bureau of water is in charge of a superintendent who is responsible to the public works commissioner. In Richmond the city system is managed by the director, appointed by the mayor.

Tacoma has a commissioner of public utilities who appoints the superintendent of the water division. The Tampa system is in charge of a superintendent appointed by the mayor. Operation of the Sacramento department is directed by a superintendent responsible to the city engineer, and so to the city manager. In Duluth the water supply, along with gas and sewage disposal, is under the commissioner of public utilities, who appoints the manager of the three departments.

In contrast to the prevalent departmental system, there is the separate board or commission form of organization. This consists normally of a small control body of three to five members, appointed by the mayor or the city council, or elected. The terms of appointment or election are often staggered, and the make-up is intended to be wholly functional and non-political. The board has full responsibility and authority over properties and operation, subject to underlying legal provisions. It in turn appoints a manager or superintendent who has responsibility for efficient planning and operation, subject to the policies fixed by the board.

In Los Angeles the board of water and power commissioners consists of five citizen commissioners appointed by the mayor, each serving for a term of five years without compensation except a nominal fee for attending meetings. The board appoints the general managing head of the entire department, also individual managers, one in charge of water and the other in charge of power operations.

In Denver the mayor appoints the board of water commissioners, each for a term of six years expiring at different times, which has full charge of the water system. Providence has a board which consists of the city treasurer and four other members appointed by the mayor, subject to the approval of the city council. In Long Beach the system is controlled by five commissioners appointed by the city manager, subject to approval by the city council.

In Des Moines five members are appointed by the mayor and council, each for six years; this board in turn appoints the general manager of the water system. In Knoxville the power and water board has complete jurisdiction over all operations and funds of the electric and water systems; it is a nonpartisan and independent agency of five members, each serving a term of ten years; vacancies are filled on nomination by the city manager, subject to approval by the remaining members of the board, and then subject to confirmation by the city council. In Wilmington, Delaware, there is a three-member board of water commissioners appointed by the mayor.

Only one city, Kansas City, Kansas, has a corporate form of organization. Here the water system is in charge of the board of public utilities of five members, elected quadrenially at regular city elections, each paid $100 a year. The board controls not only the city water system but also the municipal electric and airport facilities. Except for the corporate formality, this form of organization is essentially the same in its policy and administrative provisions as the special board or commission system.

Sewage Disposal

The questionnaire, unfortunately, did not call separately for information on sewage disposal. It had rather assumed that the organization for water would in general be applicable also to sewage systems. While this is the usual situation, in some cities there are distinct provisions for sewage handling, and in ten instances sewerage information was furnished although not directly called for.

These ten reports show that the city organization for sewage disposal is usually identical with that of the water system, especially within the city itself. Outside service likewise is furnished, generally on the basis of agreements with other municipal units. In one instance there is district organization; in another there are district trunk sewers to which the individual municipal systems are connected; and a third in which city and district provisions are coordinated.

There are, however, instances where the provisions and organization for sewage are necessarily different from those for water. Where the old methods of discharge into rivers or adjacent waters are still in use, the sewage layout must be determined in relation to the stream flow or location of the lake or other body of water. Where modern disposal plants have been constructed special facilities are required, and construction and operation differ altogether from the water system.

In the case of Chicago the water system is owned and operated directly as a city department, but the Chicago sanitary district has been established to furnish sewer service to the city and surrounding area.

In the case of Milwaukee there is a hybrid organization as between the city and the surrounding territory. The Milwaukee city sewage commission, five members appointed by the mayor, builds and operates the disposal works and intercepting system within the city. Then the county metropolitan sewer commission, three members appointed by the governor, builds the main sewers, pumping station, etc., outside the city, but on their completion turns them over to the city sewer commission for operation and maintenance.

In Buffalo, when the sewage treatment plant was built, about 1937, the sewers were transferred from the department of public works to the Buffalo sewer authority, a special corporation which owns, operates and maintains both the sewer system and the sewage treatment plant. Except for minor areas the system is virtually limited to the city itself. Most of the surrounding villages and towns have special sewer districts, whose systems are designed to flow away from the city to a sewage treatment location whose effluence empties into nearby streams.

Newark represents another type of situation. The city owns its own sewer system, but the Passaic Valley Sewer Commission owns and operates a trunk sewer which serves the municipalities in the metropolitan area.

Municipal Electric Systems

Of the 43 cities for which comparative utility information was obtained, eight cities operate their own electric systems. The others are served exclusively by private electric companies. The eight are Detroit, Los Angeles, Cleveland, Seattle, San Antonio, Kansas City (Kansas), Knoxville and Tacoma. In Sacramento municipalization approved by the voters is in litigation.

Of the eight municipal systems, the one in Detroit serves only the city government, furnishing energy particularly for street lighting; otherwise both city and outside electric consumers are served by the Detroit Edison Company.

The Cleveland plant supplies a limited part of the city, together with the municipal government, but the bulk of electricity in the city and locality is supplied by the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company.

The Seattle plant operates both in city and district territory, but it is in competition with Puget Sound Light and Power Company. Complete or substantially complete municipal service exists in Los Angeles, San Antonio, Knoxville, Tacoma and Kansas City, Kansas.

In four of the eight cities a regular municipal department is charged with electric plant operation. Three have special boards or commissions under which a manager has responsibility for regular operation, and one has the corporate form.

San Antonio acquired its electric and gas properties only last year from a private company; it has a board of five trustees, the mayor serving *ex officio,* which has control of both the electric and gas systems. In Kansas City, Kansas, a single elected board has control of the electric as well as the water system.

Six of the eight systems furnish service to outside communities on the basis of agreements. In all but one of these service is furnished directly to consumers. Tacoma sells only wholesale to adjacent municipalities which have their own distribution systems.

As to outside rates, Cleveland fixes them by agreement, Seattle, Kansas City and Knoxville charge the same as within the city, and San Antonio has zone rates. In all instances the cities themselves fix rates, but in the case of Cleveland rates are subject to review by the state utility commission.

Municipal Gas Plants

Of the 43 cities only four report the ownership and operation of municipally-owned and operated gas properties: Houston, San Antonio, Richmond and Long Beach. Richmond produces and distributes manufactured gas. The others have natural gas and are thus limited to distribution, obtaining the gas supply from private transmission companies at contract wholesale rates.

Only San Antonio and Long Beach report the furnishing of gas to outside communities. Otherwise the service is intracity or virtually so. This situation results from the character of the utility in that the service is almost inherently limited to the central city, with no great possibility or need for extension to other areas.

Transportation Systems

Of the 43 cities, only three have municipally-owned and operated transportation systems — Detroit, Cleveland and Seattle. In addition, under war conditions Tacoma is operating one bus line in the city. For the most part mass transportation is provided by private companies, both within the city and in the metropolitan territory.

In the three cities with municipal transportation, the service is exclusively municipal without private company competition. Detroit has a regular city department. Cleveland and Seattle have special commissions or boards to which the operating managers are responsible. All three systems furnish transportation to outside communities on the basis of agreements, and as taken over from the previously existing private companies.

In all cities which own and operate public utilities, the systems must not only assure adequate and economical service within the city but also assume responsibility for adjacent territory. Most important, their postwar plans must include consideration of needs, organization and management for the metropolitan area.

OCCUPANCY TAX

(Continued from page 341)

the case with our *ad valorem* tax.

Our method of taxing the capital value of property and making the tax a lien against the property itself is often translated into a capital levy. There are times when the property owner can pass the tax on to the tenant. There are other times when he cannot, and then a process of confiscation begins. Our own procedure for establishing capital value of real property for tax purposes is neither candid nor realistic. Tax valuations are based on tax needs rather than appraisals. At present in several of our great cities tax valuations exceed current market value by at least one-third.

Annual rental value, on the other hand, can easily and accurately be determined. In the case of properties rented, the facts are self-evident. In the case of owner-occupied properties, the bases of comparison are so broad as to make an accurate valuation possible without difficulty.

Yes, indeed, the British tax system would be preferable to that which we have. It would serve to drive home to the American people, as nothing else can, that there is the equivalent of a 20 per cent sales tax on shelter and until we can reduce this tax we will have to get along with poor housing for the masses. If we had a 20 per cent sales tax on food, undoubtedly the result would be undernourishment for great masses of people. The same holds true with other necessities. Let us therefore adopt the British system and bring the facts out into the open.

Researcher's Digest: July

Public housing in Pittsburgh; New Haven considers postwar public works financing; Massachusetts explodes a fallacy; municipal salary figures for Washington, Oregon.

By **MIRIAM ROHER**

NOT only whether the houses were any good, but also whether the plan of administrative organization had merit, are the questions which concerned M. Nelson McGeary in his study of *The Pittsburgh Housing Authority,* made for the **Council on Research, Pennsylvania State College.**

Professor McGeary traces the history of five years of the Authority, during which time it built three low-rent housing projects comprising a total of over 3,000 homes, to say nothing of four war-housing projects which are not under consideration here.

The author comes out with a strong "Aye" for the authority form of organization. He finds that singleness of purpose is an aid to good administration, while excessive independence and the much feared freedom from democratic control did not materialize, chiefly because the Authority needed a lot of practical assistance from the Mayor and the City Council in doing its job.

He raises the question of whether membership on a Housing Authority does not take more time than an unpaid member should reasonably be expected to give, but he is unmistakable in his praise for the sincere hard work of these particular members.

Professor McGeary's sharpest comments have to do with the United States Housing Authority, which he accuses of exercising far more control over the city authority than the law and ordinary caution demanded. By its power of the purse, the USHA tended to be dictatorial, the author says. And at the last he wonders whether true decentralization is ever possible when a federal agency exercises supervision over a local unit to whom it loans or grants substantial sums of money.

After the War Is Over

The need for postwar public works is, in many quarters, a foregone conclusion. But how are we going to pay for them? **New Haven Taxpayers** has made a detailed analysis of *The Bonded Debt of the City of New Haven* in order to determine what will be the financial condition of the city after the war, and also in order to find out how admirable a municipal financial weapon is borrowing.

The Bureau comes to the conclusion that pay-as-you-go is the rule by which the city should live from now on. The city, however, will unfortunately be faced almost all at once with the job of paying back 88 per cent of all present outstanding bonds. Hence, the bureau recommends refunding to carry the city over the hump when it is changing over to pay-as-you-go for financing new improvements.

The matter of postwar public works also concerns the **League of California Cities** which has published, over the signature of Executive Secretary Richard Graves, an eloquent complete issue of its *News Letter* devoted to the reasons why cities should plan in detail now for public works after the war. A bill currently before the special session of the California state legislature would allocate to cities, on a population basis, grant-in-aid funds for engineering plans and surveys for postwar public works projects.

Insignificant

Almost in the man-bites-dog category is the finding of the **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations** that *Federal Tax Exempt Property in Massachusetts* is "an insignificant feature in municipal finance in this state." The Federation's sortie into real facts and figures showed that "although the reported value of exempt federal property has increased about $124,000,000 in five years the taxable value actually removed from the tax rolls during that period is only approximately $5,500,000. During this same period taxable values shrank in total approximately $374,000,000 which dwarfs the loss due to the tax exemption of properties acquired by the federal government." In short, the loss of revenue due to federal encroachments amounted annually to about one-tenth of one per cent of the total real property tax revenue.

This and That

Both Washington and Oregon have the benefit of new figures on municipal salaries as the result of the publiciation of *Salary Trends in Washington Cities* by the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of Washington,** and *Salary Rates of Officials in 121 Oregon Cities,* by the **Bureau of Municipal Research and Service of the University of Oregon** in cooperation with the **League of Oregon Cities.**

Washington also has published an informational bulletin on *Sick Leave Regulations,* including statements from the Civil Service Assembly, model regulations, the ordinances of Seattle, Tacoma and Aberdeen, and some factual data from Public Administration Clearing House. This comes from the **Association of Washington Cities** in cooperation with the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of Washington.**

Successor to C. A. Crosser, who has taken a position in Seattle,[1] is Glenn N. Hoffman, who now becomes secretary of the **Bureau of Municipal Research of Des Moines.** Mr. Hoffman was formerly with the Des Moines City Department of Streets.

An exposition of the whys and wherefores of purchasing the privately-owned Market Street Railway by the city is a feature of the special election issue of *The City,* published by the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research.** (N.B. Having rejected several previous purchase plans, San Francisco voters agreed at last to this one, thus ending the spectacle of two competing street car systems running side by side on the chief thoroughfare of one of the nation's chief cities.)[2]

Planning commissions may benefit from Hugo Leipziger's handsome study of *The Architectonic City in the Americas,* published by the University of Texas.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Debt

The Bonded Debt of the City of New Haven, 1920-1944. New Haven Taxpayers Inc., May 1944. 27 pp.

Housing

The Pittsburgh Housing Authority. By M. Nelson McGeary. State College, Pennsylvania State College, October 1943. 86 pp.

Personnel

Salary Rates of Officials in 121 Ore-

(Continued on page 354)

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1944, p. 311.

[2] See also "San Francisco Voters Approve Purchase of Street Railway," this issue, p. 370.

On the Local Front

Prepared by the Federal Security Agency
Paul V. McNutt, Administrator

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

Cadet Nurse Corps Aids in the Nursing Crisis

CITIES can anticipate relief from the nursing shortage in hospitals and other nursing fields as the U. S. Cadet Nurse Corps program moves into its second year. Lack of nursing personnel had hitherto hampered satisfactory hospital operation and curtailed other health and medical services in towns and cities throughout the country.

Designed to recruit and educate new student nurses the Corps, administered by the U. S. Public Health Service of the Federal Security Agency, is now in operation in nearly 1,100 of the nation's 1,300 schools of nursing. This stepping up of nurse education has already brought about definite relief, and further development of the program will make more and more service available as student nurses acquire sufficient education and experience to make them valuable additions to hospital nursing staffs.

The U. S. Cadet Nurse Corps fulfills two functions. It offers the means of recruiting new students who serve as they learn and it provides the technique for distributing nursing service. As a result of the Corps' operation, hospitals without schools of nursing are given more nursing service through affiliations and through the use of senior cadet nurses. Consequently, hospitals with schools of nursing are able to take more students.

The appeal of the all-expense scholarships offered under the Corps has had a tremendous effect in encouraging young women to enter schools of nursing. Recent samplings among newly enrolled cadet nurses show that a large percentage have joined because they can now afford an education in nursing.[1]

The student nurse may elect to spend her senior cadet period in one of the five federal nursing services—Army, Navy, U. S. Public Health Service (Marine Hospitals), Office of Indian Affairs or Veterans' Administration—or she may be assigned to her home hospital or another civilian institution. The general policy adopted by the U. S. Civil Service Commission, which clears the applications of senior cadets for the federal services, will be not to accept for utilization more than 50 per cent of the senior cadets from any one institution. It has been estimated that the federal services will need about 20 per cent of all available senior cadets. Present indications are that 12,000 student nurses will become senior cadets by July 1.

Recent reports received by the Division of Nurse Education, U. S. Public Health Service, which administers the Corps, indicate that many community health departments and health agencies are using senior cadets to the fullest possible extent under planned supervision.

The Georgia Department of Public Health has arranged a program whereby senior cadets may receive supervised practice in public health nursing on the staffs of local health departments. The agencies have been approved for the assignment of senior cadets by the Georgia State Board of Nurse Examiners.

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[1] See also "The U. S. Cadet Nurses Corps," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, September 1943, p. 444.

The Toledo State Hospital, Toledo, Ohio, has made arrangements for the supervised training of senior cadets to serve in the admitting service, and the medical and surgical floors of this psychiatric hospital, as well as in insulin and electric shock therapy.

Several student nurses from the School of Nursing of Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore, Maryland, will spend their senior cadet period with the Frontier Nursing Service in Hyden, Kentucky, for special experience and supervised training in rural district nursing.

Need for Nurses

Municipal authorities are painfully familiar with statistics showing the need for nurses. Of great importance now is their part in the recruitment picture. A quota of 125,000 new student nurses has been set for the two-year period, 1943-45. This does not represent the actual need for new student nurses, but rather the minimum number required to maintain health services. The actual need is much higher.

Municipal governments can help in the task of recruiting new student nurses in two ways. They can make information about the Corps available to the young women of their community and they can put in full use all existing facilities for educating nurses. When there are enough qualified applicants to fill the vacancies in their schools, they can refer additional prospective students to their state or local Nursing Council for War Service. The Council, in turn, will put the applicants in touch with other good schools. This will ensure against hoarding by a community where present entering classes are filled.

Some hospitals are barred from participation in the program by lack off sufficient housing. This might be a task for local Offices of Civilian Defense and other cooperative organizations. They can help locate living quarters for students—rooms, for instance, in private residences not too far from the schools.

In many other nursing schools such facilities as classrooms and libraries must be expanded before the required number of student nurses can be enrolled in the Corps. Those schools which cannot finance the entire cost of such additions are eligible to apply for assistance under the Lanham Act. Channels have been cleared to enable prompt consideration of applications.

Schools of nursing applying for financial aid under the Lanham Act make their preliminary request to the Regional Office of the Federal Works Agency having jurisdiction in the state. New construction is permitted only upon evidence that existing buildings which might be suitably altered or rehabilitated are not available for lease or purchase.

The Lanham Act consists of a sequence of legislation enacted from 1940 up through 1943. The legislation covers both war housing and war public works and services.

The community facilities program provides water, sewer and garbage disposal facilities, hospitals, health centers, schools, recreation centers and other facilities to war-affected communities which could not provide such facilities themselves without undue tax burden.

Lanham Program

A number of laws have been enacted which are part of or relate to the Lanham community facilities program. Those which give the substance of this program are Public Law 137, 77th Congress, first session. Public Law 409, 77th Congress, second session; and Public Law 150, 78th Congress, first session. Public Law 137 set the framework of the community facilities program and authorized an initial appropriation of $150,000,000. Public Law 409 authorized an additional $200,000,000 and made other substantive changes, which are of less importance in so far as hospitals are concerned.

An additional $117,500,000 were made available for the community facilities program this spring.

The Federal Works Agency has placed a ceiling on projects of schools of nursing, predicated on the average cost of the first plans submitted. Based on that experience, the cost of new facilities in specific undertakings has been limited to $2,400 per student bed. While this limitation has resulted in a few delays, it has usually been possible to reconsider and to obtain the required facilities under a revised plan.

To date applications have been received from almost 400 schools covering accommodations for about 21,000 students. Of these, slightly over 300 proposals have been surveyed in the field, resulting in recommendations for about 13,000 student beds and necessary training facilities.

The fact that no funds were available under the Lanham Act between December 15, 1943, and April 1, 1944, delayed this program to some extent. In spite of that, a total of 137 FWA projects covering 6,884 beds and the necessary adjunct space had been completely processed and had received presidential approval up to May 17.

Institutions which do not require assistance from the Federal Works Agency under the Lanham Act should make application for priorities assistance directly to the War Production Board, Washington, D. C.

The question arises, what may become of all these newly educated nurses after the war?

Local authorities are already aware that more and more people are becoming accustomed to entering a hospital when they are ill. This is due in large part to the nation-wide growth of Blue Cross hospitalization plans. There is no reason to assume that this expanding custom will suddenly halt after the war. Hospitals, already understaffed, will require ever-increasing numbers of nurses to meet their developing needs.

As Dr. Parran declared a short time ago, "Medicine and public health are the instruments through which much will be done in postwar years to establish standards of living surpassing all previous human experience."

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST

(Continued from page 351)

gon Cities. Eugene, Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Oregon and League of Oregon Cities, May 1944. 21 pp.

Salary Trends in Washington Cities. Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Washington, December 1943. 94 pp.

Sick Leave Regulations. Seattle, Association of Washington Cities and Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Washington, April 1944. 13 pp.

Public Works

State Aid for Public Works Sought at Special Session. San Francisco, *News Letter,* League of California Cities, June 1944. 4 pp.

Taxation

Federal Tax-exempt Property in Massachusetts. Boston, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, April 1944. 8 pp.

Contributors in Review

FOR an account of the career of **John Bauer** (*City Utilities Serve Neighbors*) see the REVIEW for June, page 301.

TWO tax economists, with nine others, contribute to a discussion of property tax problems—**Clarence Heer** and **Herbert D. Simpson** (*Should U. S. Use Occupancy Tax?*). Dr. Heer is research professor of public finance at the University of North Carolina. He has been consultant for legislative committees and tax departments in New York, New Jersey, Virginia and North Carolina. In 1932 he was in charge of the investigation of taxation trends for President Hoover's Research Committee on Social Trends, and in 1933 served as research director of the Interstate Commission on Conflicting Taxation. Dr. Simpson is professor emeritus of Northwestern University, now consultant to the New York State Division of the Budget. He was a member of the Commission on Real Estate Valuation of the Cook County, Illinois, Board of Commissioners to bring about the reassessment of real property in that county, a leader in the Citizens Committee movement in 1930 to improve Chicago assessment methods, and is a member of the special commission appointed by Governor Dewey for study of New York State's tax system.

Letter to the Editor

To the Editor of the
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

Hazel Park, Michigan, in its biennial election held recently, demonstrates what happens when a good plan of government is not supported by organized citizens and when both citizens and able officials ignore the personal and political factors that often are decisive in human relations.

This community of 20,000 persons, chiefly factory workers, suburban to Detroit, three years ago successfully campaigned for a city manager plan of government. Following the first election an excellent nonpartisan commission, broadly representative, was chosen. A capable city manager was engaged and the administrative staff included a well trained commissioner of police, college graduate, etc.

But during the first biennium the responsible commissioners and administrators gave exclusive attention to their jobs, ignoring completely and fatally a long list of personal contacts and relationships in the community which did not interest them. This applied even to the city manager, whose chilly attitude in public meetings was often a subject of comment. Apparently he feared to create enthusiasm for the theoretical manager plan, while he emphasized the scientific and factual handling of his own job.

In the recent election the good government majority was defeated by a combination of minority pressure groups, almost exclusively political and dominated by selfish motives. As a result the opposition to good government made a clean sweep. The city manager, the commissioner of police, and others were promptly discharged. Key positions are filled by political friends of those who won the election. All of which proves again that even the best plan of government should be so administered as not to ignore the human factors, especially when disinterested citizens are willing to organize themselves for reasonable application of the common principles of political action.

WILLIAM P. LOVETT

Detroit Citizens League

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Continuous Commission Control of Civil Service Advocated

Warn on Veterans' Preference Dangers at Eastern Conference

AT THE Eastern Regional Conference of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, held in New York City June 1 and 2, participants in panel discussions called for greater control by civil service commissions over personnel and training policies after appointment. It was asserted by some that commission authority practically ceased after an appointment was made.

In welcoming the conference Mayor LaGuardia suggested various civil service improvements, including a better testing system, changes in the methods of classification and grading, opening promotion examinations to larger fields and in some categories establishing a master eligible list available to cities throughout the nation, and automatic dropping of employees in certain low-skilled classifications if they fail to qualify for promotion in a reasonable time. He reiterated his position that governmental employees do not have the right to strike.

Veterans' Preference

Among the chief topics of discussion was the policy to be followed in reinstating veterans in civil service positions and granting preferences to those who seek governmental employment after discharge from the armed forces. Fletcher Waller, assistant director of civilian personnel and training for the War Department, stated that recent surveys by the department indicated that 40 per cent or more of veterans being discharged from the army did not want to return to their home towns and former jobs.

Fear was evidenced that veterans may obtain a virtual monopoly of civil service jobs for a long time after the war through operation of various veterans' preference laws. William McDonough, of the New York State Civil Service Employees Association, a veteran of the first world war and a charter member of the American Legion, expressed the view that there should be no statutory preference for veterans, otherwise "we will do away with the merit system."

H. Eliot Kaplan, executive director of the National Civil Service Reform League, suggested a limited preference policy in which a distinction would be made between veterans with a rated service disability of 20 per cent or more and those with lesser disabilities; preference to be granted only in the five years after discharge, and to apply to appointment but not to promotion.

Charles H. Bland, chairman of the Civil Service Commission of Canada, disclosed that the Canadian government has already begun recruitment of present soldiers for postwar governmental employment. He stated that in Canada veterans have absolute preference in appointments to civil service jobs if they can pass the minimum entrance examination and have served in combat; otherwise they have no preference.

The Civil Service Reform Association (New York State) held its annual meeting in connection with the conference, and recommended a broad reorganization of the New York State and City systems of civil service, the chief proposal being the separation of policy-determining functions from the administrative work of recruiting, testing and certifying candidates.

House Denies Senate Power over $4,500 Jobs

On June 1 the House of Representatives turned down Senator McKellar's proposal to require Senate confirmation of all federal government employees drawing $4,500 or more per annum. The *New York Times* of June 3 comments editorially on this and another proposal, also defeated, to require the Tennessee Valley Authority to come to Congress for its money: "This rider would have reintroduced the spoils system, giving each senator a new portfolio of attractive jobs. Its effect upon the quality of the higher branches of the federal service can easily be imagined. The mystery is that our upper chamber, the supposed seat of thoughtful deliberation, somewhat removed from the biennial perils to which the House is exposed, should ever have allowed those riders to get through. They do not seem likely to get much further. The House can congratulate itself on its astuteness."

Merit System Introduced in Four Mississippi Cities

Civil service legislation of the state of Mississippi this year brings the merit system into municipal government in that state for the first time, according to the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada. The new law affects full-time police and fire employees of the four cities having more than 14,000 population under the commission form of government—Jackson, Meridian, Vicksburg and Hattiesburg.

A board of civil service commissioners is created in each of these cities. It will consist of three members appointed by the city commission for overlapping terms of six years who serve without compensation. The board must appoint a secretary and three-member board of examiners, two of whom must be the fire chief and the chief of police.

All appointments and promotions must be made on the basis of merit, efficiency and fitness as determined by open competitive examination under the law. Members of the fire and police departments who have served more than six months at the time the law takes effect are declared eligible for permanent appointment without examination. Employees of the departments who are now serving with the armed forces will be granted reemployment preference and allowed the rights and privileges of the act as if their city service had not been terminated.

Council-Manager Plan News

The International City Managers' Association reports that the adoption of the manager plan by fourteen municipalities in the first five months of 1944 brings to 572 the number of cities and towns in the United States having the plan. There are also seven American counties with managers, and 25 cities outside the United States—one in Puerto Rico, nineteen in Canada, and five in Ireland—thus bringing the total to 604 for all cities, towns and counties.

Michigan leads the states with 55 manager municipalities, Maine has 54, Virginia 46, Texas 45, Florida 40, California 37, Pennsylvania 33 and Oklahoma 28. Of the adoptions in 1944, eleven were Maine towns.

A recent addition (included above) is **College Station, Texas**, which formerly had a "business manager" by authority of a city ordinance, and which in April adopted the provisions of a 1943 state law which authorizes the calling of elections for the purpose of adopting the manager plan in cities of less than 5,000 population.

The Board of Commissioners of **Orange, Texas**, have passed an ordinance calling for an election on July

18 to amend the city's charter to put into effect a city manager form of government.

Two manager cities and one manager county won first place in three of the six population groups in the 1943 National Traffic Safety Contest conducted by the National Safety Council. They are Cincinnati, Wichita, and Arlington County, Virginia. Watertown, New York, won second place in its population group (25,000-50,000) and ten other manager cities won honorable mention.

In the 1943 National Pedestrian Protection Contest sponsored by the American Automobile Association, four manager cities tied for first place, Arlington County, Virginia, won a first, and five manager cities had special mention.

Much discussion of the manager plan has developed in **Canton, Illinois,** which is now under a mayor and council. The *Daily Ledger* is giving favorable publicity to the movement.

A council-manager charter has been prepared in **Marshfield, Oregon,** for submission to the voters next November. It provides for a council of six members and a mayor, to be elected for two-year terms, the council by the Hare system of proportional representation and the mayor by the same system of preferential voting. The council appoints a manager and a municipal judge, to hold office at the discretion of the council. The name of the city will either remain Marshfield or be changed to Coos Bay, as the voters may determine. The *Coos Bay Times* of Marshfield and North Bend is supporting the proposed charter.

The manager plan, as noted in last month's REVIEW, was adopted in **Eugene, Oregon,** on May 19. It will go into effect January 1, 1945. The vote, according to the final tabulation, was 2,781 to 2,532.

A manager charter for **Milwaukie, Oregon,** is in preparation for submission at the November election.

At the November election the people of **Oregon** will again vote on a proposed constitutional amendment authorizing legislation to provide for county manager government.

Forum discussions of the council-manager plan have been held in **Juneau, Alaska,** and it has been decided to publicize the plan and to hold a special election if enough interest is shown.

Guilford County, North Carolina, (containing the city of Greensboro) has been added to the International City Managers' Association's official list of council-manager cities and counties. Its manager provisions went into effect in December 1942.

Hastings, Minnesota, has rescinded the manager ordinance under which it has been operating since 1941.

At an election on June 20 **Ottumwa, Iowa,** voters defeated a manager proposal.

Other localities evidencing current interest in council-manager government include **Columbus, Ohio, Meridian, Mississippi, Moberly, Missouri, Independence, Kansas, Burlington, North Carolina,** and **Grandview, Washington.**

Ordinances in 72 Cities Combat Black Markets

Seventy-two cities in eleven states have adopted ordinances in support of rationing and price control and against the so-called black market, according to information furnished by the Office of Price Administration to the International City Managers' Association, which reports that such ordinances have been sustained by courts in Ohio and Michigan.

Though provisions of these ordinances vary considerably, in general they provide penalties (1) for transfer of a rationed commodity without transfer of the required number of ration tokens or coupons, (2) for sale of a commodity at a price in excess of the fixed ceiling price, and (3) for renting housing accommodations at rates in excess of ceilings. Many ordinances provide penalties for illegal acquisition or disposal of ration coupons.

Penalties vary widely, with fines ranging from $10 to $500 and jail sentences ranging from ten days to six months. Half the ordinances punish violators by suspension or revocation of municipal licenses.

It is stated that ordinances have been proposed and are awaiting final action in more than 150 other cities, and have been rejected in 23 cities.

Governors' Conference Urges Greater State Controls

The 36th annual Governors' Conference, held at Hershey, Pennsylvania, and at Harrisburg, May 28-31, resulted in re-affirmations of states' rights principles, and resolutions particularly calling for permanent state control over unemployment compensation and other services relating to employment.

Governors Dewey of New York and Bricker of Ohio emphasized their fears of centralization of government.

A closed conference with Bernard M. Baruch, advisor to President Roosevelt on industrial reconversion, occurred on the morning of May 30. Governor Kelly of Michigan, chairman, urged that Congress deal expeditiously with the problem of reconversion and adopt a legislative program, so that the states can make plans for industrial changes.

Recommend State Action on Unemployment Compensation

In order to prepare for the expected postwar strain on state unemployment compensation funds, a recent report of the Council of State Governments recommends that every state take action along the following lines.

1. Make careful estimates of its probable postwar unemployment benefit payments in relation to available funds;
2. Take steps, where necessary, to build more adequate reserves through legislation requiring higher wartime contribution rates, primarily from the expanded number of war workers;
3. Review the coverage and benefit provisions of state laws to determine their adequacy;
4. Re-examine statutory provisions and administrative procedures, with a view to assuring speed and efficiency in paying benefits under peak-load conditions;
5. Participate fully in plans to solve interstate problems in this field through interstate cooperation and provide further legislation if needed;
6. Consider the proper relation between state laws and any national program for veterans' demobilization allowances, and provide proper legislation that may be necessary.

Nebraska Development Group to Coordinate Postwar Plans

According to Governor Griswold of Nebraska a group set up by him as the Nebraska Development Committee has the following three main objectives:

1. To coordinate the efforts of various organizations that are interested or have taken some action in postwar planning;
2. To serve as a clearing house for information;
3. To stimulate citizens and communities of the state to think about their future problems.

Permanent Disaster Council Proposed for California

The California director of civilian defense, Richard Graves, has recommended to the State War Council, on behalf of the latter's staff, that the state establish an emergency or disaster council of permanent character, to be composed principally of state department heads, such a council to take over the current civilian defense program and cooperate with the cities and counties through the regular channels of government in performing that type of work.

Postwar State Control of Crime and Delinquency

The Council of State Governments, in a report on postwar problems of delinquency and crime with special reference to demobilization, presents a long-range state program to modernize legal procedures of crime and delinquency control in the United States.

Among recommendations are the raising of personnel standards of police, probation and parole officers, by requiring better training and by paying better salaries; individual treatment of prisoners and replacement of jails and prisons now unfit to carry out rehabilitation programs; and an integrated plan of correction on a statewide basis with a single state agency to direct all steps in handling a convicted lawbreaker, beginning with sentencing, through custodial treatment, parole and reestablishment in the community.

Carrying out this coordinated program would require a statewide agency of competent men and women to which the courts would commit all offenders requiring any type of institutional training or segregation from society, including those now committed to local jails. This agency would be called a department of justice, department of corrections, department of public welfare or correction authority.

Under this plan, drafted by the council's interstate committee on delinquency and crime control, the courts would have power to impose fines, grant probations, suspend sentences or commit offenders to the state authority on an indeterminate sentence. Final sentence would be recommended by the state agency after study of the individual prisoner.

The central state agency would take over powers and duties of the state parole board and have "power to release under supervision and to discharge at any time within the parolable term," all parole officers would be appointed under a state civil service or merit system and would be organized on a state basis under the state authority, interstate parole agreements would be set up, and the state agency would develop a field service to enlist citizens to help parolees find homes, jobs and friends.

Estimates of Postwar Housing Show Sharp Conflict

In contrast to the estimated need of over a million new dwelling units per year for fifteen years following the war[1] and the position of the National Association of Housing Officials that this can be met if government, private enterprise and labor cooperate effectively, the National Association of Real Estate Boards predicts barely more than 300,000.

In its 42nd semi-annual survey of the real estate market the Association asked local real estate boards to make a close check of the number of houses likely to be built in their communities after the war. Replies from 376 cities in all parts of the country indicated an average of 4.4 units per 1,000 of urban population was expected to be built annually; this is stated to be equivalent to approximately 303,000 dwelling units for urban areas.

The Association urges urban redevelopment and a rebuilding program embracing all types of building, to stimulate postwar recovery.

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[1] NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1944, p. 302.

Douglas Whitlock, president of the Producers' Council, Inc., states that the market analysis committee of that organization forecasts that 350,000 non-farm dwelling units will be constructed during the first year after the war and that an average of 970,000 will be built annually in the following five years; 372,000 of these non-farm units are expected to be in small communities of rural character. The six-year total of 5,200,000 units would meet only a part of the estimated needs of 1,000,000 families claimed to have had no residence of their own before the war, 4,700,000 units for new families formed since the outbreak of war (and being created at a rate of 500,000 per annum) and over 4,000,000 units to replace substandard dwellings.

Benefits to Veterans Extended by Legislatures This Year

Among state legislatures that in 1944 have provided for benefits to war veterans, following the trend in recent years among the states, are Kentucky, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, and Virginia, according to the Council of State Governments.

In connection with rehabilitation, Michigan has set up an Office of Veterans' Affairs and a Veterans' Advisory Committee, New York established a temporary commission on veterans' problems, and Virginia made an appropriation to assist in rehabilitation.

For financial assistance New Jersey created a $5,000,000 Veterans' Loan Authority and Michigan a $1,000,000 veterans' reserve fund for emergency care; Michigan and Kentucky provided certain tax exemptions; Michigan, New York and Rhode Island liberalized unemployment compensation provisions; and Kentucky, Michigan, New York and Virginia granted various educational privileges.

Citizen Action

Philadelphia Planning Group Makes Report

Meetings, Surveys Create Active Citizen Interest

THE **Citizens' Council on City Planning of Philadelphia,** composed of 64 affiliated organizations, has issued *City Planning in Philadelphia* "for the purpose of summarizing and interpreting the planning problems, machinery and procedures in Philadelphia." According to the Foreword, the document is largely factual but it also reveals certain points of view and approaches to city planning as adopted by the Council. "It is designed primarily for the use of speakers, but it may be accepted also as a report and general statement of policy by the Citizens' Council."

The pamphlet gives a history of city planning in Philadelphia, a description of the City Planning Commission created by ordinance of City Council in December 1942, and of the Citizens' Council, founded in June 1943 "to facilitate citizen participation in city planning and to further the science of city planning in Philadelphia."

The Council—and its informal forerunner, the Action Committee on City Planning—have accomplished much in bringing planning problems to the attention of citizens. Numerous conferences—large and small—have been arranged. In October a luncheon attended by a thousand people was held at which the two principal candidates for mayor answered questions put to them by the Citizens' Council. Statements, letters to the Mayor and the Governor, etc., have been publicized and have helped keep the necessity for sound planning before Philadelphians.

Together with the Philadelphia Housing Association and the Architects Workshop, the Council made and exhibited a demonstration model of several blocks of an old section of the city showing how certain streets might be closed, trolleys re-routed, old buildings demolished, a community center and day nurseries attached to the existing modern school, a new shopping center developed, and new open play spaces introduced—all with maximum retention of existing assets in buildings and utilities and at minimum cost to the city.

Last fall, at the request of the City Planning Commission, the Council undertook to make a limited survey by questionnaire of the needs of neighborhoods throughout the city.

A news letter is issued monthly, a speakers' bureau has been started, and numerous committees have been appointed on such matters as public improvements, neighborhood planning, and regional planning.

An appendix to the pamphlet lists the member organizations with the names and addresses of their delegates to the Citizens' Council.

College Students Make Parking Survey

Eight students of San Jose State College, according to a report in the publication of the **Citizens' Planning Council of Greater San Jose,** are making a survey of parking facilities in the downtown area of the city at the request of the transportation committee of the Planning Council. Results of the survey will be used by the committee in recommendations for solution of San Jose's parking problem.

Dr. Earl W. Atkinson, head of the commerce department of the College, arranged for the students to make the studies outlined by the committee. A veteran of World War II, David Coen, is leader of the student group.

Initial work was a complete inventory of curb and off-street parking facilities, including ownership of parking lots, fees charged, location, capacity and other pertinent information. Vacant lots which could be used for off-street parking were listed, with estimates of capacity.

This was followed by studies determining the distance motorist are willing to walk from parked cars to their destinations, parking fees motorists are willing to pay based on distance from objective, extent to which curb space is used by shoppers and by persons working in the downtown area, and the extent to which parking lots are used by shoppers and by downtown workers.

The study occupied twelve weeks, students receiving regular college credit for their work.

Member Activity Promoted by Series of Meetings

The splendid growth of the membership of the **Chicago City Club** during the past year has brought added responsibilities, says Herman L. Ellsworth, president of the Club, in the *City Club Bulletin.* "It is not enough to have a man join the Club," said Mr. Ellsworth. "Unless he becomes an active worker in the Club's program both he and the Club lose something intangible but very real."

To meet the situation, at least in part, the executive committee has inaugurated a series of meetings at which groups of new members are their guests. Officers and directors explain the purpose and program of the Club; the new members in turn tell something of their own civic interests. The meetings have proved most worth while.

Mr. Ellsworth closes his statement with this appeal: "This is an appeal to the older members who are not on the Board to do their share in enlisting the new members in our work. At the present time approximately every fifth member has joined the Club within the last year. It is our earnest hope that this growth may continue. We must build a worth while program, one which will present both a challenge and an opportunity to each of our members to join in it and do his share, and we count on the support of our older members in enlisting the active interest of the new members in making the program a success."

Here and There

Civic Fund Campaign

The **Minneapolis Civic Council** reports that it has successfully concluded its seventh Annual Civic Fund Campaign which raised $245,000 for the support of the seven major civic and commercial organizations of Minneapolis. This annual campaign is conducted along Community Chest lines. Four hundred volunteer solicitors ring doorbells, ask for new or renewal subscriptions. Each year the fund has grown larger, the cost of raising it smaller. Campaign expenses this year, according to Allen H. Seed, Jr., executive vice president of the Civic Council, were 2 1/2 cents for each dollar raised. Delinquent accounts are running less than 1 per cent. Member organizations include: Associated Industries, Better Business Bureau, Hennepin County Good Roads Association, Hennepin County Safety Council, Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association, Minneapolis Research Bureau, Minneapolis Taxpayers Association.

* * *

Citizens Review Local Problems

A Citizens' Committee of 40 members has been appointed by the **Municipal League of Toledo** to review city, county and school financial problems. The job which the League is undertaking is to develop proposals for:

1. Assuring a sound financial basis for the current operation of the several local governments in the county;
2. Revenue sources for financing postwar public works in the Toledo area;
3. Reviewing proposed public works from the viewpoint of futility, employment, operational and maintenance expenses;
4. Synchronizing public works employment with the reconversion lull, or lulls of private employment.

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Municipal Radio Station Defended

The **Citizens Union of New York** has come to the defense of the city's Municipal Broadcasting System, protesting the attempt of the City Council to discontinue it by removing its appropriation from the budget. The Union lists ten different ways in which the station has proved itself an important asset to the public. "For all these benefits an appropriation of $111,645 in a city budget of $737,000,000 is a small price to pay," says George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary of the Union. "It is one of the taxpayers' best investments."

* * *

Housing in New York

"Housing the Postwar Metropolis" was the subject of the spring conference of the **Citizens' Housing Council of New York**. Mayor LaGuardia, Matthew Woll, vice president of the American Federation of Labor, Edward Weinfeld, former commissioner of the New York State Division of Housing, Stanley M. Isaacs, a member of the New York City Council, President Harry D. Gideonse of Brooklyn College, and Hugh R. Pomeroy, executive director of the National Association of Housing Officials, were among the speakers.

* * *

Membership Goal Passed

The **Citizens' Planning and Housing Council of Rochester, New York,** has passed the 350 quota which the membership committee had set as its goal. Dues collected have reached $1,100. Says the Council's bulletin, "The greater the number of members the stronger the influence of the Council in the community. Every member of the Council is a member of a permanent membership committee, charged with the duty of bringing in new members." Copy of a new leaflet describing the aims and achievements of the Council has been mailed to each member.

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Juvenile Delinquency Probed

The Social Welfare Committee of the **Chicago City Club** has made a new study of the Juvenile Court and the Juvenile Detention Home. The Club's *Bulletin* states that "The hazards of detaining children in an institution where undesirable association cannot be avoided is always serious." The Committee condemns delays in handling juvenile delinquency both in the home and the court.

* * *

Social Security

In its bulletin for June 1, the **Utah Taxpayers Association** discusses the Wagner bill, listing a series of questions and answers.

The **Indiana Taxpayers Association** publishes a discussion of old age assistance and grants to dependent children in a recent release to newspapers.

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Voters Directories

In addition to the organizations listed in these columns last month, **Los Angeles Government Research, Inc.,** the *Oregon Voter,* and the **Property Owners Association of California** have issued directories on candidates running in spring primaries.

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More Annual Meetings

The annual meeting of the Cambridge Committee for Plan E (city manager with election of council by proportional representation) was held May 17.

The **Nevada Taxpayers Association** held its annual meeting in Reno May 9.

Miss Marguerite M. Wells, former president of the National League of Women Voters, addressed the **Minnesota State League** on "Leadership in a Democracy."

* * *

Strictly Personal

Ronald E. Gregg, formerly staff economist for the National Association of Manufacturers, has returned to his former position as executive secretary of the Municipal League of Toledo.

William D. Shannon, civil engineer and past president of the Seattle Municipal League, has filed with the Seattle City Council's department efficiency committee a 17-page report on a paving project on which the Council asked him to make an investigation.

Douglas Sutherland, executive secretary of the Chicago Civic Federation, addressed a meeting of the Committee on Public Finance of the Chicago Union League Club. He discussed a plan to remedy the confusion caused by the increase of the assessment basis from 37 to 100 per cent.[1]

William P. Lovett, secretary of the Detroit Citizens League, addressed the Citizens' League of Port Huron, Michigan, at its meeting in May; his topic, "Are Public Officials Human Beings."

After a brief period without the services of a full-time executive, the Woonsocket Taxpayers' Association is functioning actively again. **Joseph A. Kelly** is the new executive director.

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[1] See also p. 369 this issue.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. Yields One-Party Control in Ireland

Minority Parties Also Receive Appropriate Representation

According to figures published in the Irish-American weekly, the *Irish Echo,* of June 10, the P. R. elections of the Dail Eireann, which were held May 30, resulted in the election of 76 members of Fianna Fail, the party led by Premier Eamon DeValera, 30 members of Fine Gael, the party of former Premier William Cosgrove, now led by General Richard Mulcahy, twelve[1] Farmer representatives, eight members of the Labor Party, four of National Labor, and eight independents.

This gives Mr. DeValera an absolute majority of fourteen members and restores, probably for the next five years, the one-party control which he has enjoyed most of the time since he first took office in 1937. Those who keep contending that P. R. tends to break up the whole electorate into small groups and to make stable government difficult or impossible will derive little comfort from the experience of Ireland.

As compared with the results of the last Irish elections held last year, Fianna Fail gained nine seats, Fine Gael lost two, the Farmers just held their own,[2] Labor with a new split in its ranks lost five in all but secured representation for both factions, and the number of unattached independents was reduced by two.

The results correspond substantially to the totals of first choices as reported in the *Irish Echo*. As was to be expected, Fianna Fail picked up strength on transfers from defeated candidates of the smaller groups which had generally supported it in the outgoing Dail, and some of the latter failed to poll enough votes to elect anyone in some constituencies, but there was no annihilation of any substantial minority such as would have been almost inevitable under a plurality system of election with one party so far in the ascendency throughout the country. The figures reported were as follows:

Dail Eireann Elections of May 30, 1944

Party	*First-Choice Votes*	*Members Elected*
Fianna Fail	595,712 (49.4%)	76 (55.1%)
Fine Gael	249,265 (20.7%)	30 (21.7%)
Farmers	146,833 (12.2%)	12 (8.1%)
Labor	106,743 (8.9%)	8 (5.8%)
National Labor	26,493 (2.2%)	4 (2.9%)
Independents	80,785 (6.7%)	8 (5.8%)

Sixty-seven per cent of all the qualified voters went to the polls and cast valid ballots. The percentage would have been slightly higher if the candidates nominated in the district of West Donegal had not been elected without a contest.

Premier DeValera and all his ministers were easily re-elected, though in two constituencies they did not lead the poll. One of the most dependable effects of P. R. in practice is the retention of leaders in office, since they are almost sure to be chosen either as majority or as minority representatives in whatever areas they contest.

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[1] A United Press dispatch of June 1 classifies three of these as independents.

[2] According to both the *Irish Echo,* which credited the Farmers with twelve members, and the United Press, which credited them with nine. The account of the last election published in this department in September 1943 gave the total representation of two Farmers' groups as fourteen, but noted that five of the members were sometimes classed as independents.

James Dillon, the only candidate who ran last year on a pro-Ally platform in opposition to the neutrality policy of the government, was re-elected as a minority representative in County Monaghan.

In view of the curious claim sometimes made by opponents of P. R. in New York and elsewhere that P. R. tends to accentuate racial and religious tensions because it permits voters to vote for and help elect members of their own racial or religious background if they wish, the following comment on the Irish election by the New York *Irish Echo* is significant:

> The election proved that in Eire democracy is not only a name but a fact. Every class and creed in the nation was represented among the candidates and every class and creed was represented among the voters. There were no religious restrictions, either open or secret, operating against those seeking to be elected to the Dail—Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Gentile were considered eligible. Robert Briscoe, of Dublin, a Jew who has been elected a deputy at every election in Eire in the past, was again returned. Dr. Douglas Hyde, the grand old man of the Gaelic Revival Movement, a member of the Episcopalian Church, is still President of Eire.
>
> In no country in the world was there a freer manifestation of the people's will at any time since the present world upheaval than there was in Eire last week.

The Dublin *Irish Times,* which is not a supporter of Mr. DeValera, said editorially on June 2:

> There never was a freer election than that which just has come to a close in this country. The people have had an opportunity to express their views with absolute liberty. Consequently, every good democrat must accept the verdict without question.

Marshfield to Vote on P. R. and Manager

A new charter has been prepared for submission in November to the voters of Marshfield, Oregon, calling for a city manager government with six councilmen elected by the Hare system of P. R. and a mayor elected by the Hare system of majority preferential voting.

Marshfield voted last November 775 to 146 in favor of a P. R.–manager charter for a proposed consolidated city of Coos Bay to include Marshfield and North Bend, but adverse votes in North Bend prevented the charter's adoption.[1]

Iceland Uses P. R.

Iceland, with which so many American young men have recently become familiar, has the distinction of being at once the world's newest republic and the world's oldest democracy. On June 17 it proclaimed itself a republic, completely independent of Denmark's king, after a referendum vote of 70,536 to 365 in which about 98 per cent of the eligible voters participated. But the transition to the republican form of government will present no problems to Iceland, for in 1930 it celebrated one thousand years of self-government. Its Althing, or representative assembly, was created in the year 930 A.D., some two hundred years before the British Parliament, and has been popularly elected and exercised a substantial degree of control over the island's affairs ever since.

From 930 to 1262 the island was governed by its Norse settlers as an independent republic. Since that time it has been under the sovereignty first of Norway's kings and then (since 1388) the kings of Denmark.

(Continued on page 372)

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[1] See the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for December 1943, p. 612, and for February 1944, p. 102.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Constitution Convention Approves County Changes

Consolidation, Dissolution Plans Drawn in Missouri

A REPORT of its committee on local government, providing means for county consolidation or dissolution, has been accepted by the Missouri Constitutional Convention. The proposal authorizes two or more counties to consolidate by a majority vote of the electorate within each county. Four methods for the consolidation of St. Louis with St. Louis County are set forth. Dissolution of a county would need a two-thirds majority. Such proposal must provide for annexation to adjoining counties.

Irish Counties Now Have Manager Government

In accordance with an act of the Dail Eireann adopted in 1940, the 26 counties of Eire (Ireland) are now administered by county managers, who also act as chief administrators for all other elective boards within the county—health board, poor board, etc. A manager is appointed by the county council on recommendation of the Minister of Local Government and Public Health, who in turn requests the Local Appointments Commission to make the selection. He may be removed by a two-thirds vote of the council with the sanction of the Minister. Certain rural counties are grouped for the employment of single administrators.

Planning Commission for Washoe County, Nevada

In accordance with the provisions of a 1941 statute, Washoe County, Nevada, has created a planning commission. Later there will be set up a regional planning commission which will consist of nine members of whom three will be from the county commission and three each representing the planning commissions of the cities of Reno and Sparks. The one county and two municipal commissions will advise their respective governing bodies on plans for a long-range betterment program for their communities, while the regional group will restrict itself to problems of conflicts among the units and matters affecting the area as a whole.

Pennsylvania Counties Consider Postwar Planning

The State Association of County Commissioners of Pennsylvania is conducting a series of regional conferences on the subject of postwar planning. Through this series of one-day institutes, held at various points, the Association hopes to develop plans for public improvements to be constructed at a time to furnish employment before full resumption of industrial activities.

Improvement in State-County Road Relations Sought

The editors of *Better Roads* are devoting prominent space in three current issues to the problem of improved state-county highway relations. The April issue contains an exploratory article intended to stimulate discussion, and the following two issues contain expressions of varying reactions to the suggestions set forth.

The points most frequently emphasized include need for cordial relations between state and county officials, cooperation among the counties, a minimum degree of state control commensurate with good administration, minimum qualifications established by the state for county highway office personnel and increased federal and state aid.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Nebraska Public Power District Refunds

Enterprise Also Effects Integration of Districts

SUCCESSFUL refinancing in May of $41,533,000 of bonds by Consumers Public Power District of Nebraska focussed attention on this venture in the field of public ownership and management of electric power generation and distribution—a venture whose organization in the fall of 1939 brought to fruition a public ownership objective first sought nearly half a century before by the abortive Populist movement.

Set up piecemeal, as the properties—sometimes widely separated—of the privately-owned electric utilities were acquired, this enterprise never attracted the publicity centered on the Tennessee Valley Authority, the other large-scale public power development of recent years, or on Bonneville and Grand Coulee, the large far-western power-supply projects. In a few short years, however, it has proved itself just as capable of successful operation as TVA. Acceptance by the bankers of this fact is indicated by issuance of the refunding bonds, with coupons of 1 3/4 per cent to 3 1/2 per cent at a net interest cost of 2.178 per cent, to replace the outstanding bonds called for payment which carried interest rates of 2 1/2 per cent to 3 1/4 per cent.

Where TVA, Bonneville and Grand Coulee are generators of power, wholesaling it to others for distribution, Consumers Public Power District of Nebraska is both a generation and distribution system. Originally formed with boundaries identical with those of the city of Columbus, the district has expanded by the addition of "divisions" until it now serves at retail 304 cities, towns, and unincorporated villages covering substantially the entire state excepting only the metropolitan area of Omaha.

The District has bought out fourteen private power companies, and there remains in Nebraska only one sizable privately-owned electric utility, the Nebraska Power Company serving in and adjacent to Omaha. In fact, in addition to Omaha, only four communities of over 1,000 population are privately served. Some of the cities served by Consumers retail through municipally-owned systems, and in a few there are both municipally-owned and district distribution systems.

Consumers secures the bulk of its power—about 74 per cent in 1943—by a unique arrangement, under contract with the so-called "Hydro pool," which consists of three federally-aided hydroelectric generating projects on the Platte and Loupe Rivers. Some of the generating facilities acquired by purchase by Consumers have been leased by them to the Hydro pool, but in 1943 Consumers generated about 20 per cent of its power in its own plants. The other 6 per cent last year came from the U. S. Reclamation Bureau and from scattered other sources.

The enterprise was originally set up in "divisions" to facilitate the gradual acquisition of separately-owned facilities. One of these divisions, located in the extreme western portion of the state, is not physically inter-connected with the rest of the system.

In the eastern section of the state there are seven distribution divisions, all physically integrated. (There are three additional divisions, representing the three districts comprising the Hydro pool, which are power generation, not distribution, entities.)

In the refinancing, the western division was segregated from the eastern properties, while the other seven distribution divisions—some of which have generation facilities—were consolidated in a single eastern division. Physical integration is thus now matched by administrative and financial integration.

As publicly-owned electric enterprises go, Consumers is not one of the largest, for Nebraska is a sparsely-populated state, without the heavy industrial power demand available to many municipally-owned plants. Financially, however, it is presently operating successfully. In 1943 eastern and western divisions consolidated had total operating revenues of $7,466,371, and net income before depreciation and bond interest was $3,462,244. Bond interest and amortization (including provision for maturing serial bonds and sinking fund contributions for term bonds) was $2,399,845, covered by net income before depreciation, etc., 1.44 times.

New Assessed Valuation Fixed for Chicago

Since the comment on the Chicago-Cook County property valuation situation in this column for May, final figures on the new assessed valuation have been released by the county assessor. For property in the city the new valuation is $4,826,912,000, as compared with $1,861,585,000 for the prior year. The tax rate is $3.90 per $100, compared with $10.42 last year.

Increase in the new valuation, as discussed earlier, is the result of the county assessor's change from a basis of assessment of about 37 per cent of full value to a full 100 per cent. The assessor fixed the taxable valuation of real estate this year at $3,610,711,000, as compared with $1,354,306,000 last year. County-assessed personalty was valued at $983,782,000, against $375,021,000 last year. On a full 100 per cent basis, it may be noted, last year's realty valuation was about $50,000,000 higher than that for the new year, and the personalty valuation about $30,000,000 greater, so that after adjustment to eliminate the change in the basis of assessment the new figures actually show a continuation of the downward trend of valuations evident in Chicago for the last fifteen years or so.

In addition to the property assessed by the county, there is railroad property and some personalty assessed by the state. The state, in certifying these valuations, secures a so-called equalization by using a weighted average representing the average ratio of assessment used by all the counties in the state. Last year the state ratio was 33 per cent, state-assessed personalty being fixed at $47,417,000 in Chicago and railroad property at $84,841,000. This year, the 100 per cent basis used by Cook County raises the state's equalization factor to 54 per cent, with Chicago personalty fixed at $76,874,000 and railroad property at $155,545,000. On a full 100 per cent basis, the state-assessed personalty is virtually unchanged from last year while the railroad property is up nearly $30,000,000.

Raising the entire roll—state-assessed and county-assessed—to a uniform 100 per cent basis, the hypothetical full value figure for 1943 is $5,024,899,000 as compared with $5,074,639,000 for 1942. Thus, where last year's assessed value represented 36.7 per cent of the hypothetical full value figure, or very close to the 37 per cent used by the county assessor alone, this year's total taxable value works out at 96.1 per cent of full value, as a result of the greater disparity between the ratios used by county and state on the properties independently assessed.

Tax Delinquency Continues Decline

Median year-end current tax delinquency for 150 cities of over 50,000 population declined from 6.0 per cent for 1942 to 4.70 per cent last year. The 1943 figure compares with the recorded peak of 26.35 per cent for the depression year 1933, and the 10.15 per cent for 1930. Further, 79 of the cities showed ratios of less than 5 per cent, as compared with 66 in 1942, while cities with ratios of 10 per cent and higher numbered only 15 in 1943 as compared with 39 in 1942.

These are among the highlights of the twelfth annual study of property tax collections of United States cities by Dr. Frederick L. Bird.[1] The study summarizes not only the delinquency ratios—computed as a percentage of the current levy uncollected at the close of the fiscal year—for the 197 cities of over 50,000 population, but also shows for most cities the percentage remaining uncollected at the end of the 1943 fiscal year on the last four levies, and the ratio of the accumulated total of uncollected taxes to the current levy. For something over 100 cities, ratios are also presented showing the total of combined current and back tax collection as a percentage of the current levy.

Another significant development of 1943 was the raising of the median ratio of total current and delinquent tax collections to 101.2 per cent, compared with 100.7 per cent in 1942 and 101.7 per cent in 1941. This was the ninth consecutive year in which tax collections were abnormally high.

While satisfactory tax collections are only one factor in municipal finances, it is perhaps the most important single factor. Consequently, this year Dr. Bird has added a chapter sampling the concrete evidences of improvement in financial position during the last several years. Fifty cities of over 50,000 population, selected more or less at random, are used for the comparison. At the end of the 1941 fiscal year, twenty showed a combined cash deficit (excess of current liabilities over cash) in their general operating funds of just over $22,000,000, while 30 showed cash surpluses (excess of cash over current liabilities) of more than $21,000,000, the 50 combined showing an over-all cash deficiency of $584,817. At the end of 1943, the deficits amounted to only $6,000,000, shown by but twelve cities, while the other 38 cities showed a combined cash surplus of nearly $45,000,000, the 50 together showing an over-all cash surplus of $38,651,923.

San Francisco Voters Approve Purchase of Street Railway

Approval of a proposal to purchase the privately-owned Market Street Railway system, to be consolidated with the municipally-owned transportation lines, was given by San Francisco voters at the May 16 election. This was the sixth time the matter had been submitted to referendum. On five previous occasions during the past five years the proposal was defeated. The city will make a down payment of $3,000,000 from surplus municipal street railway funds and the remainder of the approximately $7,500,000 cost will come out of operating revenues of the Market Street unit. Future plans include raising the fare from five to seven cents, adoption of a one-fare consolidated transfer system and increase of the frequency of street cars 12 per cent and bus service 20 per cent. The 2,286 employees of the line will be blanketed into the civil service of the city.

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[1] *The Trend of Tax Delinquency, 1930-43.* By Frederick L. Bird. Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., New York City. 35 pp.

Books in Review

Edited by **ELSIE S. PARKER**

State and Local Finance in the National Economy. By Alvin H. Hansen and Harvey S. Perloff. New York City, W. W. Norton and Company, 1944. x, 310 pages. $3.75.

This is essentially a book on intergovernmental fiscal relations. It is written upon the political assumption "that only when the higher levels of government play their appropriate role vigorously and efficiently are conditions created under which subordinate units of government can effectively carry out the functions appropriate to them" (page v). It is written upon the economic assumption "that it is sound fiscal policy to control public expenditures, taxation, and borrowing so as to promote economic stability at continuously high levels of business activity and full employment" (p. 285).

To prove the political assumption, the roles of the three levels of government are examined. The picture presented is one of an enhanced national government underwriting minimum service standards in education, health and welfare and making annual grants to states and localities of $3,000,000,000 as compared with $900,000,000 plus $850,000,000 through WPA in 1941. National and state grants will help to relieve the local property tax of some of the excessive burden which it has had to bear. "In unitary as well as in federal systems of government," say the authors, "it has been found that the governmental unit which is best adapted to the administration of a public service is not necessarily the unit which can most effectively raise the revenues to finance the service" (p. 122).

The inadequacy of existing local units is stressed in an excellent chapter on modernizing local governments. There is no doubt that such modernization is needed both for effective local administration and for effective local self-government. As for grants, they can be administered in a way to encourage local self-government or in a way to make local governments tend to become administrative districts only. There are latent dangers there.

In harmony with their economic assumption, the authors point up the interrelations of state and local finance and the economic base of the area and the productivity of the entire nation. State business taxation should be drastically reformed in order to encourage business activity and state general sales taxes should be abolished in order to encourage mass consumption. Because state and local expenditures are less subject to variation in the various phases of the business cycle than are national expenditures, cyclical fluctuations must be made largely in the national budget.

Government expenditures undoubtedly affect business activity. But the failure of the authors to provide for at least a cyclically balanced national budget is the point at which most will disagree. Only if "full employment" is achieved will the budget be balanced in a fiscal year; in periods of a feverish private investment boom the national debt will be retired at about $5,000,000,000 a year, while in periods of low private investment the debt will be expanded at the rate of $10,000,000,000 a year.

The book is comprehensive, containing a valuable discussion of problems of intergovernmental fiscal relations.

EDWARD W. WEIDNER

Return to Freedom. The Affairs of Our Time and Their Impact upon Youth. Edited by Thomas H. Johnson. New York City, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1944. x, 209 pp. $2.

During the past three years the Lawrenceville School in New Jersey has invited leaders in a wide range of activities to discuss with the student body some of the problems the future will bring. This volume contains eleven recent discussions which are both timely and stimulating. The subjects range from history, statecraft and public affairs to religion, ethics and public morals. Of particular interest to REVIEW readers should be Charles P. Taft's discussion on "The Citizen as a Public Servant." E. W. W.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Fire

Code of Suggested Ordinances for Small Municipalities. New York, National Board of Fire Underwriters, 1943. 46 pp.

Health and Welfare

Clothing and Shelter for European Relief. By the Special Project on Relief and Rehabilitation. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1944. iv, 47 pp.

International Organization for Health. By C. E. A. Winslow. New York 18, Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, 1944. 32 pp. 10 cents.

Labor and Management

Will Wage Incentives Eliminate Conflict Between Labor and Management? By James F. Lincoln, A. I. Davey, Leo Cherne, and George Baldanzi. (Broadcast May 25, 1944, America's Town Meeting of the Air). New York 18, Town Hall, 1944. 23 pp. 10 cents.

Lend-Lease

Fifteenth Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations. For the Period Ended March 31, 1944. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1944. 84 pp. 30 cents.

Lend-Lease and Mutual Aid. By Mabel L. Walker. New York 10, Tax Institute, 1944. 13 pp. 25 cents.

Municipalities

Annual Report, Association of Washington Cities—May 1, 1943–April 30, 1944. By Chester Biesen. Seattle, Association of Washington Cities, 1944. 10 pp.

Peace

International Safeguard of Human Rights. Fourth Report, Part III. New York 18, Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, 1944. 24 pp. Free.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 366)

In line with its democratic tradition Iceland uses proportional representation, as do all the other Scandinavian countries. A party list system of P. R. was adopted for part of the membership of the Althing in 1916.[1] The most recent election under it took place in 1942.

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[1] This action took place seven years after Sweden's adoption of P. R. for national elections and four years before Norway's. Denmark has used the Andrae system of P. R., identical in principle with the Hare system used in this country, for indirect elections of part of its national parliament since 1855, but it was not until 1915 that the use of P. R. for Danish elections was made general. The 1915 law provided for election by a list system of the electors by whom the members of the upper house (Landsting) were to be elected by the Andrae system, and for the election of the lower house (Folketing) partly by a list system of P. R. and partly by a single-member district system with adjustments designed to make the total representation of parties proportional to their votes. Since 1920 the entire Folketing has been elected by a list system of P. R. except for the one member representing the Faroe Islands. Finland has used a list system of P. R. for its one-house parliament since 1906, continuing it when it adopted a new constitution as an independent republic in 1919.

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Utilities Organized by Districts

John Bauer

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Pitfalls of Earmarking Public Funds

THE practice of permanently earmarking public revenues for specific purposes has become dangerous to the very democracy we are striving so hard to defend. It is the ready tool by which self-serving pressure groups and special privilege deceive the people into bartering away their control of public business.

In Yonkers, New York, the city policemen have circulated petitions to freeze into the city charter a minimum wage provision for themselves.

In Maine the people will vote September 11 on a proposed constitutional amendment prohibiting the use of automobile license fees and gasoline taxes for anything but highway purposes.

Propositions like these do not belong in the fundamental law of a city or a state. Orderly government and general public interest demand that they be matters for determination from year to year by city council and state legislature. Chaos, confusion and the destruction of sound budget procedures will result if unthinking voters continue to permit selfish groups to put over this sort of jobbery.

Just why policemen deserve more consideration than street cleaners, teachers, clerical workers, water department or other public employees is a mystery. If it is right for them to undermine a good charter in this manner, what, other than a finer civic spirit or numerical weakness, is to prevent other groups from doing the same thing, thus pulling the house down around the ears of everyone?

Maine, if it lets its "road crowd" get away with its plan, will be travelling the dangerous path followed by some other states which have already made unhappy records that ought to stand as a grim warning. A study of Colorado finance, for example, revealed that by 1937 there were 231 special earmarked funds which gobbled up 90.4 per cent of state revenue each year, leaving less than 10 per cent in the general fund. By the time salaries and ordinary administrative expenses were paid there was precious little reason for the legislature to meet at all or, for that matter, for the people to go to the expense and bother of electing a legislature. The people had already been duped into doing most of the legislating for all time to come or until the whole botched up constitution might some day be tossed into the ash can where it belongs.

A state constitution or a city charter should be short and simple. It should deal in broad principles, not details of administration, taxation and budget-making.

An electorate which votes as the policemen of Yonkers and the "road crowd" of Maine want them to vote is afraid to trust its elected representatives or has no faith in its own ability to elect people who are intelligent and trustworthy. To clutter up a constitution or charter with minutia presumably designed to safeguard against unscrupulous or inefficient politicians is a confession of weakness and an unwise procedure which inevitably ties up financial affairs and makes it impossible for a legislature to enact either good laws or bad.

No one knows what the future will bring. It is impossible to foretell whether a specific wage frozen into a city charter will be too much or too little under economic conditions ten or twenty years hence. It is equally impossible to know how much ought to be spent on roads.

City councils and state legislaures should not be deprived of their responsibilities. They should be given more so as to make it plain to the voters that they must choose their representatives carefully. Such responsibility will help restore to our legislative bodies the prestige they must have for the successful operation of a true self-governing system.

P. R. in Cincinnati

THE stimulating story of what one city has been able to accomplish through a revival of wholesome civic spirit and the adoption of modern methods is told in this issue in a condensation of a report on the experience of Cincinnati from 1924 to 1944.

It might reasonably be assumed that the people of a city which has come so far from the depths of crooked, plundering politics would be quick to recognize the basic reasons for this remarkable progress. But, curiously enough, some of the newspapers in Cincinnati overlooked the most significant findings of the appraisal. In the council-manager form of government, which Cincinnati adopted in its great reform movement of two decades ago, the city council is the key to the situation. The gains Cincinnati has made were clearly dependent upon the high type of councilmen the people have elected by proportional representation.

After analyzing the results of typical elections in Cincinnati, the authorities who made the study concluded that "No one can object to these results unless he believes that the majority party is entitled to a clean sweep. P. R. has thus fulfilled the purpose for which it was adopted."

Local Affairs Abroad

IN THIS issue the REVIEW restores to its pages a department, "Local Affairs Abroad." The great similarity of the problems of people, no matter where they live or what their basic system of government, provides a rich opportunity for all to learn from the experience of others. Equally important is the unprecedented widespread interest in achieving fundamental progress during the period after the war when nations which have been laid waste or had their systems deeply jarred will find it easy to face the future with relatively open minds. The new department is edited by Edward W. Weidner, a member of the staff of the National Municipal League.

20 Years Forward in Cincinnati

Authoritative evaluation reveals Ohio metropolis has benefited vastly from "revolution" against politics-ridden machine; finds civic parsimony chief weakness.

By **THOMAS H. REED** and **DORIS D. REED**

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This article is a condensation of a study made for the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League by Thomas H. Reed and Doris D. Reed and sponsored by The Stephen H. Wilder Foundation. The Wilder Foundation was established in in 1941 under the will of Edith Carson Wilder, widow of Stephen H. Wilder, late of Cincinnati, for research in the field of public affairs affecting the Cincinnati metropolitan area, for university research in basic science, and for support of summer opera in Cincinnati.

IN 1924 Cincinnati was a sick city. With the best government in the world it could not have given adequate municipal services on its 1924 operating income. The city was in the grip of the "Smith one per cent" law.[1] Real estate was assessed at 55 per cent of true value, and the low rate on the low valuation meant small returns. The people persistently refused to vote extra levies to be spent by a government they did not trust.

The city seemingly was doing its best to aggravate its illness. Since 1915 long-term bonds for current expenses had been an annual event. By 1924 the city had piled up a non-self-supporting debt of $55,562,000—$20,000,000 more than in any other city of less than 700,000. The city did not get its money's worth for what it spent. There was no intelligent over-all direction of its affairs. Partisan politics were paramount.

The council of 32 members was capable only of blind obedience to the machine. The mayor was almost equally helpless. There were some competent and conscientious officials but they were thwarted at every turn by the fatal combination of poverty and politics. Civil service regulations were constantly evaded. Only inefficiency could be expected from the rank and file of city employees, underpaid, subject to political assessments, dependent for their jobs on political favor.

In 1924 Cincinnati's police department was inadequate, its fire defenses undermanned, its health service below standard, its parks shabby, its city hall down at the heel, its streets dirty and in disgraceful disrepair. Its garbage was collected and disposed of by a private company under an unsatisfactory contract. It had almost no active recreation program. In fact it was a very sick city.

The city government did not even possess sufficient initiative to call in a doctor. But its guardian, the Republican Advisory and Executive Committee of Hamilton County, did. It appointed a survey committee of prominent citizens who engaged Dr. Lent D. Upson of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research. He brought with him a large staff of specialists.

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[1] Passed by the Ohio legislature in 1911.

The results of the Upson survey fill a volume of 535 pages. It did not recommend, except as to the council, any drastic change in form of government. Its length and technical character scared away the general reader. But it supplied the factual basis needed by the movement then gathering headway for a complete reorganization of the city government. It presents an authentic picture of Cincinnati's government in 1924, from which twenty years of progress can be measured.[2]

It is very significant that the manager plan in Cincinnati was in the hands of its sworn friends for its first ten years. To have turned the city over to the old machine which had fought the plan would have meant its sabotage. Colonel Sherrill in his first term as manager had the constant backing of a strong council majority, and an able and eloquent mayor to represent his administration before the public. Mr. Dykstra was almost as fortunate. The manager plan thus had a fair chance to prove itself. It has come to be accepted generally by all elements in the community, except those rank-and-file politicians known in Cincinnati as "bolivars."

This does not mean that there are no critics of the city government. Omitting, however, those with personal grievances, their criticisms are constructive. There is, indeed, a significant difference between their complaints and those of twenty years ago. The citizen who then groused about holes in the streets now worries about lack of super-highways. The man who then grieved because there was no active recreation program is now wrinkling his brow over ways and means of keeping the city's 88 playgrounds in operation. The question in 1924 was "Can Cincinnati have a decent government?" The question today is "Can Cincinnati overcome the legal obstacles and popular inertia which have prevented her from pursuing some of the higher goals of civic ambition?"

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[2] A charter amendment, embodying the manager plan and a council of nine elected by proportional representation, backed by the City Charter Committee, was adopted in November 1924. At the first council election in 1925 the City Charter Committee, running a slate of independent Republicans and Democrats, captured six of the nine seats, the three others going to the Republican organization. The Charterite councilmen elected one of their number, Murray Seasongood, mayor, and selected Colonel C. O. Sherrill, then in charge of public buildings and grounds in Washington, D. C., to be manager. Thereafter a committee was appointed, consisting of Robert A. Taft, Robert N. Gorman, and Henry Bentley, to prepare a complete new charter which was adopted in 1926. The Charterites, with the same independent Republican and Democratic backing, continued to have a majority in the council until 1936. In 1930 Russell Wilson replaced Seasongood, and Sherrill was succeeded by C. A. Dykstra. In the fall of 1935 there were elected four Charterites, four Republicans, and one independent. Russell Wilson was re-elected mayor in 1936 by virtue of an agreement with the independent member. Colonel Sherrill took over the managership again in 1937 when Mr. Dykstra became president of the University of Wisconsin.

The 1937 election again split the council 4-4-1. The Republicans came to terms with the independent, and elected James G. Stewart mayor. The same situation continued in the council elected in 1939. In 1941 and 1943 the result was five Republicans and four Charterites. Before the election of 1943 Colonel Sherrill resigned, effective December 31, and the Republican members of council, the Charterites not voting, named Wilbur R. Kellogg, manager of the Cincinnati Union Terminal Company, city manager.

Cincinnati's Accomplishments

More specifically, what has Cincinnati accomplished since 1924?

1. It has replaced a politics-ridden, inefficient, slovenly administration with one which performs the routine activities of a modern city economically, efficiently and with a minimum of political interference.

2. Cincinnati has not eliminated politics, or even partisanship, from the city government, but has confined them largely to the council where, if anywhere, they belong.

3. In place of a robot council Cincinnati now has a lively, intelligent and independent governing body in which a vigorous minority is always present to call the majority to account.

4. Cincinnati, in 1924 debt-bedevilled and on the verge of bankruptcy, in 1944 has one of the highest credit ratings of any city.

5. Cincinnatians continue to pay lower taxes than the people of other cities. Local tax burdens are only 62.7 per cent of those in the average American city.

6. The cost of direct operation in Cincinnati, omitting relief, was only $24.30 per capita in 1942 against an average for cities of 250,000 to 1,000,000 of $33.37.

7. Improvement in departmental operations has been general, and numerous public improvements have been made. There are still some departments, however, notably police, health and recreation, which are inadequately supported; and there are many badly needed public improvements calling for expenditures on a larger scale than Cincinnati has hitherto known.

8. Some advance has been made in cooperation between Cincinnati and Hamilton County, but the problems created by the outward movement of population from the city to its environs actually have been intensified since 1924.

The City Manager

The authority of the manager in Cincinnati is limited to a narrower range of activities than is usual. The mayor, with approval of council, appoints the auditor, board of health, park board, housing authority, board of directors of the University of Cincinnati, and a majority of the members of the recreation commission and the city planning commission. He also appoints one member of the civil service commission, the other two being appointed, one each, by the board of education and the board of directors of the university. Three of the regular line departments—health, parks, and recreation—are thus removed from the authority of the manager. No disastrous results have followed. The mayors have, with a few exceptions, made good appointments.

The great money-spending activities, however, are concentrated under the manager—public safety, public works, public utilities, water works and the hospital. He also appoints the treasurer, purchasing agent, solicitor, and the personnel officer.

The managers selected have all

been men of proved executive capacity. Managers Sherrill and Dykstra were specially prepared by training and experience for the task of city management. They both acquired nationwide reputations for their able conduct of Cincinnati's affairs. From what can be learned of Manager Kellogg's character and aptitudes, if given as fair a chance as his predecessors he should do substantially as well.

The council has allowed its managers to manage. Not infrequently managers have had to endure blasts of criticism from the floor of council. These have come from individual members, however, whose right—and duty—it is to criticize. There has not been any concerted and persistent attempt to control the manager within his proper sphere. It seems to be the present intent of a majority of council, irrespective of party, to protect his independence. On their part, the managers have scrupulously refrained from going over the heads of council to the people.

Budgeting

In only one important respect have the relations of manager and council deviated from the theory of the manager plan and the sound practice of other cities. The chairman of the finance committee has replaced the manager as the person responsible for initiating the plan of the city's financial operations.

Cincinnati does not have a good budget system. The manager's "budget" has to be submitted by June 1. This is too early to estimate with any accuracy the resources and needs of the next year. The manager's budget therefore has degenerated into a routine compilation of department requests. Naturally it is ignored. The real work of preparing appropriations begins after the first of November when the heads of departments, one by one, present their needs to the finance committee of council. The manager and the auditor are there to present their points of view, and the press and public if interested.

But no complete scheme of proposed expenditures, balanced against expected income, is made public until the appropriation ordinance is brought before the council for immediate action on the first of January. The press and public have no chance to review it as a whole. Even members of council are left in ignorance until the last moment, when it is too late to do anything about it. It is no answer to say, as is the case, that financial planning has been honestly and conservatively attended to by Chairmen Rose and Gradison, whose combined terms have extended from 1926 to the present.

Accounting and Reporting

The excellent accounting system installed in 1928 has been competently administered ever since by the present auditor. Monthly reports showing the unencumbered balances available in each appropriation are made to the manager, council and heads of departments. The auditor's annual report is a concise and comprehensive statement of the condition of every appropriation and fund. An elaborate cost accounting system in the department of public works supplies that kind of information where it is most needed. But Cincinnati fails to give its citizens brief, comprehensive, financial statements which the ordinary layman can understand.

Employment Policies

The Upson survey found employment policies very unsatisfactory. Wages were low. There was no retirement system except for policemen and firemen. Almost all positions carried flat salaries, so that the newcomer was paid as much as the most experienced worker. The same kind of job was paid at different rates in the various departments. Finally, the civil service commission was unable to cope with political influences in appointments and promotions or to prevent political activity on the part of those in the classified service.

These conditions have been revolutionized. In 1923 only 2,515 of the 3,905 employees were appointed as a result of examinations. On January 1, 1942, of 5,423 employees, 5,169, including all laborers, were appointed as a result of examinations. Until war interfered competition was vigorous. In 1923 promotion was rarely on the basis of examination. Only 74 such examinations were held in the five years 1919-1923. In the five years ending in 1941 there were 287 promotional examinations, with 3,605 actual competitors.

Cincinnati has made a notable contribution to personnel training in the arrangement by which students in various departments of the University of Cincinnati work half-time in related branches of the city government. A hundred or more students a year enjoy this educational advantage, to the city's profit as well.

A general reclassification of positions took place soon after the inauguration of manager government. A new pay schedule went into effect in 1941. Although there are some marked inequities in compensation, regular increments are provided, to be earned by length of service and satisfactory service ratings. An actuarially sound retirement system has been provided for all employees except policemen and firemen, based on fairly adjusted contributions by employees and city. Police and fire pension systems, however, are unsound, and a cut in pensions can only be averted by state legislation. The city's effort to bring firemen and policemen into the general pension system was thwarted, even as to future employees, by the Ohio Supreme Court.[3]

Wages have been raised since 1923, but not enough to satisfy employee demands. Following an employees' strike in 1942, successive cost-of-living increases were made which by June of 1943 amounted to $20 a month to those with salaries under $2,000, and $25 to those over $2,000. Hourly-rate workers were raised ten or eleven cents an hour. The cost of these increases will be approximately $1,000,000 a year. Another cost-of-living increase became effective April 14, 1944, aggregating $350,000.

The council is required to reconsider salary schedules annually in the light of the cost-of-living index, but with reference also to the financial condition of the city.

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[3] *City of Cincinnati* v. *Gamble et al.*, Bd. of Trustees, 138 Ohio State, 220.

The Council

The council of 1924, with its 31 Republicans and one submissive Democrat, was only a rubber stamp for the Hynicka machine. Only a few of its members were capable of an active role in its proceedings.

There is not a member of the 1944 council who cannot take an effective part in the discussion of city business. Of 35 individuals who have been elected to council since 1925 a sizeable proportion have been top-flight business and professional men. The first councilwoman under the present charter, elected in 1943, is well known as a vital civic leader.

At the same time council has not failed to represent the common man. Labor has been directly represented by union officials. Whereas there was no Negro even from the Negro wards in the 1924 council, there have been several Negroes elected to the new council. Some radical popular movements have had representation in Herbert Bigelow and other independents.

Party is aligned against party in council. One is the Republican party to which a large majority of Cincinnatians adhere in national elections. The other is something unique, a municipal party. The City Charter Committee was originally a temporary alliance of independent Republicans, nonpartisans and Democrats. No one believed it could last more than two or three elections. It has survived ten. It has stood the test of defeat and it can still collect substantial campaign funds and enlist volunteer enthusiasm. It has apparently become a permanent feature of political life in Cincinnati. This is the more remarkable as it neither has nor seeks patronage.

Proportional Representation

There is also not a little personal politics in the council. Its character is determined by the system of proportional representation under which the council is elected. The Hare plan of P. R. is well known to readers of the REVIEW. Under it a candidate cannot win merely because he has a party nomination. He must so commend himself personally as to get enough first-choice votes to avoid elimination early in the count. This is accomplished in various ways. The ordinary method, critics of P. R. say, is to cater to a pressure group —economic, racial, religious or sectional. Some members of council undoubtedly are the beneficiaries of prefabricated constituencies or "blocs" of the kind referred to. But the council actually represents the people as a whole, not organized minorities.

The Upson report recommended a council of not more than nine elected at large upon a nonpartisan ballot, preferably by proportional representation. The small council elected at large was proposed in order to raise the individual stature of council members and increase council's operating efficiency. The results have surpassed expectations. Proportional representation was suggested as the most practical means of avoiding the danger of one-party domination. This also has been accomplished. It has not unduly encouraged strictly independent candidates. Only four times has one been elected since 1926. It has, however, assured each party representation in almost exact proportion to its voting strength.

P. R. has thus made possible the advantages of at-large election without the evil of one-party domination. Instead of giving the party with the most votes all the seats in council, P. R. offers a seat to any group which can muster a "quota." The council members of neither party today are cut from one piece of machine-made cloth as was its exclusively Republican membership in 1924. Each party shows strands of contrasting interests and opinions. To vary the metaphor, as a picture of popular will the council of 1924 might be compared to an old-fashioned daguerreotype and the 1944 council to a modern photograph. The latter shows much more detail. If you do not like what you see, that is not the fault of the camera.

Racial and religious groups in municipal politics are to be regretted, but it is better that their views should be openly represented in council than stifled until explosion occurs. There is, in fact, no way in a democracy that they can be prevented from seeking representation. No party thinks of making a slate of candidates, under any system of election, which is not balanced as between important groups. P. R. did not give Negroes, for example, the idea that their interests call for political action. They have that idea in hundreds of cities where P. R. does not exist. It merely gives the Cincinnati Negro an opportunity to get a representative directly at the polls instead of indirectly by pressure on the party slate-makers. Group representation as it exists in Cincinnati is a low price for a guarantee against the paralyzing unipartisanship of 1924.

The alternatives proposed are not attractive. The one defeated in 1938 provided that the names of candidates appear on the ballot without party designation, each voter voting for nine. The nine with the highest totals would have been elected. There was to be no primary. This is harmless enough under the free voting of P. R. It would be very dangerous under straight voting with the plurality system. A decided chance exists under that system of one party casting 51 per cent of the votes but electing 100 per cent of the council. Against a divided opposition they might be equally successful with less than 50 per cent.

Another suggestion is that minority representation be guaranteed by a form of limited vote—with nine to be elected, each voter to be allowed to vote for no more than six. This, it is said, would ensure at least three opposition voices in council. The history of such schemes indicates that they tend to entrench the dominant party machine in power and leave strictly independent candidates no chance whatever. Boston tried this method of electing its twelve aldermen a half century ago. No one could vote for more than seven; each party nominated seven, and the electorate was left to determine which two of the fourteen should be defeated. Who the two would be was pretty well understood in advance by the two machines.

Departmental Accomplishments

There is not space here to enter into the details of departmental operation.[4] Routine operations attain in many cases a degree of perfection unusual in American cities. With few exceptions what can be accomplished by good management alone has been accomplished.

There remain, however, largely as a result of restricted city revenues, some weak spots in service and a large grist of too long deferred physical improvements. The police department, for example, needs more men, additional equipment and a new building. An adequate program of crime prevention has never been undertaken. While there are ample park and playground sites, sufficient funds have not been provided to finance play activities on them. Some health services, likewise, suffer from lack of city appropriations. The city's excellent hospital shows signs of unduly deferred maintenance. At the same time, little progress has been made in solving the problems growing out of metropolitan expansion—among which those relating to welfare, health administration, and regional water supply cry loudly for solution.

On the physical side, the holes in the streets, which contributed so much to the revolution of 1924, have disappeared. Clean, well maintained streets, satisfactory garbage and refuse collection and disposal, and greatly extended water and sewer systems have been the product of city manager government. The department of public works handles admirably the everyday tasks of maintenance and operation. It is also well set up to design works, prepare plans and specifications, and supervise construction on a large scale.

Unsolved Physical Problems

Among the physical facilities which any modern city of half a million needs are: (1) adequate highway approaches, (2) convenient and commodious rail terminals, (3) a well located airport safely accessible to the largest planes, (4) modern mass transportation, (5) ample off-street parking in downtown areas, (6) adequate main traffic arteries, (7) decent sewage disposal, (8) a pure and palatable water supply sufficient for itself and its environs, (9) well placed and extensive park and recreation sites, (10) redevelopment of blighted areas and housing for the people. Cincinnati needs in addition (11) flood control.

Of these requisites of urban living, Cincinnati has done very well in only (2) and (9). An adequate approach has been provided from only one direction, over Columbia Parkway, and more needs to be done to improve its accessibility. Hills block approach to Lunken airport. Loading platforms and lumbering streetcars interrupt street traffic. Provision of free off-street parking is in its infancy. The pattern of arterial streets is obviously incomplete. Sewage disposal is in the blueprint stage. City water is unpalatable at times, and the bottlenecks in the tunnel and pumping station stand in the way of supplying the environs. Redevelopment of blighted areas is only a subject of conversation, and the related activity of housing has had no more than a beginning, despite the exceptional work of the Cincinnati Housing Authority. The Mill Creek barrier dam will prevent the worst damage from flood, but there still remains the problem of the river-front lands now subject to flood.

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[4] For a complete report see *The Government of Cincinnati 1924-1944—An Appraisal,* by Thomas H. Reed and Doris D. Reed. Stephen H. Wilder Foundation, 18 East Fourth Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

It is encouraging, therefore, that under the pressure of a strong citizens' planning committee the council has been induced to appropriate $100,000 to the city planning commission for planning in the broadest sense. The city planning commission was at the time of the Upson report preparing a "master plan," completed in 1925. Since 1925 the activities of the commission have been chiefly regulative. This has resulted automatically from its annual appropriation of about $22,000 a year, not enough for comprehensive studies but ample for short studies of the location of streets and other improvements on which, unless overruled by a two-thirds vote of council, it has a veto. As a regulatory agency, the planning commission has been a notable success. Its work in subdivision control, where its powers are unusually broad, has been outstanding. Like Cincinnati's government as a whole, it has admirably performed its routine functions but has not been able to accomplish very much toward the solution of major problems.

The imminence of a postwar crisis appears, at last, to have awakened some of Cincinnati's strongest citizens to the necessity of action. The citizens' committee referred to is now organizing more formally to give support and guidance to the postwar planning movement. It will be well financed and employ an expert personnel. There will thus be supplied, it is to be hoped, that leadership without which Cincinnati cannot overcome the obstacles—legal, financial, and psychological—which hamper the city's physical development.

Tax and Debt Limitations

Additional public works, better pay for employees, and the improvements in other activities suggested in this report all come down in the last analysis to a question of money. The charter of 1926 provided that the council might levy annually 6.65 mills for operation. While this is more than some other Ohio cities have under the existing one per cent constitutional tax limit, it is, according to all experience, too little on which to run a city. Under the state law an extra municipal levy requires a 65 per cent majority on referendum.

The city's borrowing power is also restricted. The council may issue bonds up to one per cent of the tax duplicate. Further borrowing, up to a total of 5 per cent, is possible, but only when approved by a 65 per cent majority. Debt service on "councilmanic" bonds is "inside," and service on bonds voted by the people "outside," the one per cent over-all constitutional tax limit.

The requirement of a 65 per cent majority on bond issues and extra levies is a serious obstacle to expanding municipal facilities and services. In the eleven years 1933 to 1943, 52 city, county and school bond issues, and city and county tax levies were voted on. Only five got the necessary two-thirds, while twenty others got a majority, some of them far more.

Financial Management

Within these narrow limits Cincinnati's finances have been conservatively managed since 1926. There has been no repeated long-term borrowing to cover current deficits. Operating expenses have been paid in cash except for an extremely moderate amount of poor relief notes now paid off, and the regular use of five-year bonds to pay for equipment. This is an expensive way to buy equipment, forced by the limited operating levy.

Cincinnati's debt burden has been greatly reduced since 1923, not only by paying off the principal but by the refunding operations of the board of trustees of the sinking fund. The total net debt was $68,314,000 at the end of 1923; twenty years later it was $44,707,000, of which $3,017,000 was in water and $9,041,000 in Southern Railway bonds. The water works debt is fully self-supporting, while the rental of the Southern Railway exceeds the service on that debt by $805,000 a year.

It has been pointed out that the burden on real estate taxpayers is only 62.7 per cent as great as in the average American city. The great increase in real estate taxes resulted from a 31.8 per cent increase in assessed valuation in 1924-25 before the manager plan went into effect.

Those responsible for Cincinnati's finances have done a grand job in getting the most out of the city's limited resources. It is not enough, however, for a city to live within its means. There are occasions—and this is eminently true of Cincinnati today—when a city needs to enlarge its resources to meet new needs. Some services cry for improvement, employees want more pay, and many facilities necessary to good urban living are conspicuously lacking.

Any considerable permanent increase in operating expenditures is impossible without the aid of extra levies. It is true that last year the city had a surplus in operating funds (general, auto tax and gas tax) of $1,478,722. It would have been even larger if council had not, very properly, transferred half a million dollars to a reserve for maintenance and improvements. The operating funds, however, had profited by unexpectedly low relief costs, decline in personnel and war-caused obstacles to spending. Cincinnati, like other cities, is piling up a serious problem of deferred maintenance. Even a $2,000,000 surplus can melt like snow in May before an increased scale of spending. Pay increases of June 1943 and April 1944 have already made heavy drafts on the existing surplus. It will probably be exhausted in three years, even leaving out of account the effect of deferred maintenance on expenditures in the postwar period.

With public improvements, except extensions of the water system which can be financed by water revenues and sewage disposal which possibly may be covered by a service charge, the city must perforce go slow. About $28,000,000 in five years, including bonds already authorized, is its approximate legal limit. Hamilton

(Continued on page 394)

By Their Own Bootstraps

Lane County, Oregon, and its communities learn to do without while achieving a cash basis and preparing for postwar problems instead of "waiting for Santa Claus."

By WILLIAM M. TUGMAN, Managing Editor
Eugene Register-Guard

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the first of a series of articles which tell the story of the efforts of an Oregon city and its neighboring communities to solve their problems and prepare for the future without outside aid.

DURING the last year, a good deal has been said and published nationally about postwar preparations in the city of Eugene and Lane County, Oregon—largely as the result of a phrase tacked on to a letter answering an inquiry from Dick Syring of *The Oregon Journal* (Portland): "We are merely trying to take care of our own without waiting for Santa Claus [from Washington]."

Actually it is not quite so simple! Eugene and its neighboring city Springfield are virtually debt free. The county of Lane is debt free. They have voted property taxes—without increasing tax rates—which with existing cash reserves give them at least $4,000,000 cash for useful public works when war ends. (This includes $1,500,000 earned reserves of Eugene's municipal power and water utilities.)

Citizens of the community have formed a Central Lane Planning Council with representatives of every business, professional and labor group and every one of the 35 "neighborhoods" of the six-mile urban area. This council has two main objectives:

1. Intelligent handling of the postwar readjustments of some 7,500 men and women now away in service.
2. Integration of the urban area for intelligent and economical handling of all the problems of industrial growth with its suburban fringes which threaten real prosperity and stability.

This program did not spring into being fully grown overnight. It has been "making ready" for nearly twenty years, during which the community has been correcting mistakes of the past, getting "set" not to be "bigger and better" but to be better despite all the headaches which come with getting bigger.

Eugene and its sister city Springfield lie at the head of the Willamette Valley, 120 miles south of Portland where the cross-ridges from the coast range of mountains bend east to meet the long spurs reaching west from the Cascades. The Willamette River rushes between Springfield and Eugene. Forested hills enclose the huge semi-circle from which the valley runs northward.

Eugene is the county seat of Lane County which extends from the summit of the Cascades to the Pacific Ocean. Approximately the size of Connecticut, the county now has 75,000 population. By the 1940 census Eugene had 20,800 and Springfield 3,800.

But in the six-mile Eugene-Springfield area there are 43,000 people (ration book count). In the east this would not be a "big city." But for a vast area Eugene is "the city"—trading center, medical center, home of the University of Oregon. Out in the valley lie highly diversified farms—fruit and nut orchards, hops, beans, cannery crops. In the foothills are sheep and cattle ranches. In the woods are some 133 lumbering operations which supply great sawmills and plywood factories.

Social barriers are still indistinct. Most of the big mills are still home-owned. There are very few "rich people" and "putting on the dog" is not done.

It is a community which has a natural setting of great beauty and is keenly aware both of it and of the need of protecting values of living.

Problems Tackled

For twenty years the community has been cleaning up its debts, preparing for the inevitable intensive development of forest products and more intensive settlement. The program has been spurred by realization that this growth has begun—without benefit of war industry—and that things need doing now.

The Planning Council makes a three-point attack on postwar problems:

1. Private works—for which detailed surveys and reports are being made under contract with the University of Oregon School of Business.
2. Public works—emphasizing the necessity for getting rid of debt, staying out of debt and cash reserves for necessary betterments.
3. Human Problems — seeking an individual approach to the educational, social and economic readjustments of all concerned.

The Council has a fund of $10,000 contributed by business people for its first year's work. It has no legal status or authority, but by bringing people together to discuss many common problems of growth and the postwar period it seeks answers to all the familiar troubles of "urban areas and suburban fringes."

For students of municipal government and the management of public business, this Lane County effort is interesting mainly for what it may suggest in the self-reliant establishment of a sound practice in public business on a local or regional basis.

The Lane County program—which is spreading rapidly to many other communities in Oregon—might be described as "a laboratory experiment" in fiscal management and in determining how far the voting public can be induced to study and understand and adopt new and more economical methods.

In 1930, as depression really began to hit, as its lumber, canning and transport industries tobogganed, as unemployment mounted, as roving hungry transients swarmed along the Pacific Coast, the area found itself with more than $6,000,000 of county, city and school debt, with taxable valuations going to pieces, with tax rates which kept climbing in spite of frantic efforts to "retrench"—and this was because debt payments could not be dodged!

Today the county of Lane, the cities of Eugene and Springfield, and most of the important school districts are either debt free or will be in the next year or two.

They got that way by "doing without," by hard-bitten community self-denial of liberal "grants" from PWA or WPA, whenever it appeared that the price of federal aid was more local debt. In the lean years Eugene and the county alone—not counting minor districts—paid off more than $4,341,000 in principal and interest, more than 61 per cent of their total debt from 1920 to 1948.

From 1930 to 1944 debt service ate up 30.8 cents out of every tax dollar in the combined county, city, school levy. Out of an average combined tax levy of 54.7 mills it required 15.06 for debt. In some years it took as much as 58.9 cents of the city tax dollar for debt, and as much as 41.7 cents out of the school dollar and 31.5 of the county dollar.

For more than fifteen years the people of Eugene and Lane County have been increasingly conscious of the fact that debt makes taxes, and that mere "tax limitations" (such as Oregon and many other states have tried following Ohio's bad example) mean nothing if the borrowing power is not also rigorously controlled. So the people of this community began to study these questions:

> How can this problem of taxes through debt be brought under control?
>
> Is there a sound practice which can be adopted for the future?
>
> Many of the nation's largest and soundest industrial concerns for years have financed all routine improvements and expansions out of accumulated reserves; if this is good business for "big business," why not for cities, counties and school districts?
>
> When our debts have been paid off, or nearly paid off, why should we not take the equivalent of what we have been paying in debt taxes (average fifteen mills a year) and apply that to building up city, county and school improvement reserves?
>
> Could we stabilize our property taxes at 50 mills or thereabouts for combined county, city and school purposes, and allocate one-third of that levy year after year to capital improvements?

In Oregon real and personal property is appraised at approximately 50 per cent of market value, and a stabilized tax of 50 mills would mean an annual property tax of 2.5 per cent of market value in urban areas—about half the national average for urban areas, and an important inducement to industrial development and home ownership.

Special Levies Asked

As far back as 1937 some tentative experiments were made with special levies submitted to popular vote. In 1937 the voters of Eugene taxed themselves half a mill to buy Spencer Butte, a 2,000-foot mountain four miles south of town, which was threatened with spoilation by loggers, and "Old Spencer" is now the anchor for a future area park system. In that same year they voted another half mill for the city's share, with schools, in a "civic stadium."

In the fall of 1939 they voted overwhelmingly three mills a year for two years for a new airport ($75,000), and one mill a year for two years ($25,000) for a swimming pool fund. These were years in which debt payments were still at peak. Also a surcharge of 25 cents a month on water bills for sewage disposal;

there is now more than $100,000 in this reserve.

In June 1943 the taxpayers of the Eugene school district took the first big bite for the postwar program, voting ten to one a tax of seven mills a year for five years ($500,000) for the first unit of their new $1,500,000 high school project —for which a 70-acre site had been acquired with cash savings.

In May 1944 the voters of the city of Eugene followed up with five mills a year for five years for sewers ($375,000); one mill a year for five years for the city's share of county-city building ($75,000). And the voters of Lane County by two to one approved a levy of two mills a year for five years ($500,000) for postwar roads and bridges. In November the county will vote on one mill a year for five years for the county's share of county-city building ($250,000).

Postwar Levies

So far the total in postwar levies is seven for schools, six for city, two for county, an aggregate of fifteen mills, with one more mill coming up in November to make sixteen.

A most interesting feature of the situation is that the combined tax levy for 1944-45 for Eugene, Eugene schools, and the county—what the Eugene taxpayer really pays—will not exceed 51 mills, despite the fact that debt payments are not yet complete. This is due to several happy circumstances:

1. Redistribution of state income tax surplus to Oregon schools which gives the Eugene school district about $100,000 a year, full equivalent of its postwar building levy.
2. Marked increase of all city revenues other than taxes which has made it possible to reduce by half the 8.5 mills which the city has been levying for debt.
3. General increase of all taxable valuations to well over $50,000,000 (first time 1930 peak of $49,500,000 has been passed).

But when this postwar program was first proposed early in 1943 no such tax offsets were in sight, and the voters were warned that if fifteen mills were added now, in 1944-45 their combined tax might hit 65 mills. Even after the school levy was offset by state funds, the voters were warned that the county and city levies might make a total for 1944-45 as high as 57.4 mills.

The only promise held out to the voters was that "as your old debts are liquidated, your taxes will come down to 50 mills or less because these postwar levies merely replace 'dead horse.'" The main argument for not waiting till 1948 to start the postwar program was that the postwar will not wait.

The method of presenting these problems to voters is quite important.

For more than fifteen years the relation of debt to taxes has been the subject of constant discussion and explanation at public meetings, on the local radio, and on the front pages as well as the editorial pages of the local press—not only with statistics but with graphic illustrations, pictures, charts, diagrams, graphs which give a "picture story" of tax and debt.

It is also interesting to note that at the election on May 19, 1944, the voters of Eugene adopted a city manager plan effective January 1, 1945, and also voted an extra one mill—over and above all ordinary and postwar levies—to liberalize the operating budgets of their city government. The taxpayers of the Eugene school district on June 19, 1944, voted an extra 1.3 mills for operations, mainly to increase teacher and janitor pay against war competition. All these levies with the postwar levies will fit within the 51-mill total.

The adjacent city of Springfield meanwhile has cleaned up a debt situation worse than Eugene's, and it has voted some $250,000 in postwar preparations. Springfield has authorized $20,000 in bonds for a city building, and $85,000 for sewage disposal. The city schools and union high school district have voted levies for their postwar additions and improvements. In Springfield the aggregate of postwar school levies is ten mills; in the country somewhat less.

In the small city of Oakridge voters have just approved some ten mills for streets and lighting and two mills for a library.

In Portland, Salem, Roseburg, Baker, Corvallis, Lebanon, Tillamook, Klamath Falls and many other Oregon communities, voters have approved large postwar levies, mostly for schools, although some cities and counties have begun to take up the idea of cash instead of bonds.

It is much too soon to say that a sound practice in public finance has been established by the Lane County program. Without the heart pull of war, Lane County taxpayers might have been much harder to sell. After years of "build-up" and many months of intensive effort, Fred Stickels, chairman of the Central Lane Council, and other leaders would tell you: "All we know is that we have found out how much we don't know."

Every analysis of the community's past, present and future fiscal policy merely leads to new questions:

> How much of all costs should be charged to property?
>
> How can we get better and more uniform methods of public accounting and reporting?
>
> How can we clarify, strengthen and safeguard cash reserve legislation?

And most important:

> How can useful public works be balanced with private works over a long period of years to get something like "balanced economy"?

In Great Britain Lord Woolton's report suggests "increased taxes in good times and reduced taxes in bad times" to prepare public works to balance fluctuations in private employment. In this country Harvard's Professor Alvin Hansen talks of "compensating" and "developmental" public spending—mostly with borrowed money, to which Professor W. L. Crum retorts that the result may be "political manipulation instead of fiscal management."

In Lane County we are doing exactly what is proposed by the great economists, but with cash, and at home town level, where the control is or can be largely in the hands of those who pay and, despite the obvious limitations, it might be that Lane County "has something." We can only say that this much has been done!

Milwaukee Goes Debt Free

City's fifty-year program, actually achieved in 21 years, sets sound example for suburban neighbors and bolsters morale of city officials for problems of postwar period.

By LLOYD GLADFELTER, City Hall Reporter
The Milwaukee Journal

WHEN the efficient housewife designs a new recipe for a cake or for flapjacks the success of her magic in the kitchen soon spreads throughout the neighborhood. The neighbors beat a path to her door and they go away not only satisfied with what they have sampled but also with the cherished recipe. Soon thereafter all the families in the block feast on the dish and later its fame spreads afar.

In thrifty Milwaukee 21 years ago a whole ingenious household contrived a recipe news of the success of which has been spread throughout the land. The household was the Milwaukee municipal government; its recipe a sound plan for getting out of debt by creating a unique amortization fund.

The optimistic cooks of those days worked up formidable tables and proved to themselves and the good citizens of Milwaukee that by 1973—exactly 50 years after the plan was started—they would have Milwaukee out of debt. They could not foresee that their goal would be reached by 1944.

The "neighbors" came in to taste the new recipe and the result is that two suburban governments, West Allis and West Milwaukee, already are out of debt via the Milwaukee plan, and South Milwaukee will join the ranks in 1948.

Many city officials elsewhere will ask what financial wizardry did Milwaukee perform to achieve such an astounding record? The idea of the public debt amortization fund was based upon these resources:

All interest payments received by the city on deferred street assessments, one-third of the interest earned on any city funds, such as daily bank balances, all other moneys which the common council by a two-thirds vote would transfer to it, and gifts and bequests from citizens and organizations.

Assets from all these sources would then be invested in bonds of trust fund integrity and the earnings would be reinvested in additional bonds as the earnings grew. Thus the principle of compound interest would be put to work.

The plan was followed meticulously.

For ten years before the fund was created by state law, city officials had demonstrated great interest in gaining freedom from the burden of debt. There was a deal of talk and much quiet mulling of the problem in various minds. Finally in 1922 the machinery was set in motion when two measures were introduced simultaneously in the common council. The final result was that a special committee of four men, the quartet which had shown the most interest, was appointed to work out details.

Three of the four men who created the recipe have lived to see it produce results. They are City Comptroller William H. Wendt, Assistant City Attorney Charles W. Babcock and Thomas M. Duncan, former secretary to former Mayor Daniel Webster Hoan. The fourth, Senator Schultz, died a few years ago.

First Contributions

On June 12, 1923, the common council turned over to the amortization fund its first contribution of $398,577, which had been paid into the city treasury as interest on deferred street assessments since 1917. The money had been allowed to accumulate in the hope that it would be used for a good purpose. Later that same year another contribution of $101,822 was made, starting the fund lustily on its way with $500,399 in assets.

Standing alone the $500,399 appeared strong and healthy. Compared with the then city debt—$29,033,000—it was very small. Actually it was less than 2 per cent of outstanding obligations.

The amortization fund continued to show a sturdy growth, but so did the debt. From January 1, 1924, to January 1, 1932, the fund increased to $3,055,860. In the same period the debt vaulted to an all-time high of $50,338,450.

The depression of the thirties was deepening. The problems of municipal finance were causing distress. In the face of such difficulties the common council had the courage to decide that after 1932 no city general purpose bonds would be issued. From that point on the debt declined sharply each year as maturities were met in full. The amortization fund meanwhile spurted ahead under the impetus of greatly increased earnings. The state law was changed to permit the fund to invest its cash in delinquent city tax certificates which earned interest at the rate of 9.6 per cent a year. Each year from 1933 through 1938 the fund earned more than $600,000, reaching a record of $910,265 in 1934.

The following table will show the growth of the fund compared with the rise and fall of the city debt until 1944:

CITY OF MILWAUKEE

Year *Jan.* 1	*Amortization Fund*	*Net Debt*
1924	$ 500,399	$29,033,300
1925	780,804	30,773,800
1929	2,075,773	48,063,050
1930	2,494,574	48,650,900
1931	3,055,860	50,338,450
(Bond issues discontinued)		
1932	3,650,663	47,480,000
1933	4,022,662	43,645,166
1934	4,738,107	39,712,433
1935	5,648,372	35,848,700
1936	6,287,140	32,081,700
1937	6,914,718	28,519,500
1938	7,598,140	25,139,500
1939	8,004,577	21,819,500
1940	8,640,544	18,716,500
1941	9,056,824	15,890,000
1942	9,401,972	13,251,000
1943	9,764,059	10,654,000
1944	10,092,105	10,162,000
March 1944	10,162,000	10,162,000

Source: City Comptroller's office.

For four years, from 1932 to 1936, the city faced the problem of financing capital improvements without the aid of bond issues. Those were the days of the CWA, the PWA and the WPA, when federal money was channeled to all government units to help pay for made-work projects. Milwaukee financed its share out of current revenues.

As the depression's severity lessened, it became apparent that a long-term program of financing capital improvements on a cash basis was inevitable.

While city officials puzzled over the problem the City Club, through the chairman of its finance committee, came forward with a plan of its own. It was a simple program designed to create a permanent fund for financing such improvements by cash rather than by bonds.

City Club Plan

Paul S. Grant, the City Club's finance chairman, suggested that the council place in the budget each year the amount set aside in 1936 for servicing the debt. He proposed that as the debt charges declined the difference between the 1936 figure and the amount needed each succeeding year be levied and set aside in the permanent improvement fund.

In 1936 the permanent improvement was a modest sum, only $400,000, and did not permit much work. In 1937 it was $800,000, and each year it increased until the council this fall and each year thereafter for the next six years will levy $3,800,000 to finance sewers, bridges, buildings, street widenings and other outlays which heretofore had been paid for by bond revenues. Those same projects would have cost, by the bond financing, including interest on twenty-year serial bonds, $5,500,000. Hence the taxpayer will be saved $1,700,000 a year in the future.

The annual tax levy of $3,800,000 will pay on a cash basis for the city's six-year construction program in the postwar period. This program contemplates projects costing $22,250,000 through 1949. More than $6,000,000 in cash is on hand from the improvement fund cash balances of the last two years and the 1944 appropriations. Little money will be spent during the war, and should hostilities cease in 1945, Milwaukee will have approximately $10,000,000 in the permanent improvement fund with which to work.

There is still more to Milwaukee's financial history. Beginning with 1913 the city administration decided by levying extra taxes to shift all its departments from a borrowing to a cash basis. For generations it has been the habit of cities, including Milwaukee, to borrow from the banks to finance each year's operations and then repay the loans out of the next year's tax revenues. By 1932 the last department was shifted to a cash basis—in other words the current year's taxes now pay for the current year's operating costs.

Milwaukee has set aside an additional $975,000 in cash for street improvements so far, and next fall will add approximately $500,000 to the street fund.

Another feature of Milwaukee's financial program is its delinquent tax fund, a cash reserve set up to meet deficits that will grow out of the depression's lengthy list of unpaid and uncollectible taxes. Milwaukee has already taken title to thousands of properties, vacant and improved. It is selling large numbers of lots, commercial buildings and dwellings. But after the delinquency problem is cleaned up City Treasurer Joseph J. Krueger anticipates a deficit of $3,500,000. Each of the last three years the Council has levied a special tax to liquidate this deficit and this year the city has piled up $2,700,000 toward the $3,500,000. Next year approximately $800,000 will be levied to wipe out the delinquency deficit.

This year the Milwaukee taxpayers received their first dividend, a substantial tax reduction of $2.03 on each $1,000 of property value, because the public debt amortization fund actually paid off $1,859,000 of the $2,205,000 in debt principal which became due. It will continue to pay off both the principal and interest charges until 1952 when the last general purpose bonds will be redeemed.

Milwaukee's problems of financing, however, are not yet over. Confronting the aldermen are the important questions of rehabilitating slums and blighted areas, of public housing which may be built there; financing features of the master plan, especially lake-front development and express highways. Will the city administration refrain from further bond issues and levy taxes to create additional cash reserves for its needs of the future?

Editor's Note: Copies of the six-year postwar program are available from the Municipal Reference Library, 803 City Hall, Milwaukee; copies of "Milwaukee: A Debt Free City" are available from the City Comptroller, 206 City Hall, Milwaukee.

20 YEARS FORWARD

(Continued from page 385)

County, it is true, has an additional bonding power for the same period of $21,000,000, and the school district of $59,000,000. The latter cannot be employed in aid of any of the projects referred to in this report. The financing of improvements through county issues depends on the degree of cooperation and coordination which can be developed in the metropolitan area.[5]

Conclusion

Cincinnati has solved the basic problem of decent, honest and representative government. It still has unsolved problems of great magnitude. This is no reproach to its city government. It has done an outstanding job in using available resources.

What is needed is a community movement comparable in intensity to that of 1924, but with the further objective of breaking down the habit of civic parsimony which grew strong in days when Cincinnati's government was not fit to be trusted with the people's money. Necessity often produces leadership. The crisis on the threshold of which Cincinnati, like the rest of the country, stands today should evoke it. When such leadership is forthcoming, it will find ready to hand, in the city government, an instrument as effective as has yet been devised for carrying out the will of the people in municipal affairs.

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[5] Since the publication of this report a movement has got under way for bond issues aggregating $41,000,000—$16,000,000 by the city, $16,000,000 by the schools, and $9,000,000 by the county. The last has already been certified by the county commissioners to the board of elections for a place on the November ballot.

Utilities Organized by Districts

Survey describes formation and control of public utility organizations in six metropolitan areas as possible guides for future proposals; need for enabling legislation seen.

By JOHN BAUER, Director
American Public Utilities Bureau

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the third in a series of four articles by Dr. John Bauer on public utilities in metropolitan areas. The two preceding articles presented the general problem of furnishing utility services within metropolitan areas and surveyed the extent to which the chief cities themselves have undertaken responsibility for regional service. The fourth article will consider the type of central city and district organization which appears most suited to regional needs.

THIS article is devoted to a description of publicly owned and operated utilities which are organized on a metropolitan district basis. Such districts have their own corporate and managerial structures under special state laws, and have the status of municipalities within their particular functions and areas.

District organization has been established where integrated utility service is required for the metropolitan territory but cannot be satisfactorily furnished by the main city or by a private company. Formerly these services were mostly on an individual municipal basis. Frequently the central city has extended its service to neighboring communities as it could within its legal powers and plant capacities.

But with expanding service requirements and with the pressure of modernization and sanitation, the old municipal systems become inadequate and obsolete. Facilities have to be rebuilt, extended and integrated over the entire district, or far beyond. For such transformation and extension regular municipal powers do not provide the needed flexibility. Unity of organization, financing and operation becomes necessary. This can be brought about by revising and greatly enlarging the powers of the chief city, or through compacts between the several communities, but either course is normally beset with difficulties. Central city concentration is usually distrusted and opposed by other communities, while joint agreements are complicated and cumbersome.

Against these alternatives, the district municipal system is the logical development. It has its own legal standing, its independent financing, and its own operation. It is suited to provide the unity of purpose and results which are not otherwise available except with complete territorial amalgamation into a single metropolitan city. While such full unification would doubtless be far the best governmental development, the limited integration furnishes what is needed in supplying particular services.

Conditions calling for district organization are likely to appear more extensively after the war than they have in the past. New water supplies must be developed in many localities, combining the joint resources of the regions and often extending far beyond the integrated service areas. They will require modern protection against pollution and provision for purification. Sewage dumping into streams or other nearby waters will fast come to an end, and modern treatment systems will be established. Likewise old methods of garbage and refuse disposal will be intolerable, and must be replaced by present-day sanitary systems efficiently managed.

These are all pressing necessities and they are important parts of the postwar planning with which all cities are confronted. In many instances the central city may be able to perform services satisfactorily for the region, but otherwise district organization should be available.

To indicate possible suggestions as to the most suitable organic structure and means of public control, a summary survey will be presented of several important district systems. The first is the Hartford, Connecticut, district, which was the subject of an earlier article.[1] The other districts discussed were reported in reply to a questionnaire submitted to cities over 100,000 population.[2]

The Hartford District

The Metropolitan District of Hartford County, Connecticut, was established in 1930, in accordance with permissive state legislation, following a survey of conditions which virtually precluded the attainment of necessary improvements through existing municipal channels. The legislation provides for inclusion of all Hartford County, but actual territory covered consists of the city of Hartford and six town units, with service extended to West Hartford under earlier agreements.

Functions included are water supply, sewage disposal, regional planning, and highway development. The last has been actually carried out by the State Highway Department.

The properties, financing and operations are in charge of the District Board. This consists of 22 members appointed by the governor of the state, upon informal local recommendation. Membership is in two "forms." The first consists of seven, one from each township unit, appointed for two years. The second has fifteen, appointed at large for the district, five every two years for six-year terms; in practice, eight have been appointed from Hartford, and seven from the other towns.

From the general board members there are sub-appointments to a special board of seven in charge of the Water Bureau, a second board of seven in charge of the Bureau of Public Works which has control of the sewers and the disposal plant, and a third which constitutes the Regional Planning Commission consisting of two district board members, two citizen appointees and, *ex officio,* the managers of the Water Bureau and the Bureau of Public Works. There are also functional units which are concerned with finance, contracts, legislation, and organization, and which include citizen memberships for the development of policies and public advice.

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[1] "Hartford Metropolitan Needs Served by Water and Sewer Board," by John Bauer, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October 1943.

[2] For a description of the questionnaire see Dr. Bauer's first article of this series, the REVIEW, June 1944, p. 277.

The Water Bureau is operated on a financially self-sustaining basis. It has a watershed of over 500 square miles and reaches over 30 miles beyond Hartford. Its plant extensions and improvements are financed mainly through bond issues, while the interest and amortization, along with all operating expenses and other overhead, are paid out of operating revenues derived from rates paid by consumers.

The same rate schedules apply to the entire district except where admission had been predicated upon a differential fixed to equalize the relative cost differences between the previous members and the applicant town. Operations are in charge of a general manager.

The Bureau of Public Works is financed separately and has its own general manager. Plant additions and improvements are paid for through assessments and bond issues, also, to minor extent, by taxes. Operating costs, including interest and other fixed charges and debt retirement, are allocated as taxes to the several towns on the basis of relative budget expenditures for their own municipal activities. The work of the planning commission is largely integrated with the Bureau of Public Works; it has the same manager, and its costs are allocated as taxes on the same basis.

The Boston District[3]

The history of the well known Metropolitan District Commission, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, dates back at least to 1895 when the Metropolitan Water Board was created by act of the legislature. This body took over from the city of Boston all the water works and storage outside the city limits, also the Chestnut Hill reservoir within its limits.

Later the Metropolitan Water and Sewerage Board was formed, and in 1920 by an act of the legislature the present Metropolitan District Commission was established.[4] This took over the construction, maintenance and operation of the metropolitan systems for water supply, sewerage plant, and parks. Each division operates with its own management and personnel. On the basis of its last published report, for 1939, it serves a total of 43 cities and towns. Of this number 20 are supplied with water, 34 with sewerage service, and 38 with park facilities.

The water system furnishes collection, storage, purification and transmission. Bulk water is delivered to the individual municipalities which have their own distribution systems, fix their own rates and collect their own revenues.

Each city or town within ten miles of the State House in Boston is entitled to join the water district under prescribed conditions, and fifteen more may join when they desire.

Construction is financed through bond issues. Interest and retirement provisions, together with the cost of maintenance and operation, are assessed by the treasurer and receiver-general of the Commonwealth upon the municipalities involved, one-third on the basis of tax valuations and two-thirds on the basis of water consumption. The storage capacity in 1939 was 82,545,000,000 gallons.

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[3] Data obtained from D. M. Sullivan, Water Division Engineer, Public Works Department, Boston, Mass.; and from the 1939 report of the Metropolitan District Commission and Public Document No. 92, Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

[4] See also "Half Century—Half Measure," by Richard A. Atkins, the REVIEW, March 1944.

The 1926-1927 legislature created also the Metropolitan District Water Supply Commission for the purpose of constructing new water works; these are turned over to the Metropolitan District Commission for operation. The latter also owns and operates two hydro-electric plants by means of water discharges from the reservoirs.

The metropolitan sewerage district is organized, financed and managed similarly to the water division. It provides, maintains and operates trunk sewers and disposal plants, while the local systems belong to the member municipalities. The interest and debt retirement costs are assessed to the members on the basis of property valuations, while the operating expenses are apportioned according to population.

The metropolitan park division provides, maintains and operates the parks and recreation centers for member municipalities, including bathing beaches and golf courses for which, in some instances, moderate charges are made. Annual cost assessments are based in part upon tax valuations and in part upon population, but apportionments are made also to take into account special local conditions.

As to organizational setup, the Metropolitan District Commission consists of a chairman and four other members appointed by the governor for overlapping terms of five years. It maintains a joint administrative department, but otherwise each division has its own employees. While its activities pertain to the Boston district, it is in reality a special commonwealth department in regard to control and financing.

Buffalo District[5]

The Buffalo Sewer Authority is a public benefit corporation created in 1935 by a special act of the New York legislature. The reasons for its establishment were (1) to provide trunk and other sewers, including drainage, and to construct treatment plants so as to eliminate dumping of sewage into the Niagara River, and (2) to provide means of financing.

The sewerage system had been owned and operated by the city of Buffalo which, under the state constitutional debt limit, was unable to finance the necessary plant facilities required for modern sewerage and waste disposal. The authority was permitted to issue bonds which were defined by the act as not constituting debt of the city. It had issued a total of $10,365,000 bonds up to June 30, 1943, and had received a federal grant of $6,728,000. It took over all existing city sewers and is operating the entire system. This includes connections with five outside municipalities served under contracts; all municipal corporations in Erie County may be served.

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[5] Information obtained from Francis J. Downing, General Manager, Buffalo Sewer Authority, and from published reports.

The authority is limited to a life of five years or until all its bonds and liabilities have been paid in full; the last maturity of the bonds outstanding is 1966. When it ceases to exist its powers, properties and operations will pass to the city.

The authority is really a special city agency rather than a district body, but, as already stated, it does furnish some metropolitan service. Its control rests in a board of five members appointed by the mayor for three-year staggered terms. The board appoints the general manager, who is in charge of the operating personnel of 241 persons. Its activities are closely coordinated with those of the city.

The authority is operated on a financially self-sustaining basis. Interest on bonds, retirement provisions, all operating expenses and carrying charges are covered principally by two forms of revenue. Of the total about 45 per cent is derived from charges based upon assessed real estate valuations, and about 55 per cent from sewer rents based upon quantities of water consumed. Assessment bills are sent out annually with the city tax bills, and sewer rents are included with city water bills. Rentals for services outside the city limits are double those within, except where other agreements were taken over by the authority. All collections are received and reported through the city treasury, but moneys and all financial transactions for the authority are kept separate.

Chicago Drainage District[6]

The Sanitary District of Chicago is a municipal corporation organized under an act of the Illinois legislature and established by a referendum vote of the people within the district, which includes the city of Chicago and some sixty other cities and villages in Cook County—approximately half the county area.

The organization deals with the sanitation and drainage needs of the territory. It has all the necessary powers to acquire, construct, finance and operate the extensive facilities required. Its plant and equipment include canal and channel improvements, sewer systems, pumping stations, four large sewer treatment works, and miscellaneous structures and equipment, aggregating a total cost of about $250,000,000. Included also are two hydro-electric stations which utilize the drop in the main channel connecting the Chicago and the Illinois Rivers. The power generated in 1943 amounted to about 108,000,000 kilowatt hours, and was used mainly for pumping and other district operations. The electric division has a separate utility status and is subject to general state regulation. It also purchases power and sells to other municipal corporations and to some extent to commercial consumers.

Plant construction, additions and improvements are financed generally through bond issues, of which $95,000,000 were outstanding on January 1, 1944. Interest on the bonds and the retirement provisions, also operating expenses and other fixed charges, are assessed mainly as taxes upon the property valuations within the district through the county clerk of Cook County. There are also revenues from the sale of fertilizer and electricity and from other sources.

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[6] Facts obtained from Mr. Ernest Buehler, Attorney, The Sanitary District of Chicago, and from published reports.

The district is under the control of a board of trustees of nine members, three elected every two years for a term of six years. The board selects its own president, and appoints an attorney, a chief engineer and a clerk who are the department heads and are responsible for the details of planning, construction and operation. Physical activities are conducted within three divisions: (1) design, construction and sanitary, dealing with plant additions and improvements, (2) maintenance and operation of the sewer system, treatment plants and all other sanitation properties, and (3) operation and maintenance of the electric division.

Oakland, California, District[7]

The East Bay Municipal Utility District was organized in 1923, under the provisions of the California Municipal Utility District Act of 1921, to provide adequate water service for the area on the east shore of San Francisco Bay. It included originally the cities of Oakland, Richmond, El Cerrito, Albany, Berkeley, Emeryville, Piedmont, Alameda and San Leandro, and subsequently annexed six county water districts and a large area of adjacent unincorporated territory. At present it covers nearly 200 square miles with a population of about 550,000.

The district was established to furnish a public corporation through which an adequate water supply could be developed and brought from a distant source. The locality had been served by a private company which had nearly exhausted local supplies and was not financially or otherwise able to provide the needed outside supplies. The district voted bonds up to $39,000,000 for new construction, and $26,000,000 for purchase of the private systems.

New development included the construction of the Pardee dam on the Mokelunine River, about 100 miles northeast of Oakland, with reservoir capacity of 68,000,000,000 gallons, a power plant with a capacity of 16,000 kilowatts, an aqueduct 93 miles long to carry water to the district territory, and other facilities needed for delivery to the distribution system. To a large extent also the purchased properties had to be rebuilt to conform to modern service standards.

The district owns and operates its properties and has financed them. Interest and bond retirement charges are assessed partly as taxes on the property owners within the district. The rest, together with operating expenses and other fixed charges, are covered principally by revenues from water and power sales and from miscellaneous receipts. For 1941 the total costs were estimated at $7,141,000, of which $5,260,000 was expected from water sales, $381,000 from power sales, $945,000 from taxes, and the balance from a variety of sources. The same rate schedule applies to all customers, although because of the topography there are wide variations in service conditions.

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[7] Data obtained from J. S. Longwell, and from an article by Mr. Longwell in the November 1941 issue of The American Water Works Association *Journal.*

Control is lodged with the board of directors of five members, each elected at large for five-year overlapping terms, whose salaries are nominal. The operating organization is headed by the chief engineer and general manager. Except for department heads personnel is under civil service.

Los Angeles Water District[8]

The Metropolitan Water District of Southern California is a municipal corporation, organized in 1928 under a special act of the California legislature. Its purpose is to construct, finance and operate facilities required to convey water from the Colorado River at Boulder Dam to the cities concerned. The district includes Los Angeles and twelve other cities, also one municipal water district, a total area of 626 square miles and an aggregate population of about 2,500,000.

The fiscal year ended June 30, 1943, was the first full year of operation. During that year the district delivered an average of about 14,000,000 gallons of water a day. It supplies the water in bulk to the municipalities and areas within its limits, which in turn distribute to individual consumers.

District properties include the main Colorado River aqueduct, pumping plants, electric transmission lines, communication lines, reservoirs, water softening plant, and distribution connections. The aggregate plant costs are about $190,000,000, financed by district bonds, of which $186,000,000 were outstanding on June 30, 1943. Total assets stood at $240,000,000; net district worth above bonds, current liabilities and reserves, amounted to $50,000,000.

Along with its water rights in the Colorado River, the district has also hydro-electric power rights for which it is obligated to pay regardless of the amount of use. Generation is conducted by the U. S. Bureau of Reclamation. In 1943 the total district obligation was 1,511,000,000 kilowatt hours, of which 61,000,000 kwh were used by the district and 1,450,000,000 resold chiefly to war industry, especially for the production of magnesium. The availability of district water and electricity has been a large factor in the location and expansion of war production within the coastal area.

The district is governed by a board of twenty directors, seven from Los Angeles and one each from the other thirteen municipal units. They are appointed by the chief executive officers of the member municipalities, with approval of the local councils. Voting power is distributed on the basis of one vote per $10,000,000 of assessed valuation. The board has a chairman, a vice chairman, and secretary, each elected biennially by and from the members, all serving without salaries. The board is grouped into six regular committees: engineering and operation, finance and insurance, land, legal and claims, power, and water problems and public relations. The business is administered by a staff of officers responsible to the board—general manager and chief engineer, general counsel, controller, and treasurer.

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[8] Information obtained from Julian Hinds, General Manager and Chief Engineer of the District, and from published reports.

Operating expenses, interest and provision for bond retirement and other charges are paid chiefly out of taxes assessed upon the constituent municipalities, and in part by revenues realized from the sale of water to non-member users, sale of electric power, and miscellaneous sources. During the fiscal year 1943 tax collections amounted to $9,642,000, and other income receipts to $921,000. Disbursements aggregated $10,234,000, including $7,175,000 for bond interest.

Questions of Organization

The six districts surveyed present the principal types of organization and control which may be considered in any new district proposal. In any such proposal the chief questions that arise are these:

First, the district must have adequate legal powers to attain its purpose. Is there an enabling statute? If so, is it adequate or should it be amended to permit proper organization and management?

Second, there must be a board of directors which is responsible and accountable to the district, and which has control of the properties and the management. What should be the size of the board? Should it be elected or appointed? If elected, should the vote be by subdivisions, or for the district as a whole. If appointed, should the selection be made by the governor of the state or by the constituent municipalities? If by the governor, what special provisions should be made for local participation in formulating policies and overseeing results? If by the municipalities, what protection is needed against political pressures which may produce inefficiency and favoritism?

Third, as to financing, should the district have independent power to place taxes upon the area either for plant acquisition or for the payment of annual costs? Should it be limited to bond issues for plant financing? If so, should the security of the bonds rest exclusively upon the revenues received for service, or should it be supported partly or wholly—or potentially—by taxes levied by the district or by the constituent municipalities?

Fourth, for operation, should rates be fixed to pay the cost of service, including interest and other fixed charges and provisions for debt retirement, so as to make the utility financially self-sustaining, or should these costs be borne partly or wholly by taxes levied either by the district or by the constituent communities?

The answers to these and other questions will depend to a large extent upon local circumstances. However, broad general policies can be presented on the basis of analyzed experience. In the concluding article I shall venture to suggest the kind of provisions which should be applicable to most district plans of organization, with such adjustments as the special circumstances may require.

On the Local Front

Prepared by the Federal Security Agency
Paul V. McNutt, Administrator

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

The Community's Stake in Vocational Rehabilitation

FINE mechanical designing in an eastern arms plant is done by a young fellow using an appliance in place of a right hand. A former tree surgeon—a middle-aged man seriously injured in a highway accident—grinds lenses for Navy binoculars. Two youngsters discharged by the Merchant Marine following spinal meningitis are apprentices of the printing trade in the plant of a southern newspaper. A Negro boy operates his own shoe repair shop from a wheel chair. Blind men burr and assemble parts for airplanes in major aircraft plants; others are riveters and spot welders.

These people and thousands of other men and women like them—victims of accidents and illness—have been restored to normal lives; they are holding their own in competition with able-bodied workers, asking no odds, helping to swell the volume of war production and to keep the wheels of essential business turning.

According to the National Manufacturers' Association, 83 per cent of the nation's industries are now employing handicapped persons. Some 30,400 disabled men and women have entered the federal service in the past twenty months—in heavy government industries, in professional positions, and in clerical jobs.

The increase in the ranks of the disabled employed in war plants and business shops stems from the necessity of tapping every source of manpower to meet the critical wartime shortage and from twenty years' pioneer experience in the rehabilitation of the disabled. The search for additions to the labor force uncovered a vast number of persons whose abilities can be utilized by removing the obstacles to their employment.

As a natural next step, Congress has expanded the vocational rehabilitation program—taking into account the limitations of earlier legislation and the unmet needs of the disabled, as well as their potentialities as a reservoir of manpower. With this new legislation, recruitment of handicapped workers was organized through cooperation of industrial management, governmental rehabilitation and placement agencies, and many voluntary agencies.

Disabled workers themselves have played an important part in this effort to aid in the war emergency by rolling up a remarkably favorable record on production, absenteeism, labor turnover, and accidents.

Rehabilitation Services

Under the new and expanded program authorized just a year ago by the Barden-LaFollette Act, all the services are available that are necessary to enable disabled persons to engage in remunerative employment or to get more advantageous employment. These services include medical and surgical care, hospitalization, physical and occupational therapy, prosthetic appliances, vocational counseling and training, maintenance during training, placement in employment, and supervision in employment until adjustment has been made.

For a disabled person to be eligible for vocational rehabilitation, his disability must be an employment handicap; it must also be a relatively stable one and remediable. Pre-determined financial need with regard to physical restoration and maintenance during training must be taken into consideration. The terms of providing physical restoration also clearly differentiate this phase of service from a general medical care program for acute illnesses and from a program of long-term care of chronic illnesses.

Fortunately, the program now includes the mentally as well as the physically disabled. Specific provision has been made for the blind; for war-disabled civilians, including merchant seamen, and for civil employees of the United States government injured in the performance of duty. The program extends aid to all men and women injured in industry, or by accident, or by illness, or impaired by congenital defect.

How the Program Operates

Forty-seven states, the District of Columbia, Hawaii and Puerto Rico are taking part in the program. Operation rests with the State Board of Vocational Education through its division of Vocational Rehabilitation and the state agency for the blind. The Federal Office of Vocational Rehabilitation is responsible for establishing standards in the various areas of service, for giving technical assistance to the states, for approving state plans which meet the requirements of the authorizing act of Congress, and for certifying federal grants-in-aid to the states.

Instead of attempting to create new facilities, or equip one agency for the total job, existing public and private facilities and all available service resources are utilized. Training is secured from public and private schools, vocational training courses, and in-service training on the job. Medical and surgical diagnostic services and treatment are purchased or secured from practicing physicians, and hospital care from both public and voluntary hospitals. Jobs are found in private business and government on the customary business basis.

Community's Part

Rehabilitation can be really effective only if communities and their government agencies understand the purposes and processes of the service and how to use it in the solution of disabled persons' problems. It also needs the support of individuals and organizations. Restoring the disabled to productive usefulness is a two-way process of cooperation between the State Rehabilitation Agency and each community within that state. Communities may draw upon the rehabilitation agency for professional consultative services to help salvage and conserve manpower. For example, assistance may be given in making plant surveys to determine suitable jobs for disabled persons. Schools and hospitals may secure specialized counseling for handicapped pupils and children. Aid may be obtained in the operation of vending stands by blind people in public buildings, or interested community groups can get advice on setting up sheltered work shops for those too disabled to work elsewhere.

From the rehabilitation standpoint, every assistance is needed in locating disabled persons in need of service, and in identifying community services and employment possibilities. Data on the personal, medical, and psychological backgrounds of individuals must be obtained from many sources. It is often necessary to adjust or, if possible, eliminate personal or home factors which may interfere with satisfactory rehabilitation. This can usually be best managed through local agencies. Communities may sometimes find it necessary to arrange maintenance for a person's family during rehabilitation, since the rehabilitation agency can only supply maintenance for the disabled person himself.

Local, State, Federal Cooperation

The backlog of disablement and its current increases represent a bigger problem than most people realize. There were in the United States, when the war began, some eight million men with physical disabilities affecting their employability; two million of these were urgently in need of rehabilitation. The normal annual increase of persons completely unemployable unless rehabilitated is estimated at 100,000; but because of the masses of inexperienced workers entering industry, the disablement of men in military service, and the increased mental and physical strains of wartime, this rate has risen rapidly. The injury total for 1943, as reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, is about 6 per cent higher than for 1942; the most marked upswing occurred in manufacturing, with an increase of 26 per cent, but home and agricultural accidents also increased sharply. It is estimated that 10 per cent of all the men in the armed forces will be discharged with some form of disability. If one and one quarter million men coming out of the war with disabilities are added to disabled civilians, the magnitude of the problem is self-evident.

For every person permanently disabled, some form of support must be provided. In the past this has too often meant general public assistance, not only for the disabled individual but also for his family, with the burden falling mainly on the local assistance rolls. The average yearly cost of such aid is from $300 to $500. Vocational rehabilitation costs on the average $300; and this is, furthermore, a non-recurring expenditure.

The results of these services, measured over a one-year period, show the returns that accrue from this investment: 42,618 disabled persons—some 16,000 of them with dependents to a total of 36,131—were rehabilitated into employment during the fiscal year 1943. Of this number, 31 per cent—or 13,056—had never been employed; 85 per cent were unemployed at the time of applying for rehabilitation. The average weekly wage of the 15 per cent who had employment, including those on work relief programs, was $18, and their total earnings were $5,913,648. As against this sum—which represented the entire amount earned by this group of more than 42,000 disabled individuals—their combined earnings after rehabilitation came to $65,165,828—more than a tenfold increase.

These figures challenge community, state, and nation. The state and federal pattern is set for a realistic attack on disablement. Many communities are organized to coordinate local efforts and integrate local, state, and federal services. Every community needs to become a partner in this enterprise.

Contributors in Review

FOR an account of the career of **John Bauer** (*Utilities Organized by Districts*), see the REVIEW for June, page 301.

AS CITY HALL reporter for the Milwaukee *Journal,* **Lloyd Gladfelter** (*Milwaukee Goes Debt Free*) has covered Milwaukee's successful struggle to rid itself of its debt. A graduate of the University of Wisconsin's School of Journalism, Mr. Gladfelter has been in the newspaper world since 1918. He was formerly with the York (Pa.) *Gazette and Daily* and the Wilmington (Del.) *Morning News.*

WELL known in the municipal consultant field are **Thomas H. Reed and Doris D. Reed** *(20 Years Forward in Cincinnati).* Dr. Reed, formerly professor of political science at the University of Michigan, has conducted many local government surveys for the National Municipal League's Consultant Service. He was director of research for the Pennsylvania Commission to Study Municipal Consolidation in Allegheny County and the City and County Metropolitan Development Committee of St. Louis, director of studies of the Republican Program Committee, and is now with the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council as municipal government counsellor. Mrs. Reed was formerly with the Citizens League of Cleveland, thereafter spending several years in organization work with the Philadelphia Conference on Government, the Allegheny County Metropolitan Plan Commission, the Philadelphia Charter Committee, and the Committee on Political Education of the American Political Science Association. She directed the "You and Your Government" radio program sponsored by the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, the National Municipal League and others, and has participated in many of the surveys of the League's Consultant Service. She is with the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council doing research on Connecticut local government.

GROWING up in Cincinnati when the Hynicka-Cox regime was in its heyday, **William M. Tugman** *(By Their Own Bootstraps)* was early initiated into the mysteries of "machine" politics. On graduation from Harvard he promptly got into newspaper work and served with the Springfield *Republican,* the Cleveland *Plain Dealer,* and other dailies. Usually covering the city hall beat, Mr. Tugman has had ample opportunity to observe municipal affairs. Now managing editor of the Eugene (Oregon) *Register-Guard,* he has been among those responsible for the recent strides in his city and county of which he writes.

— **Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps** —

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor of the
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

The retirement on July 1, 1944, of Miss May B. Upshaw as director of examinations for the New York Municipal Civil Service Commission brings to mind that she was the first woman to hold so important an administrative position in the New York Civil Service Commission, and probably the first of her sex to be honored with such high office in the public personnel field.

Miss Upshaw's long service with the city has been a creditable one. It has been a steady climb, often against great odds and prejudices, for while women were generally permitted to compete in civil service examinations, they were usually excluded from the more responsible key positions.

Miss Upshaw started with the New York Commission as a civil service examiner about 35 years ago, although she had originally entered the service by way of a test for chemists shortly after she was graduated from college. For fifteen years she was assistant director of examinations under the late Thomas E. Murray, and succeeded him in 1935. She was in charge of the planning and management of civil service tests for the New York City service and later virtually acted as general manager of the examination activities of the Commission. One of her great services has been her courage and integrity in holding out against graft and corruption in the early days of the Commission, and in keeping the merit system out of politics. She showed unusual capacity for enlisting the services of prominent educators and public-spirited and competent professional men in the civil service examinations, and for stirring up their social consciousness to give their services to the city.

Miss Upshaw epitomized the tireless effort and high standard of integrity which professional women in the public service have brought to it. She deserves well of a grateful public for her contributions in the field of public personnel administration. I speak from personal experience since Miss Upshaw was my valued aide when I was civil service commissioner.

RICHARD WELLING, *President*
Civil Service Reform Association

To the Editor of the
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

I was very glad to see your editorial in the July number of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW on "Wanted: Better Politicians." I believe that the only chance for good government lies in persuading young men and women of high character and intelligence to take an active part in politics and run for office.

An Anglican clergyman of Manchester, England, who seemed to me a man of extraordinary ability and intelligence, said recently at a meeting here that one of the great differences between politics in this country and in Great Britain was the fact that young people of standing were educated to go into civil service and directly into politics in Great Britain. They have a tradition which makes such a course a natural one for them. There is certainly a great need both to stir up voters to take a proper interest in their civic responsibilities and to run for office when it is possible to do so.

I hope the REVIEW can hammer on this subject. It will be necessary to make it a matter of major and frequent attention if any result is to be achieved. Our indifference to everyday politics is frightful.

JOHN M. GLENN
Russell Sage Foundation

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Transition Problems Face Local, State, National Governments

Unemployment Compensation and Surplus Property Debated

WITH one phase of war-to-peace reconversion—the problem of termination of wartime contracts—partially crystallized, attention of national legislators and state and local officials has centered more on two other outstanding phases: unemployment compensation and other means of bridging the unemployment gap, and disposal of the huge federal war surplus of many kinds of property.

The question of unemployment compensation payments to discharged war workers has been attended by controversies both as to amount of such benefits, for the purposes of preventing distress and maintaining mass purchasing power, and as to the agencies for administering the benefits. Opposing views have been typified by those of Senator Walter F. George of Georgia, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, and Senator Harley M. Kilgore, West Virginia, of the Military Affairs Committee. Senator George would leave the unemployment compensation program up to the states, without supplementary payments from federal sources; but he would have the national government guarantee the solvency of state unemployment funds, now said to total over $5,000,000,000, by federal non-interest loans, and provide for unemployment compensation for certain federal workers not now covered.

The Kilgore provisions for federal determination of payments, more liberal in amount than the George recommendations for war workers, with state allowances to be supplemented by federal funds, were decisively defeated in the Senate; but several other Kilgore proposals were incorporated in the George bill and adopted. They include retraining of war workers and service men and aid for reemployment, under supervision of a national work administrator. The George bill also provides for federal loans to states, on a population basis, for public works.

On August 15 the House Postwar Committee recommended immediate action by the states to enlarge the scope of their unemployment compensation systems as to both duration and level of benefits. The Social Security Board was stated to have estimated that funds are adequate in most states to provide increased benefits during the reconversion period. The present maximum is $20 a week, in three states; 25 states have a $15 maximum, with others $16 to $18.

Federal Surplus Property

Although proposals of the Surplus War Property Administration have not been especially preferential to state and local governments strong opinion exists in favor of preferences in time and price for local governments to acquire needed portions of the surplus which is estimated in astronomical figures. The position is taken that the taxpayers have paid for the surpluses and the local governments supported by the same taxpayers should benefit therefrom rather than private interests.

The executive committee of the American Municipal Association, representing state leagues of municipalities, has recommended the following:

> Where no state agency is estab-

lished to facilitate distribution of federal surplus to public agencies, the federal government should set up an appropriate agency.

Provision for notice and practical means of advice as to what federal surplus property is available.

Time preference to be given governmental subdivisions in the disposition of such property.

The War Production Board should make allocations of materials for governments;

Price preference should be given governmental subdivisions, but under administrative direction.

Federal surplus property should be allocated to governmental units on a formula basis in the period of short supply.

While under some conditions and in some situations outright grants to governmental units will undoubtedly be desirable and possible, the association does not recommend general distribution on a gift basis.

The Municipal Finance Officers Association, basing its views on reports from local finance and purchasing officials throughout the country, suggests a program some of the provisions of which are:

State and local government units be given priority over civilian buyers.

All offerings be made in terms of units rather than on lot basis.

Tax-supported agencies should be given a price preference.

Federal procedures should be changed so that bid deposits are not required of tax-supported agencies and that bids may be accepted on the basis of a certified order. Payment should be made upon receipt of materials purchased. The purchasing governmental unit should receive final title to the goods upon acceptance of the bid and without waiting for approval of the U. S. comptroller-general.

The materials should be offered gradually, according to perishability and obsolescence factors; such a procedure would not tend to disrupt the market or place too heavy a financial burden on the cities during any one fiscal year.

The states might provide a revolving fund to make purchases for smaller communities.

Rhode Island Rushes Soldier Vote Amendment

The problem of enabling soldiers to vote in the 1944 election, which was faced by the general assembly of Rhode Island when it convened last January, was one for which there was no easy solution.

The Governor and legislative and party leaders found that registration and voting provisions were inextricably entwined in the state's century-old constitution. Legislation by the general assembly would not suffice to give military absentees the vote.

Article XIII of the constitution, governing the subject of amendment, calls for passage of an amendment by two independently elected legislatures, with ultimate ratification by the people at an election. Presumably the general assembly which would have to pass the amendment the second time would be elected at the very election in which it was desired that the absentees have the opportunity to vote.

A constitutional convention was the only hope, if the silence of the constitution as to such a convention implied permission. Despite a long history of opposition to such conventions, despite the expense incident thereto, and despite legal doubts—the Supreme Court in the past having rendered advisory opinions both denying and upholding the convention method of amendment—the convention plan was embarked upon.

In the short period from January to April the following events took place: (1) The general assembly by resolution authorized a special election for purposes of approval of a convention and election of delegates thereto; (2) The special election was held, the people approving by an overwhelming margin; (3) The convention met and adopted an amendment vesting in the general assembly broad powers over the soldier vote problem; (4) A second special election ratified the convention's work; (5) Pursuant to the power thus granted, the general assembly then enacted perhaps the most liberal and far-reaching service vote provisions to be found anywhere in the country. Thus astute, bipartisan leadership overcame all obstacles.

John W. Lederle
Brown University
Providence, Rhode Island

Limited Merit System for Missouri Constitution

The Missouri Constitutional Convention has adopted a limited state civil service provision covering employees of the state eleemosynary, penal, and reformatory institutions.

According to the Civil Service Assembly of the United States, the civil service section provides that all employees of these state institutions, and other state employees as may be required by law, shall be selected on the basis of merit, ascertained as nearly as practicable by competitive examinations. Provision is also made for veterans' preference in examination and appointment for all honorably discharged members of the armed services who are citizens of Missouri. If approved by the voters when the constitution is submitted, the provision will place approximately 3,000 additional state employees under civil service.

A proposal for the creation of a state department of personnel to administer a statewide merit system was rejected by the convention on June 22 after the limited civil service section was adopted. The method of administration for the proposed merit system is thus left to future determination.

New Jersey Strengthens Fire and Police Pension Systems

In its recent enactment of legislation creating a state pension system for municipal policemen and firemen, New Jersey has taken a third important step toward providing sound pension coverage for all classes of public employees in the state.

The first step was taken in 1919, when New Jersey's school teachers were blanketed into one statewide pension fund; the second in 1921, when a retirement system for employees of the state government was created; later on this latter fund extended coverage to employees of municipalities and counties where the voters approved.

Like the teachers' and the state employees' funds, the new system for policemen and firemen is established on an actuarial reserve basis, and is administered by a non-political board of trustees.

Heretofore New Jersey's police and firemen participated in municipal pension systems which were established by local referenda under a state law enacted in 1920, which stipulated the benefits and how the local funds were to be administered and financed, but provided for no state supervision.

In 1932 a legislative commission studying public pension finances reported that the assets of an ever-increasing number of the local police and firemen's systems were becoming depleted. The commission unsuccessfully urged the establishment of a single statewide system to replace the local funds.

In September 1942 the increasing gravity of the problem was dramatized in a survey report of the research department of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, which disclosed that more than a third of the 190 existing funds were already bankrupt, with all the rest headed toward ultimate insolvency, and described the many kinds of political abuses which had arisen in the granting of pension benefits in many places as a result of localized control.

The chamber's Cost of Government Committee called upon the legislature for a sound statewide system on actuarial principles. The New Jersey Taxpayers' Association, the League of Municipalities and other citizens' and business groups supported this proposal. Responsible leaders of the state's firemen's and police associations, reading the handwriting on the wall, consented to join with representatives of the other organizations in a study of the problem.

An informal committee was formed and legislation which was finally passed in May of this year represented the fruits of its long labors.

The enactment of the new measures was vigorously resisted by the political machine of Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City and its satellites in Middlesex, Camden and Atlantic Counties, but Governor Walter E. Edge made the legislation a part of his administration program. The bills were publicly approved by the firemen's associations, and were known to be favored by a large number, if not a majority, of the policemen throughout the state.

The new legislation provides for the eventual liquidation of all existing funds. Present members thereof are to contribute 5 per cent of their salaries hereafter, instead of 4, and must serve for at least 25 years, and up to age 53, before they may retire on a service pension. Some benefits are reduced, but members who retire on service pensions or on service-connected disability pensions, and the families of those who die in the line of duty, will receive substantially the same benefits as before.

State aid amounting to $1,000,000 annually is provided for the dwindling reserves of the old funds, thus giving greater assurance that the statutory benefits will be paid in full when due.

Newcomers into the police and fire departments must join the new state system, and contribute from 6 to 9 per cent of salaries, depending on starting age; the employing municipality pays an equal amount, and also covers the accidental disability and death benefits. The state pays the administrative expenses of the system.

Alvin A. Burger
Director of Research
New Jersey Chamber of Commerce

In-Service Training Institute for Michigan State Employees

The Michigan State Civil Service Commission has established an in-service training institute for state employees which will be opened formally this month, according to the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada.

Among the more than twenty courses offered during the first quarter beginning in September are governmental accounting and elementary statistics for employees in many departments, dietetics for cooks in state institutions, farm reports for farm managers in the state prisons and hospitals, dairy inspection for the agriculture department, and a variety of similar courses. The child welfare training program inaugurated last January by the state Department of Social Welfare, in cooperation with the graduate school of the University of Michigan, will be continued and a curriculum at the university will be established for psychiatric social workers.

The institute was established as a section in the technical division of the Michigan Civil Service Commission and will be supervised by the chief of the training section who will be assisted by an advisory council set up to guide the work of the institute. The advisory council is made up of the presidents of the University of Michigan and Michigan State College, the state superintendent of public instruction and the Lansing superintendent of schools.

The Civil Service Commission and the educational institutions represented on the advisory council will all contribute to the training program, each furnishing the type of training for which it is best equipped. For example, the Lansing school system will be used for the more elementary levels of training, Michigan State College for specialized courses, and the university for professional types of training. Students may take courses for credit or without credit as their individual cases may require.

One feature designed to add flexibility to the plan is that participating institutions have designated only overall credit hours of training as available, rather than a specific number of hours in a specific subject.

Training Courses of New York Institute

At the twelfth annual meeting of the Municipal Training Institute of New York State, connected with the State Conference of Mayors, it was reported that in the past year 64 schools for ten groups of officials had been held and extension service provided for nine groups: 15,278 municipal officials and employees participated in the program.

A training school for municipal finance officials broke all recent records, with a total attendance of 96 officials. The state comptroller's office cooperated in the instruction.

Six training schools for city and county civil service commissioners were held during July, with 219 in attendance at one-day sessions in six cities. In the previous month a three-day school for city and village clerks was held in Syracuse.

Ten one-day regional institutes for city and village elective officials and department heads will be held between September 12 and November 17.

Oregon League Urges State and National Planning Legislation

At the annual convention of the League of Oregon Cities resolutions were adopted recommending state legislation to increase the authority of city planning commissions over land subdivision in suburban areas and creating county planning commissions with authority to control land use in such areas; and the establishment by the federal government of a national planning agency to coordinate the plans and activities of federal, state and local agencies. The league also proposed that preference be given state and local governmental agencies in the disposal of surplus federal property.

Eight States Join to Aid Crop Picking and Processing

An agreement involving the recruitment and movement of workers to meet labor needs of food producing and processing industries along the Atlantic seaboard has been made by eight eastern states, as reported by the Council of State Governments. Cooperating with the states are the War Manpower Commission and the extension service of the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Delaware, Florida, Maryland, New Jersey, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Virginia and West Virginia were the states taking the action, made necessary by a scarcity of approximately 39,000 agricultural workers and workers for processing perishable agricultural products.

Crops include beans, cherries, peaches, tomatoes, citrus fruits, etc.—80 per cent of which are assigned to the armed forces and lend-lease. Dislocations brought on by the war have upset the normal migration of this type of labor.

All interstate recruitment will be done by or under the direction of either the U. S. employment service (for processing labor) or the extension service (for field labor) after proper clearance through the governor's office. No worker will be transferred from an area where he is engaged, or about to be engaged, in essential work. The agreement safeguards individual state or local labor needs.

All reasonable measures are to be taken to assure the return of workers to their homes when their respective jobs are completed.

Council-Manager Plan News

Moberly, Missouri, adopted a manager charter on July 19 by a popular vote of 1,477 to 1,056. An election of councilmen is to be held by mid-September to put the plan into operation.

Berkley, Michigan, recently defeated a manager charter proposal by a margin of 125 votes.

By a vote of 843 to 92 **East Lansing, Michigan,** adopted a manager charter drafted by a nine-member charter commission. The charter became effective immediately as to the manager provision but the present mayor and aldermen will continue in office until the spring of 1945.

The International City Managers' Association has added **Ontario, California,** to its official list of council-manager cities. Ontario has operated for several years with a virtual city manager, whose authority and responsibility were not defined by ordinance. He held the positions of city engineer, superintendent of streets, parks and water, purchasing agent, building, plumbing and electrical inspector, etc. On June 5 the council adopted an ordinance formally establishing the office of city manager and specifying his powers and duties. He retains the offices of city engineer and purchasing agent, but new positions of administrative assistant and superintendents of water, sewers and streets, of the service department and of parks and farms are created. The manager employs the heads of departments and is the administrative head of the city, except for the police and fire departments, and the city clerk, city attorney, city treasurer and city judge.

Niagara Falls, Ontario, which had been operating without a manager since 1937, has appointed a manager and has been restored to the ICMA official list.

Forest Grove, Oregon, which has operated under a city manager ordinance since 1938, adopted a charter amendment on July 10, establishing the manager plan, by a vote of 180 to 28. The council selects the manager and recorder; the manager, who appoints the other employees, may be from anywhere in the United States, which was not the case formerly. The incumbent manager is to continue.

An ordinance to provide the council-manager plan in **Pasco, Washington,** was defeated at a special election on August 3 by a vote of 498 to 100.

Interest in the manager plan for **Indianapolis, Indiana,** is again evident, with a visit of officials of that city, together with the Republican county chairman and a Chamber of Commerce research expert, to Cincinnati, Ohio, to observe the operation of the manager plan, particularly as to personnel administration. A job and salary survey has recently been completed in Indianapolis, with various recommendations.

A charter revision commission has been created in **Mt. Clemens, Michigan.**

A movement for the establishment of the manager plan has been started in **Revere, Massachusetts.**

A public debate at the high school in **Malden, Massachusetts,** on adoption of Plan E—the manager plan with P. R.—was won by the affirmative.

Fairfield, Maine, voted at its town meeting to apply to the state legislature for a manager charter. A committee has been appointed to draft such a charter for submission at the December 1 meeting.

La Junta, Colorado, is considering a change to the manager plan, according to Mayor Henry G. Klein, who points out that La Junta owns the water and electric utilities, and that city officials are busily engaged in other endeavors but are not able to give enough time to work out efficiently all problems for the betterment of the community.

An advisory committee to study new forms of city government has been formed in **Texas City, Texas.**

The city of **West University Place, Texas,** adjacent to Houston, defeated a council-manager proposal at an election on July 22. **Orange, Texas,** defeated a manager proposal on July 18.

It is expected that a vote will be held soon in **Juneau, Alaska,** on the adoption of the council-manager plan.

In June twelve city managers in the greater Detroit area completed a course in local planning administration under the auspices of the State Board of Control for Vocational Education.

Renewed interest in the manager plan is evident in **Santa Ana, California, Orange County,** of which Santa Ana is the county seat, and in **Fresno, California.**

Municipal Leagues Arrange Postwar Planning Institutes

In order to give practical aid to local officials concerned with postwar planning, without undue loss of their time, the League of Wisconsin Municipalities, in cooperation with the State Planning Board and the State Board of Health, conducted five one-day planning institutes in July in different parts of the state. Specialists in various fields of proposed postwar activities, and in planning and financial methods and controls, addressed the sessions. Local problems were also discussed.

The Illinois Municipal League held one-day planning institutes in May and June at Galesburg, Mt. Vernon and Mattoon, attended respectively by 89, 45, and 28 officials and members of municipal planning groups. Other meetings were in prospect.

A joint planning institute sponsored by the Missouri Municipal League and the Kansas League of Municipalities was held in May at the City Hall in Kansas City, Missouri. It was attended by 96 representatives of 40 Missouri communities and twenty from twelve Kansas communities.

San Francisco Merges Inspections, Adds to Streetcar Personnel

Two actions of the city of San Francisco in recent months have important effects on civil service personnel.

A survey by the municipal civil service commission showed the need for consolidation of housing, industrial, food, restaurant and market inspection services. Recommendations for districting, grouping and partial consolidation were adopted. An in-service training program was conducted by the department of public health with the aid of authorities in the inspection field, and some inspectors took courses in inspection at the University of California.

Acquisition of the Market Street Railway Company and its consolidation with the municipal electric lines brought 2,285 employees into the civil service. All employees with more than one year of tenure were blanketed into the classified service under certain residence and citizenship requirements.

Cities Establish All-Year Recreation Programs

A trend toward full-time, year-round municipal recreation departments, with several or most city departments cooperating to develop a well rounded recreation program, is reported by the International City Managers' Association.

The St. Paul city council has created a recreation commission of 25 members to survey recreational facilities and programs and act as a coordinating agency to advise the proper authorities as to recreational needs. Two other Minnesota communities—International Falls and Red Wing—also recently approved the idea of year-round recreational programs. International Falls' city council is setting up a community recreation commission to be maintained jointly by the city and school board; in Red Wing voters authorized the city council and school board to provide a joint recreation program.

Two neighboring Michigan communities—Muskegon and Muskegon Heights, of 47,000 and 16,000 population respectively—adopted year-round recreation programs recently. Muskegon's total recreation budget is $16,000, Muskegon Heights $11,600. Both cities will appoint full-time recreation directors; Muskegon Heights has set up a department of recreation representing the city, the Board of Education and the Community War Chest.

Wilmington, North Carolina, as another example, is establishing the city's first complete recreation department, and the city council budgeted $16,000 to help get the project started this year.

Researcher's Digest

Edited by Miriam Roher

Researchers Study Postwar Remedies

Civil Service, Pensions and Taxation Also Investigated

RIGHT this minute it is the postwar period in a good many American communities whose part in the war production program is virtually at an end. So there is nothing premature in the studies which have begun to trickle out of governmental research agencies bearing good advice on postwar planning.

The **Governmental Reference Service of the University of Tennessee** called upon ten of its savants for contributions to a symposium on postwar problems of Tennessee and the nation. It is called *Homefront Planning for the Postwar Period.* Not every word in the pamphlet is startlingly original, perhaps for the obvious reason that some effective cures for what ails are likely to be simple and familiar.

On conversion of industry the advice is that a state postwar industrial planning committee be organized and father a host of similar committees in industries and communities. On farm problems the university's authority recommends dependence upon the already established agricultural agencies such as the experiment stations and the extension service. Jobs after the war, says a third scholar, may be made possible by government subsidies to maintain agreed upon normal production.

State and local government, it is reported, may be expected to exhibit a continuing trend towards centralization of governmental authority. As for taxation, the symposium's expert proposes a reserve fund for postwar public works out of current revenue, and the use of surplus collections to eliminate the public debt.

Postwar educational problems, postwar social problems, health service after the war and the international postwar scene are also subjected to analysis in the pamphlet.

People

Not so comprehensive, but perhaps more intensive, is the approach to the postwar problem in Pamphlet No. 1 of the **California State Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission.** In *How Many Californians?* the commission reports on its attempts to find out how many of the state's vast new wartime population will stay after the war, and just what they are likely to mean in terms of California's economic and social life.

From 1940 to 1944, the commission's technicians discovered, the state gained enough new people to by-pass Ohio and Illinois and become the third most populous state in the union. Most of the migrants were between 20 and 40, raised and educated, California slyly notes, at the expense of other states, but available for the greater glory of the state with the good climate—provided there are enough postwar jobs to keep them in the west.

The technicians use no less than three different methods of forecasting California's 1950 population. One attempts to arrive at the totals by developing ratios between employment and total population; another makes forecasts for each area in the state and then adds them up; a third assumes a continuation of the relationships that have existed in the past between California's population and that of the nation. The final estimate: 9,000,000 people for California by 1950, which is half a million more than in 1944, and over 2,000,000 more than in 1940.

Postwar Facts

Also from California comes the third issue of *Postwar California,* a monthly digest of information and summaries of new publications. The **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California** reports that in connection with the publication a special card catalogue has been developed which contains more than 40,000 items relating to social and economic problems resulting from the war, and approximately 6,000 items on postwar domestic issues. The digest covers meetings, new organizations, and new publications on postwar topics and it covers them on a nation-wide basis.

A third item from California, also impinging on the postwar, is an exploration by the **Haynes Foundation** of the possibilities of *Community Development Through An Exposition for Los Angeles.* Samuel E. Lunden is author of the pamphlet.

Hit or Miss

In a self-searching mood, the **Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research** has looked upon its civil service practices in the light of the practices of such cities as Akron, Atlanta, Dallas, Dayton, Denver, Des Moines, Flint, Grand Rapids, Houston, Kansas City, Long Beach, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, New Orleans, Oakland, Portland, Rochester, Salt Lake City, Spokane, Tacoma, Tampa, Wichita and Youngstown. A sheaf of tables comparing the personnel activities of these cities showed the bureau that Des Moines spends less money on its civil service, and conducts its civil service affairs on a hit or miss basis in contrast to careful procedures elsewhere. The tables are mimeographed but the conclusions appear to be a limited typewritten edition.

Retired at 37

New Orleans is currently concerned with a special aspect of its personnel system—pension problems. The first of a series on this subject in the **Bureau of Governmental Research** *City Problems* is concerned with *Police and Fire Pension Systems.* By special appointment the bureau has been gathering facts for the city and reports them here for the public as well. The findings show that the lack of a minimum or maximum retirement age has made it possible for some policemen to leave the service at 37, and for others to remain in harness till they were 80. The lure of highly paid war work has hurried retirements at "absurdly early ages." Recommendations are made to eliminate these flaws in the system.

Intangibles

Missouri has added its experience to that of other states and has come out with the flat recommendation that the state abandon the attempt to tax intangibles at the same rate as real estate and tangible personal property. The **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute** has gone exhaustively into the problem in *The Taxation of Intangibles in Missouri and the Other States.* Gross injustice and a loss of revenue are the only results of the present system of taxing intangibles, the bureau found. Recommended is a low-rate tax on capital value or a tax measured by income from intangibles, or both, instead of the present system.

Reports

Illustrative of its interest in attractive, readable municipal reporting is the *Report to Members and Friends, 1944,* of the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council.** It is as attractive, and as attractively illustrated, as the annual report of East Hartford, Connecticut, which was inspired by the council's pamphlet on *Modernizing Municipal Reports.* The council worked with Connecticut communities not only to liven up their reports, but to further a standard accounting classification which any city could use to show citizens where their money goes. Postwar planning, exemplified in Middletown, was another major interest of the council during the year.

Attractive is also the word for a small pamphlet on the *Purposes and Program of the Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council.* An eye-catching device is used to call the reader's attention to what's inside.

William S. Watson

The world of governmental research learned with regret of the death on July 31 of William S. Watson. For many years a member of the staff of the Institute of Public Administration, Mr. Watson prepared the first correspondence course in municipal accounting, and collaborated with A. E. Buck on his *Municipal Finance* (1926). After working with Professor E. W. Kemmerer's American Commission of Financial Experts to China, Mr. Watson was invited by the Chinese government to remain for the purpose of installing accounting systems. At the time of his death he was organizing the accounts of the Russian War Relief.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Directory

Officials of Washington Cities. Seattle, Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Washington, May 1944. 30 pp.

Pensions

New Orleans Pension Problems—I. New Orleans, Bureau of Governmental Research, *City Problems,* May 22, 1944. 8 pp.

Postwar Planning

Community Development Through an Exposition for Los Angeles. By Samuel E. Lunden. Los Angeles, John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation, 1944. 43 pp.

Homefront Planning for the Postwar Period. Knoxville, Governmental Reference Service, University of Tennessee, April 1944. 95 pp.

How Many Californians? Sacramento, California State Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission, July 1944. 23 pp.

Postwar California. Berkeley, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, May 1944. 25 pp.

Reports

Purposes and Program of the Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council. Providence, The Council, 1944. 10 pp.

Report to Members and Friends 1944. Hartford, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, 1944. 26 pp.

State Government

The Office of Lieutenant-Governor in the United States. By R. F. Patterson. Vermillion, Governmental Research Bureau, University of South Dakota, June 1944. 20 pp.

Taxation and Finance

An Analysis of the Debt, Revenues and Expenditures of the City and County of Philadelphia. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1944. 76 pp.

Debts—Taxes—Assessments. Chicago, The Civic Federation, June 1944. 24 pp.

The Taxation of Intangibles in Missouri and Other States. St. Louis, Governmental Research Institute, June 1944. 103 pp.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Portland City Club Stresses Research

Section Committees Study, Report on Public Problems

PRESIDENT C. B. Stephenson of the **Portland (Oregon) City Club** has announced the appointment of 1944-1945 research chairmen. Led by Dr. Blair Stewart, first vice-president of the City Club and its director of research, five-minute talks have been given at the City Club's weekly luncheons, one each week, by these section chairmen on their respective subjects. Topics include planning and public works, public utilities, education and recreation, social welfare, government organization, taxation and public finance, public safety, public health and legislation and elections. Two sections created temporarily in 1942 to serve wartime emergencies—postwar planning and civilian defense—have been dissolved.

"No Man Is an 'Iland' " was the subject of Dr. Stewart's talk on "the joint study of community problems as a contribution of responsible citizenship." Dr. Stewart commented:

"The citizen who recognizes the duty —or better the necessity—of responsible participation in public affairs is confronted by a most formidable task. The complexities of modern life are so great, the pertinent facts are so hard to obtain, and the pressures of interested groups are so strong, that no individual can hope unaided to make the investigations upon which his actions as a citizen should be based.

"It is at this point that the City

Club makes its unique contribution. By banding together a considerable number of men whose common interest is to carry out effectively the role of responsible citizenship through the unbiased considerations of facts having to do with civic proceedings, it is possible to obtain results which no man could achieve alone. Through the organization of research committees, which, by division of labor, can find the facts and appraise proposed courses of action without prejudice, each member has a firmer foundation on which to rest his decisions. Not only the members, in fact, but non-members as well, may use the published reports as the basis for informed participation in community life."

The annual report of the club's secretary speaks of the interest which citizens not only in Portland but elsewhere have evinced in the work of the club's research committees. Nearly 1,500 copies of the "Moses plan" report[1] were circulated, about 600 of them to persons outside the northwest region by special request. Says the report:

"Chief function of the City Club has long been the study of civic problems. The importance of research is today generally recognized as the bedrock of civic planning and action. Organized studies carried on by an unbiased group of thinking citizens provide an effective and democratic means of projecting constructive ideas upon the community. During its 28 years the City Club has conducted many such studies which later stimulated action for the ultimate good of the community. It is felt that the club has an increasing responsibility in this respect."

Bringing State Government to the Citizen

Something new in bringing state government in closer touch with the people has been accomplished by the **Scranton Chamber of Commerce.** On July 13 it sponsored the visit of Governor Edward Martin and the 28 members of his Cabinet to Scranton for a full day's round of conferences and discussions of problems affecting the populous area of northeastern Pennsylvania. It was the first gubernatorial cabinet meeting ever held in Scranton.

One of the features of the day was a series of conferences with cabinet members in charge of commerce, industry, mining, agriculture, insurance, law, education, health, forests and waters, banking, labor, welfare, public assistance, public safety, highways, revenue, civilian defense, internal affairs and military affairs. Sessions were attended by individuals and representatives of groups interested in particular branches of state government.

One development of the conference was a meeting of representatives of seven surrounding counties which resulted in the formation of a Northeastern Pennsylvania Conference.

Governor Martin and his party arrived late the day previous to the conference. In the morning an informal breakfast was held for the guests with the sponsoring chairmen and the reception committee. Later a regular cabinet meeting was held at the Chamber of Commerce Building. At noon a luncheon meeting was held at the Masonic Temple Auditorium at which Governor Martin was the principal speaker. Judge M. J. Eagen spoke on behalf of the area. The meeting was attended by 900, the largest noonday meeting ever held in northeastern Pennsylvania. The day's program was concluded with a public reception for the Governor and other state officials in the lounge of the Chamber of Commerce Building.

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[1] See "Financing Portland's Improvement Program," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, February 1944, p. 103; also p. 430, this issue.

RAYMOND B. GIBBS,
General Secretary
Scranton Chamber of Commerce

Women Voters Conduct Vote Campaign

"No vacations for many of us at League headquarters," said Mrs. Walter Neale, president of the **New York City League of Women Voters,** just prior to primary day on August 1.

One of the chief occupations of those on duty is answering the telephone, which rings continuously. Because nine times out of ten it is a woman who wants to know how she can obtain a ballot application for her son in the service—and believing that the soldier vote should be encouraged — the League's chairman of election activities, Mrs. Maxwell Lewis, has compiled kits containing simple explanations of the voting laws of the 48 states. These have been distributed at busy canteen centers.

The League received active cooperation from department stores, hotel owners, etc., in its campaign to get out the vote for the primary.

The Fifth Avenue windows of Lord and Taylor showed life-sized tableaux of homemakers at work as the backdrop for posters bearing such messages as "Your vote is part of the care you give your children" and "Your ballot has the power to elect the Congress you want, to decide the peace you want." To those who could not vote because they had not registered a sign admonishes, "Don't let it happen again." A chain-store scene attracted much attention. "Your vote is part of the shopping you do for your family," read its message.

James J. McCarthy, executive secretary of the Hotel Association of New York City, requested his member hotels to place League posters and fliers in bars and cocktail lounges which, under New York law, serve no drinks while the polls are open. "You can't drink from 3 to 10 P.M. today, but you can vote," read one of these signs.

Fifteen Points for Revamping the Legislature

The **Citizens Union of New York City** has submitted to the recently created New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Legislative Methods, Practices, Procedures and Expenditures fifteen suggestions for improving the legislative process. Among them are recommendations for a legislative council, a permanent all-year legislative research and bill-drafting staff, and a secretary of the legislature who would have full administrative responsibility for the employment and direction of legislative assistants and the discharge of all legislative business functions which are not turned over to other state agencies.

Other recommendations include: Continuance of Assembly committees until the end of the session, as in the Senate; continuance of each house for one week after ceasing to act on its own bills in order to act on bills passed by the other; required committee reports in each house on all bills passed by the other; required committee reports in each house on all bills requested by petition of one-third of the members; joint committee meetings of the two houses to receive evidence on and also to discuss bills introduced in both houses; roll calls in committee on all bills referred to committees; electrical voting, as in ten other states, to expedite roll calls and make them more accurate; permitting joint introduction of bills by two or more members of the same house; permitting joint introduction of the same bill in both houses; civil service for legislative assistants; use by the legislature of the state's regular purchasing and contracting agencies instead of maintenance of separate machinery of its own; a constitutional amendment to permit increased compensation for legislative leaders commensurate with their additional duties and an end to the subterfuges by which such compensation is now given illegally.

The union has also issued a memorandum recommending that the governor be given more time to consider bills passed by the legislature, both during the session and after adjournment, and that his power to veto items of appropriations which he did not himself propose be extended so that he can reduce items which he considers excessive instead of being forced to accept or reject them in their entirety.

Here and There

Postwar

The **City Club of Chicago** has issued *A Report on Public Works as an Element in Full Employment After the War,* prepared by its Committee on Postwar Planning and Progress. The report urges municipal, state and federal agencies to speed up planning now for the construction and financing of public works projects "so as to have the plans available for supplementing private employment when necessary to prevent mass unemployment after the war is won." It stresses that projects should be limited to those which are socially useful, ordinarily executed as public works and which can be used in an emergency.

The **Minnesota Taxpayers Association** is in process of securing estimates of postwar projects from county, school and municipal officials. It has issued a pamphlet containing a warning on planning ahead and suggesting that each project should be subjected by local people to certain acid tests: (1) to make certain that long-term benefits will accrue to the community; (2) to avoid as far as possible unmanageable financial commitments; and (3) to measure the effect of the proposed action on the ultimate tax load and debt obligation of the community affected.

* * *

Membership

For the first time in recent years, and probably for the first time in its 34 years' history, states the *Seattle Municipal News,* the **Seattle Municipal League** has passed the 2,000 mark in membership. "Passing the 2,000 membership mark is a milestone in league progress," said Harry J. Markey, recently elected for a third term as the organization's president. "It clearly indicates a growing interest and confidence among Seattle citizens in the League's work."

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Radio

"The Taxpayers Meeting of the Air," a weekly radio feature sponsored by the **New Jersey Taxpayers Association,** will start October 3. News, views and comments on government and taxation will feature the broadcasts. Blanks on which questions relating to taxation and governmental practices may be submitted have been mailed throughout the state, the questions to be answered on the air.

* * *

Voting

"It is your job to decide what you want city council and the rest of the municipal government to do and direct them in doing it," says the **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy** to the voters. The committee offers a booklet, *How Your Vote Works,* to those who would learn how to do their part in helping secure efficiency and economy in local government.

* * *

Elections

"Elections are the seed time of democracy. Both the quality and quantity of the harvest are dependent largely on what we do or do not do at this time. If we accept and fulfill our full obligations and duties and assume the responsibilities which are inseparably connected with the precious rights and privileges of liberty we will be worthy heirs of the founding fathers."

* * *

Directories

Organizations issuing voters' directories prior to recent primaries include: the **Minneapolis Research Bureau** (affiliate of the Minneapolis Civic Council), **Oakland (Michigan) Citizens League, Civic Club of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh), Seattle Municipal League, Springfield (Mass.) Taxpayers' Association, Detroit Citizens League, Citizens Union of the City of New York.**

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Strictly Personal

C. A. Crosser, newly-elected executive secretary of the Seattle Municipal League, has been elected a member of the council of the National Civil Service Reform League.

John H. Mahoney, director of the Worcester Taxpayers Association and secretary and member of the Board of Directors of the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, has been elected chairman of the Tax Research Round Table of the New England Council.

M. W. DeWees, formerly executive secretary of the Duluth Governmental Research Bureau, is now executive director of the New Haven Taxpayers Research Council (formerly New Haven Taxpayers, Inc.) succeeding **Paul B. Wilcox,** resigned.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

35 Years of P. R. in Sweden

P. R. Blocked for Britain Planning for the Peace

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following significant account of the experience of Sweden with proportional representation—a party list system—and the parliamentary practices that have evolved under it is taken from the British Proportional Representation Society's account of its annual meeting, held in London, June 20, 1944. It is a summary of an address by Vilgot Hammarling, press attaché of the Swedish Legation in London. The views expressed are personal, not official.

P. R. WAS introduced in Sweden in 1909. The change was accompanied by an extension of the franchise. The proportion of male electors voting (only for these can a comparison be made) has been higher after P. R. In other words, the political interest of the electorate has become more active.

Before examining the influence of our voting system on government I ought to state that although P. R. is generally accepted there are still some opponents. A Stockholm journal suggested that a re-introduction of the majority system would automatically induce personalities to come forward. We used to hear such arguments 20 or 30 years ago. I thought they had been given up as dead. In the elections of other countries that use the majority system I have again and again seen outstanding political personalities defeated.

But in addition there has been a certain amount of honest controversy. A small section of old-school Liberals have taken British parliamentarianism so much as their example that they are unwilling to give up any one of its elements—including the method of voting. The attitude of these old Liberals has never ceased to astonish me. For it is hard to see that there would be much room for a Liberal party in a parliament elected under the majority system. The Labor party would have anything between 180 and 200 seats out of 230.

The Labor party, however, does not want an overwhelming majority which does not correspond with their strength in the country. What they want, and I believe that their attitude is that of other parties, is to share the work and responsibility with as many of the other parties as possible. I believe that we are moving in the direction of government not by majority—or at least not by majority alone—but of government by consultation and agreement. For this P. R.—we have had it for 35 years—provides a practical basis; it maintains a reasonable share of representation for the minority parties.

There are features of Swedish parliamentary procedure which favor development in the direction I have indicated. One is our parliamentary committee system. Every government bill or private member's motion has to be referred to one of these committees. *These are appointed on a proportional basis.* An immense amount of work is carried through, many things being settled by agreement.

It is not always possible to reach an agreed solution. When principle stands against principle the majority has to decide. But in the course of these debates, conducted on a more intimate plane, party antagonism tends to be softened.

During the war Sweden has had a National Coalition: it includes the Labor party (in the majority), Conservatives, Liberals and Farmers, leaving outside only the small Communist party. This government has functioned like a glorified parliamentary committee—the parallel has been repeatedly drawn. And there have been representative expressions of opinion in favor of continuing the experiment after the war. This may not be done immediately, but it is in the line of political development.

Of course, you cannot carry on deliberations without differences of opinion, and if the political system is to remain healthy you cannot suppress these differences. Recently two members of the Cabinet spoke against a measure which received the blessing of the Prime Minister in the same debate, and which was carried by an overwhelming majority, without anyone seriously demanding that the ministers in question should resign. Nor is the government too much upset if one of its proposals is amended, even considerably, by the Riksdag. The parliamentary purists are shocked, but nobody else greatly worries.

I would be reluctant to draw conclusions for other countries. Conditions in Sweden have been exceptionally favorable. But in countries not so fortunately placed it is of even greater importance to bridge over differences, and generally to find the means of acting in harmony instead of perfecting the instruments of political warfare. In the coming rebuilding of Europe I can see that this will be a matter of very great urgency.

The British Society's Annual Meeting

The British Proportional Representation Society held its annual meeting in London June 20 on the heels of a great disappointment, the failure of the Speaker's Conference, recently appointed to consider the method of selection of the House of Commons, to recommend any basic change in method.

The conference, consisting of members of Parliament belonging to all parties, listened to an able presentation of the case for P. R. by John H. Humphreys, secretary of the P. R. Society, and the proposal was vigorously championed by a minority of the Conference's own members, including T. Edmund Harvey, independent member for the Combined English Universities and chairman of the P. R. Society's executive committee, but the majority contented itself with recommending a reapportionment of districts under the present plan. The conference did agree to the continuance of P. R. for university members, for whose election it has been used since 1918.

The P. R. Society unanimously adopted a resolution regretting the decision of the Speaker's Conference, pointing out that a redistribution of seats was no guarantee against grossly unrepresentative results, and calling upon all who believe in fair representation to intensify their activities.

The meeting was presided over by the society's vice-president, Sir John N. Barran, and addressed by Mr. Humphreys, Mr. Harvey, Sir Leslie Boyce, Conservative M. P. for Gloucester, Vilgot Hammarling of Sweden, whose remarks have been quoted earlier in this department, and Dr. Roy Peel of the University of Indiana, speaking as a representative of the National Municipal League. Cabled greetings were read from Wilson M. Southam, editor of the *Ottawa Citizen.*

The meeting itself cabled greetings to proportionalists in Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United States. The cable received at the office of the National Municipal League was as follows:

> Proportional Representation Society annual meeting sends greetings fellow reformers United States. Society deplores speakers conference anti-democratic decisions, pledges itself intensify activities until victory won. Roy Peel spoke.

Problems of the Postwar World

EDITOR'S NOTE.—In November and December, 1943, the New York *Free World* carried articles on "The Election of Parliaments" and "The Formation of Governments" by John H. Humphreys, secretary of the British Proportional Representation Society,[1] which have now been revised and reprinted by the society as P. R. Pamphlet No. 89, entitled *Two Problems of the Post-War Democratic World,* with a foreword by T. Edmund Harvey, M.P. They have also been reprinted for circulation in Canada and the United States by William M. Southam, Editor of *The Citizen,* Ottawa, Ontario. We commend the articles to all students of these problems and quote here the following significant excerpts:

Mr. Churchill, speaking to Congress in December 1941, said: "I am a child of the House of Commons. I was brought up in my father's house to believe in democracy. . . . Therefore I have been in harmony all my life with the tides which have flowed on both sides of the Atlantic against privilege and monopoly, and I have steered confidently towards the Gettysburg ideal of 'the government of the people, by the people, for the people.'"

This Gettysburg ideal does not imply government by part of the people; it implies government by the whole; and this ideal is attained naturally and easily in the smallest of the democracies. The town meeting by which so many of the townships of New England were governed was an assembly in the discussions and decisions of which all citizens were entitled to take part. In larger communities political democracy takes the form of citizens electing representatives to speak and act on their behalf. But does not the Gettysburg ideal equally apply? Should not the method of election be such as will enable, as far as is reasonably practicable, all citizens to be represented? . . .

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[1] 82 Victoria Street, Westminster S. W. 1, London.

An electoral law that suppresses the representation of great bodies of citizens or denies to them a full measure of freedom acts like a dictator. . . .

After the war it will be of the utmost importance that there should be the greatest measure of agreement between the United Nations. In their general outlook on human affairs all the peoples have much in common, but there are also differences of view. These differences may be a very serious cause of friction if the electoral law exaggerates them, distorting the true expression of opinion, say, in one direction in the United States and in the opposite direction in Great Britain.

According to a report presented by a Committee of the United States Senate of 1869, one of the factors making for the civil war was the exaggeration, created by the electoral system, of the differences between north and south. "The absence," declared the report, "of this vote [proportional representation] in the states of the south when rebellion was plotted, and when open steps were taken to break the union, was unfortunate, for it would have held the union men of those states together and have given them voice in the electoral colleges and in Congress. . . . Their leaders were struck down at unjust elections and could not speak for them or act for them in their own states or at the capital of the nation."[1]

The solidity of the south, and it still remains "solid," was a product of the method of election; it constitutes a warning. The true representation of opinion in the parliaments of the United Nations would be a trustworthy guarantee against exaggeration of differences; it would promote continued cooperation, based on mutual understanding.

But apart from this general consideration, some practical problems will arise immediately after the war. Should representation at the peace conferences be confined to delegates from the parties that happen to be in a majority? Should Great Britain be represented by Conservatives only, Canada by Liberals, Australia by Labor, and India by members of the Congress party? Possibly one cause of the failure of the United States to join the League of Nations in 1919 was the omission of President Wilson to take with him to the Peace Conference of Paris a delegation representative of both parties in the Senate. . . .

New Constitutions

After the war several European countries will need new constitutions. What form should the democratic government of Italy take? How shall Yugoslavia be governed? In the round table discussions on the future of Italy and on the future of the Balkans, organized by the American Free World Association, preference was indicated for federal solutions. . . .

Should the different regions comprised in a federation have regard only to regional interests? It will be far better that the ideas and aspirations that are common to all, and that cut across their frontiers, should find due expression among the representatives elected by each region. In the Federal Assembly of Switzerland there is fair and complete representation of opinion for each canton. In the Italian-speaking Canton of Ticino proportional representation has been in continuous use since 1891, that is, for 53 years. Just representation was adopted because the unfair results of the elections of 1889 had given rise to serious disturbances. Justice gave peace. Subsequently the proportional system spread to other cantons. Finally in 1918 it was adopted for the federal elections. . . .

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[1] Senate Report, 40th Congress, 3rd Session. Representative Committee No. 271. March 1869.

The creation of fully representative constitution-making bodies would relieve the allied nations of responsibility and also from any charges of partisanship: the new constitutions would have been framed by the peoples themselves.

The Teheran manifesto, signed by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin, stated that: "We shall seek the cooperation and the active participation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and mind are dedicated to the elimination of slavery, oppression and intolerance. . . . We shall welcome them as they may choose to come into a world family of democratic nations."[2] This new world organization will doubtless require the framing of a constitution, in which provision may have to be made for the election of a smaller body similar to that of the Council of the League of Nations. The method of electing the Council of the League of Nations gave rise to serious suspicions of unfair bargainings for votes; and Viscount Cecil gave voice to the widely entertained dissatisfaction. To remove such suspicions, and to give to the smaller nations the right of independent representation, the government of Norway proposed that the single transferable vote form of proportional representation should be applied to elections of the Council of the League.[3] . . .

Man is competent to deal with any problem in government that a free and just system of election involves. . . . The application of justice to representation marks one advance in the evolution of government: from this new level man sees new peaks in front of him; they can be climbed.

Sweden has used a proportional system for more than 30 years. For some years the government has consisted of more than one party. Today, Labor has an absolute majority in both Houses of Parliament. Nevertheless, Labor has maintained the principle of cooperation between parties as the basis of the nation's government. Herr Hansson, the Swedish Prime Minister, takes this view: "I find that I can work as Prime Minister with Conservatives and Socialists who have the common interest of the whole nation at heart. In this sense I believe that all governments of democratic countries should try to be national governments." . . .

The war will leave behind it in many countries widespread feelings of hatred and passion. They should not be permitted to dominate the postwar elections. The note of reason may be voiced by a minority only, but this should be able to play its part. Methods of election based upon freedom and justice will assure to such minorities their due place in the parliaments of the world. Statesmen, political parties, students of political science, should join forces in establishing methods of election that will provide a guarantee that reason and reasonableness shall make a full contribution towards the fashioning of the future governments of man.

Report on Cincinnati

Readers of this department will be interested in the significant survey of eighteen years of P. R. and city manager government in Cincinnati by Thomas H. and Doris D. Reed, reported on pages 376-385 of this issue.

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[2] *The* [London] *Times,* December 7, 1943.

[3] League of Nations Papers. C. 654. 1926. VII. Geneva, December 1, 1926.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

County Postwar Plans Aided by Questionnaires

Tennessee and Iowa Counties Plan for Community Future

SEVERAL counties in Tennessee are considering plans for the employment of war veterans in the postwar period. The Marshall County Postwar Planning Organization has prepared "postwar work file" questionnaires for distribution to urban householders, stores and offices, manufacturers, and farmers. These questionnaires or check-lists will reveal the magnitude of postwar demands for goods and services and the approximate number of jobs that will be available. Distribution of the questionnaire is being followed by a door-to-door canvass to secure better coverage.

In Crockett and Gibson Counties, local members of the Committee for Economic Development have met to discuss prospects for full employment in their counties after the war. They decided that inducements for new industry were not needed, but that careful management and expansion of their existing farming economy held the best potentialities for meeting postwar problems.

Iowa County Survey

The Hamilton County, Iowa, Postwar Planning Board has undertaken a survey to discover what proportion of the county's 2,200 men and women in military service plan to return to their homes after the war and what occupations they intend to pursue.

The survey is one of several being made by the board on problems that will arise with the coming of peace. It is undertaken by means of questionnaires sent to servicemen and women asking for significant information such as the person's occupation before the war, his plans regarding the resumption of his old job, his expectation of returning to the county, plans to continue his education, specialized training he has received, and his general postwar plans. He is asked also to keep the planning board advised of any change in plans and is urged to make comments and suggestions on this method of postwar planning.

Many Replies Received

Of the first 400 questionnaires sent, more than one-fourth have been answered. Ninety-one men intend to return to Hamilton County, 72 expect to resume former positions, and 33 indicated they planned to continue their education.

To supplement this survey, the board undertook farm and industrial surveys to discover employment opportunities in the county for returning servicemen and women. Of the 415 answering a farm questionnaire, 42 farmers plan to quit farming after the war and 364 expect to continue. Seventy-eight farmers stated they had sons or relatives in service who would return to farming after the war, and one-fourth of the farmers intend to purchase land or make extensive improvements. Many answered they would need more help.

The six industries of Webster City replied that they expected to retain their present number of employees after the war, and three stated that they planned expansion or remodeling of their plants. No statistics were gathered on postwar prospects in wholesale, retail and service firms.

New Jersey Counties Reduce Debt

A report issued by the New Jersey Taxpayers Association reveals that county debt of the entire state has been reduced from $28.00 to $23.96 per capita in the years 1941 to 1943. It contrasts this debt burden with the federal per capita debt of $1,016.01 for 1943. The report states: "If reductions continue at the rate of the last few years, the time may come when county net debt will be completely wiped off the books."

County Planning Develops in Tennessee

Seven county planning commissions are now operating in Tennessee, according to a recent issue of *Tennessee Government,* published by the University of Tennessee Governmental Reference Service. In addition planning commissions have been established for the regions surrounding Jefferson City, Kingsport, Johnson City, Dayton, Lenoir City, and Spring City. The final aim of regional planning in Tennessee, says the publication, must be extension of the jurisdiction of regional planning commissions until the whole state is served.

Montgomery County Campaigns for Manager Charter

The campaign for a county manager charter in Montgomery County, Maryland, is progressing. The Montgomery County Charter Committee which is sponsoring the charter has effectively organized itself down to the precincts and has issued a campaign manual and other literature for distribution to the voters. Although suburban papers are against the charter, prevailing local sentiment seems behind the reform, and prospects for its adoption at the November 7 election are considered good.

War Affects Pennsylvania County Expenditures

The Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs, in a recent issue of its *Monthly Bulletin,* describes the divergent trends of county expenditures resulting primarily from the impact of the war. The costs of some functions have risen and decreased to a considerable extent for others, but the net change for the total of all counties has been an appreciable increase in expenditures.

Substantial decrease in bonded indebtedness and postponement of capital expenditure have resulted in reduction of interest costs. Highway maintenance and repair have been curtailed to a minimum because material and manpower have not been available, thus reducing highway costs drastically. Welfare costs have dropped because of a lesser number of welfare clients, state assumption of this obligation, and the establishment of institution districts not dependent upon general county revenues.

Administrative costs have risen substantially as a result of higher labor costs and higher prices of material purchased. Expenditures for correctional purposes have increased primarily because of the development of juvenile delinquency, but the increased cost of maintaining all institutional occupants has been another significant factor.

Finally, there are several new functions of counties that increase expenditures. Civilian defense, food and commodity relief plans, employee retirement systems, and military contributions have added substantially to the total cost of county government in Pennsylvania.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Planning Progresses for Postwar Works

Civil Engineers' Committee Lists Projects Ready for Bids

A GOAL of $15,000,000,000 of postwar works planned, ready for bids by July 1, 1945, has been set by the Committee on Postwar Construction of the American Society of Civil Engineers. Of this sum, $10,000,000,000 is estimated to cover civil engineering construction and $5,000,000,000 to cover so-called non-engineered work such as maintenance, housing built by hand-craft methods and other light construction.

To July 7, 1944, the committee was able to list plans for $3,259,000,000[1] toward the $10,000,000,000 construction goal. Some $11,423,000,000 of proposed work had been reported, however, the difference between the proposed and the planned totals representing work for which designs had not yet been started.

Of the $3,259,000,000 planned construction work, $111,870,000 was for private projects. The remainder, $3,147,640,000 was for public works projects. The public works were reported by the committee in summary form as follows:

Waterworks	$299,676,000
Sewerage	318,177,000
Roads and Streets	749,589,000
Bridges	334,655,000
Earthwork	589,703,000
Buildings	523,908,000
Unclassified	401,932,000
Total	$3,147,640,000

Including the negligible construction value of private projects, the work planned varied greatly from state to state. New York State, which has provided matching funds for its local units for design work, was the leader with plans for $781,194,000. Second was California which in June provided a $10,000,000 fund for state assistance to cities and counties for postwar planning and showed plans for $464,314,000. Third was Ohio with $385,760,000, Texas was fourth with $295,149,000, and the fifth—and only other state to exceed $100,000,000—was Washington with $111,228,000. Eight states had no planned work reported. They were Alabama, Arizona, Delaware, Idaho, Kentucky, New Mexico, West Virginia, and Wyoming. Eight other states, while reporting planned public works, had nothing apparently to report in the way of planned private works. They were Florida, Nevada, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, and Virginia.

Albany Official Gets Louisville Award

The 1944 awards of the Louisville medals, given for outstanding achievements in the field of governmental financial administration in 1943, were announced late in June in connection with the annual conference of the Municipal Finance Officers Association in Cleveland.

The gold medal was awarded to Joseph W. Felock, business manager of the Department of Welfare of Albany, New York, for the development of a manual of relief issuance and accounting procedures. The silver medal went to Perry W. Rodman, comptroller of the city of Bridgeport, Connecticut, who adapted punch card machines to approximately fifty different uses.

Achievement awards, given for accomplishments by a municipality or group of officials, went to Lansing, Michigan, and McKeesport, Pennsylvania. The former modernized and revised its financial practices and procedures, while the latter was commended for continued improvement in its fiscal practices over a term of years including 1943. Honorable mention went to Frederick W. Krupp, accountant in the office of the city comptroller of Detroit, for a report dealing with the financing of housing projects in that city.

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[1] The society's August 9, 1944, summary, received as we go to press, lists $3,506,493,000 projects planned. EDITOR.

The judges were Welles A. Gray, of the United States Chamber of Commerce, Henry L. Shattuck, lawyer and member of the Massachusetts legislature, and F. H. Elwell, of the University of Wisconsin.

Portland Voters Approve Public Works Program

Seven months after Robert Moses and his staff of engineers submitted their report on Portland improvements to the governing bodies of the Portland area,[1] the people of Portland voted three bond issues and a special tax levy providing a total of $24,000,000 to be expended for postwar public works in line with the Moses report.

Each one of the local governments, excepting the Port Authority of Portland which already has bond issuing power, went to the people with a request for bond issues or a special levy ranging from $3,000,000 to $12,000,000. These provide for approximately one-third of the amount recommended by the whole report of the Moses group. Plans are already under way to provide for the submission of additional financing proposals to the people in November.

When the Moses report was submitted to the local governments of the Portland area, the Portland Area Postwar Development Committee determined that this report should not be merely another report to collect dust on library shelves. This committee worked closely with the local governmental agencies involved and encouraged them to select those parts of the program as outlined by the Moses report which were least controversial and which took the least cooperation between the various governmental agencies.

The city council of Portland found that the city contribution to the total program was fairly closely tied up with state and federal money with the exception of the sewage disposal plant. Therefore, a $12,000,000 bond issue for intercepting sewers and a sewage disposal plant was submitted to the people. The dock commission in turn asked for $3,000,000 to rebuild and expand harbor and dock facilities. The school district requested a special tax levy of $1,000,000 per year for five years to repair and replace school buildings, indoor and outdoor equipment and supplies which are badly in need of improvements. Multnomah County requested approval for a $4,000,000 bond issue for the construction of county roads and bridges.

When the four local governmental agencies had decided upon these projects, the Portland Area Postwar Development Committee organized a promotional campaign in an attempt to get a favorable vote so that Portland would be at least partially prepared to meet the need for public works construction during the period of reconversion to peacetime industry.

Local papers were all in favor of the projects and gave considerable editorial space in behalf of the projects. Each of the two major papers in Portland assigned a reporter to cover the work of the development committee and give reviews of the various speakers on the subject. The public relations committee reported that there was complete cooperation on the part of everyone asked for assistance in the campaign.

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[1] See "Financing Portland's Improvement Program," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, February 1944, p. 103.

The Portland City Club appointed research committees to investigate the four financing proposals. The committees reported favorably on the dock and school proposals, adversely on the county bond issue because of indefinite wording and split on the sewage disposal bond issue because of the lack of definite engineering data on which to base an estimate of total cost. At a mass meeting of the membership at which the committee reports were submitted, however, members took the position that the four proposals should be considered as a whole and that administrative officials in each case should be given considerable discretion in exercising control over the funds if approved. When the vote of the members was taken, all four measures were approved by a considerable majority.

At the primary election on May 19 the voters of the entire area likewise gave each proposal a considerable majority. This favorable vote is considered to be a vote of confidence both in the future of the city of Portland and in the officials who originally employed the Moses group and who will administer the postwar public works program. Additional study and cooperative effort is being undertaken at the present time to determine what additional financing proposals can be submitted to the voters in November.

Howard R. Ennor
Bureau of Municipal Research
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City Income Tax Abandoned

The city of Fort Myers, Florida, which earlier this year decided to give a 60-day trial to a municipal gross income tax, substituted a comprehensive system of occupational licenses.

The income tax was expected to produce around $150,000 annually. Levied at the rate of one-half of one per cent on the gross receipts of every individual, firm and corporation in the city, the first month saw returns by only 79 firms which paid a total tax of $1,990. The tax will be refunded.

It is said that the gross income tax principle is retained in the occupation license now required from retail and wholesale businesses, which must pay—in addition to the license fee—$20 and 60 cents respectively per $1,000 of gross sales. Others will pay straight license fees, ranging from $5 per year for bootblacks to $1,500 for a theatre seating more than 1,000 persons.

Sequel to the Kentucky State Budget Story

The only important legislation needed to effectuate the Kentucky state budget for the two years beginning July 1, 1944, was the general appropriation bill. In the regular session of the general assembly, the Governor's supporters in the House of Representatives killed the measure which would have made appropriations for nearly all the agencies of the state.[1] Without further action with respect to general appropriations, the regular session was adjourned.

The Governor announced almost immediately that he would call a session to make appropriations for the support of education but that he would restrict the call to prevent other appropriations. After most of the school contracts for the ensuing year had been made, an extraordinary session was convened to provide for the support of common schools alone. After much delay and considerable dispute between the general assembly and the Governor—most of it not unseemly—the legislature unanimously passed a comprehensive appropriation measure providing more money by far than any previous administration has enjoyed and making it available on more favorable terms than has been customary during the two preceding administrations. Members were willing to risk having the appropriation declared unconstitutional as involving subject matter outside the scope of the Governor's call rather than pass a bill relating to elementary and secondary education alone.

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[1] National Municipal Review, May 1944, p. 253.

In the light of the legislature's unopposed action, the Governor immediately convened a second special session which in four days enacted an identical bill with a repealer of the first one. Thus the question regarding constitutionality was seemingly disposed of. The final action was unanimous in the Senate and opposed by only one member of the House.

Kentuckians interested in sound budget practice and accustomed for some years to see the general appropriation bill passed under executive leadership early in the regular session are much concerned. Although there is a marked increase in the amount of money appropriated, there is little or no opposition to the appropriations actually made. There are, however, misgivings regarding the method by which the action has been taken in that, in a fundamental sense, provision for the support of governmental activities has been enacted in the face of gubernatorial opposition.

JAMES W. MARTIN, *Director*

Bureau of Business Research
University of Kentucky

Local Affairs Abroad

Edited by Edward W. Weidner

New Zealand Changes Local Election Law

Taxpaying No Longer Needed As Qualification for Voting

A SIGNIFICANT local government reform has taken place in New Zealand. The Local Elections and Polls Amendment Act, passed by Parliament in April, provides that the right to vote in local elections shall hereafter be based upon residence and not upon ratepaying. Anyone resident within a district for three months and meeting other voting qualifications—e.g., 21 years of age, one year's residence in New Zealand—is entitled to vote in county, road district, electric power district, harbor district, hospital district, and catchment district elections. The residential franchise was already in existence for urban areas.

Another blow to property qualifications for voting was contained in the same act. Ratepayers in counties and road districts whose rates are unpaid may now vote at local elections if they are residents of the district. Only nonresident delinquent ratepayers are now deprived of the vote. Defaulting ratepayers cannot, however, vote on loan or rating questions. Formerly, they were precluded from voting on all local questions and candidates.

But the "stake in the community" argument dies hard. Property owners may still vote in a district's local elections whether they reside there or not. Furthermore, in voting for the election of councillors, ratepayers can exercise one, two, or three votes in accordance with the valuation of their properties.

These changes in qualifications fo

the vote were not accomplished without loud protest from New Zealand local authorities and others. Many of the protests were based upon the belief that the short time remaining before the elections would not give election officials time to complete a new roll. Some said that more time should be given to the consideration of the proposal while others condemned the bill because the Minister of Internal Affairs had promised in July 1943 that no contentious legislation as far as counties were concerned would be introduced until after the war.

Official Objection

More fundamental was the objection of *Board and Council,* official organ of New Zealand local authorities, which editorialized: "There is a distinct difference between local government in the rural districts and that of municipal government. The municipalities control a wide range of activities—sports grounds and halls, trams, gas, electricity, and the like—all of which are public utilities and therefore of interest and value to everybody. In the country areas, on the other hand, practically the whole burden of costs of local government falls on one section of the public, the ratepayers—the landholders, who pay directly for the cost of roads and bridges, river protection and other purposes. It is only right and just, then, that they should have control of the expenditure required. . . . What is now proposed is to deprive them of that right and endanger their position by permitting residents without any financial liability to vote on and perhaps control such expenditure. Such a proposal is barely different from that of allowing the general public the same privileges as those of the shareholders of a business concern."

One county council passed a resolution petitioning the government "to enact legislation which will provide that all local body funds will be subscribed from sources other than rates on land so that all electors will shoulder the financial responsibility for providing the funds which all electors under a universal franchise will administer."

While some local authorities approved of the amendment as regards property qualifications, almost all of them vigorously denounced the new provision which permits employees of a local government to run for election to the governing board and retain their employment if elected. It was felt that employees should not be thus permitted to sit in judgment upon themselves.

Despite the residential franchise for local elections, there will still be separate electoral rolls for parliamentary and local elections, since a proposal to use the former rolls for local elections was defeated because it was considered "impractical." Enrollment of electors is compulsory in boroughs and town districts, enrollment in counties optional.

Elections Postponed

Local elections in New Zealand are usually held every three years, and most local elections take place at the same time, the third Saturday in May. This year elections of some 700 local governing bodies were postponed a week because of the registration complications occasioned by the new law. Only 50 per cent of the enrolled voters actually voted. Yet the percentage of votes cast was not worse than in the 1941 election. *Board and Council* attributes some of this constant non-voting to the usual wintry weather in May and the fact that elections are held on Saturdays. Also a contributing factor is the lack of any provision for absentee voting, either by civilians or military personnel.

New Zealand laws permit parties to set up tables outside of polling booths for the purpose of distributing party tickets. Although many groups have deplored the role parties play in local elections, nothing has been done to minimize their influence.

Voters in this country who complain about our long ballot would find no relief if they moved to New Zealand. While the long ballot in the United States is primarily caused by electing numerous administrative and judicial officers, in New Zealand it is caused by numerous elective boards which administer one particular function, e.g., harbor, transport, drainage, hospital and power boards.

New Zealand Local Government Inquiry

The New Zealand Parliament has set up a committee composed of eight government and six opposition members to inquire into the whole structure of local government, according to *Board and Council*. The New Zealand Counties' Association has decided to inform the government that it has no confidence in the committee established; it feels that it would be fatal to local government "if the future of such government lay in the hands of politicians alone."

The Association asks for "an independent commission which will make a full and unbiased investigation, and which will make the investigation in a manner far removed from party politics." Such an investigation, it believes, would prove most valuable to the country and the government.

One of the county councils has asked that a Royal Commission be established instead of having the investigation handled by a parliamentary committee. Most of the opposition to the appointed committee arose because of the way in which Parliament handled the Local Elections and Polls Amendment bill (see page 432).

Ecuadorian Sees State Overshadowing City

Boletin, published by the Panamerican Commission for Intermunicipal Cooperation, recently reprinted an article from *El Comercio*, a leading newspaper of Quito, Ecuador, in which the author, Miguel Albornoz, writing from New York, points out that in all American countries "the phenomenon of competition" between city and state or province exists, to the detriment of the city.

The author advocates more freedom for municipalities in choosing and administering their functions. After examining the multifold functions of New York City, he says that in this respect "New York City is an example of the enormous possibilities of a large municipality."

The Ecuadorian municipality, the author concludes, enjoys more freedom and power than the great majority of municipalities in other American countries because of the *cabildo ampliado* (amplified municipal council).

Panama Sets Up New Local Government Districts

Another issue of *Boletin* gives information about the 1941 territorial division of the Republic of Panama. The country was divided into seven provinces, one territory, 36 districts, and 194 *corregimientos*. The *corregimientos* stipulated in the law are to be temporary only; when the provincial legislatures are organized they are to subdivide the districts into *corregimientos*, "taking into account the administrative requirements of each province."

The chief executive of the province is the governor; of the territory, the intendent; of the district, the mayor; of the *corregimiento*, the *corregidor*.

Books in Review

The Municipal Year Book 1944. Edited by Clarence E. Ridley and Orin F. Nolting. Chicago 37, The International City Managers' Association, 1944. x, 646 pp. $8.50.

Now in its second decade of publication, the *Municipal Year Book* continues to add new sections, bring regular features up to date, and remain the standard reference on facts of cities.

New material has been gathered on salaries of municipal officials, postwar planning, postwar reserves, finances, health, streets and refuse disposal. The *Year Book* again gives valuable data on the government of each of the 2,042 cities over 5,000 population: form of government, number of councilmen, with term of office and type of election, officials elected, utilities owned, area and population. It summarizes trends in municipal administration—personnel, finance and reporting—and municipal activities—welfare, health, housing, public works, utilities, police, fire, schools, recreation, libraries, law and courts. It contains a current directory of city officials.

When the task of compiling the material is performed as accurately and the data presented as accessibly as in the case of this *Year Book,* the product inevitably becomes a necessary reference for anyone wanting facts about cities.

Edward W. Weidner

Budgeting: An Instrument of Planning and Management. Edited by Catheryn Seckler-Hudson. To be published in seven units. Already issued: Unit I—**The Evolution of the Budgetary Concept in the Federal Government,** 230 pp., $1.75; Unit III. **Wartime Budgeting, Including Federal-State-Local Fiscal Relations.** 94 pp., $1; and Unit V. **Formulation of the Federal Budget and the Appropriation of Funds,** 154 pp., $1.50. Washington, D. C., School of Social Sciences and Public Affairs, The American University, 1944.

Citizens interested in governmental management in general and financial administration in particular cannot afford to miss this mimeographed collection of materials on budgeting. The contents of the three volumes (units) already published indicate that the editor, who has worked with collaboration from the United States Bureau of the Budget, is seeking to develop the general subject matter in such manner as to emphasize the general management functions of budgeting.

It is apparent, too, that she desires to make available discussions which hitherto have been largely unpublished. For example, a large proportion of the total space is occupied by materials drawn from addresses and other statements prepared by members of the Bureau staff. In addition, a goodly number of articles published in various places have been reprinted or abstracted. The author has also included in Unit I a working bibliography, emphasizing references to materials on national budgets, especially the budget of the United States.

Although there may be criticism of the mimeographing and there certainly will be differences of opinion as to what should have been included, it will be generally granted that the editorial task has been well performed. The critic should observe that the purpose is to present a particular policy viewpoint; that the plan contemplates drawing illustrative material from United States central government experience; and that therefore no effort has been made to give a general view of budgetary theory or practice. Notwithstanding these limitations, the student of state and local practice cannot ignore the collection if he is to know his own problems and the theory bearing on them.

James W. Martin

Bureau of Business Research
University of Kentucky

Production, Jobs and Taxes. Postwar Revision of the Federal Tax System to Help Achieve Higher Production and More Jobs. By Harold M. Groves. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1944. xv, 116 pp. $1.25.

This is the first of two monographs on taxation prepared by Professor Groves for the Committee for Economic Development. The present volume is restricted to a consideration of federal tax policies; the second will cover federal, state and local taxation.

Something of the scope of this provocative little volume may be gathered from a summary of the author's main conclusions. In order to provide adequate business incentives as well as to insure fairness and adequacy of revenue, Professor Groves recommends a postwar federal tax structure with the personal income tax as the "mainstay," elimination of duplication in corporate and personal income taxes by "confining the corporation tax to a withholding levy on dividends and an advance payment on income retained by the corporation for reinvestment" and repeal of the excess-profits and declared-value capital-stock excess-profits taxes. Federal sales taxes "are to be discouraged" while death taxes should be strengthened. A carry-over of at least six years for net business losses, moderation in upper and middle surtax income tax rates, abolition of tax exemption of income from government securities, and some mitigation of the discrimination against recipients of fluctuating income are suggested.

The freshness of Professor Groves' approach to these problems suggests that it is well worth looking forward to the second volume of the series.

E. W. W.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Peace

The Peace We Want. Community Activity and Discussion Guide. New York 18, Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, 1944. 20 pp. 10 cents.

Planning

Primers, Manuals, and Elementary Works on Planning. A Selected Bibliography. Chicago, American Society of Planning Officials, 1944 (revised). 3 pp. 10 cents.

Public Administration

Case Reports in Public Administration (Nos. 80-100). By Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1944. Variously paged. 10 cents per report.

Taxation and Finance

Municipal Financial Problems—1944. Chicago, The Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance,* May 1944. 32 pp.

State Tax Collections 1943. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, 1944. 42 pp.

City of Milwaukee Proposed Six-Year Program of Public Improvements 1944-1949. Submitted to the Common Council November 27, 1943, by the Long Term Improvement Program Technical Committee. Milwaukee, 1944. 95 pp.

War Memorials

War Memorials. A Bibliography. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, Harvard University, 1944. 5 pp.

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Let's Look at Civil Service

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Philadelphia Tax in Fifth Year

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— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

Henry M. Waite, 1869 - 1944

COLONEL Henry M. Waite, noted engineer and public administrator and former president of the National Municipal League, died September 1 in Washington where he was still serving his government in important capacities at the age of 75.

After some years in mining and civil engineering activities, Colonel Waite was drawn into public service for the first time when a "reform" mayor appointed him chief engineer of Cincinnati in 1912. His appointment two years later as the first city manager of Dayton was destined to influence indelibly not only the future of that city but also the future of the council-manager plan.

"Colonel Waite assumed office at a point in Dayton's history when 'everything was to be done,'" it is pointed out in Leonard D. White's *The City Manager*. "The city was in arrears not only financially but in almost every aspect of its civic affairs. The flood had left its trail of destruction but had aroused a spirit of determination to repair the damage. This general situation together with the expectation that a 'revolution' would be introduced by the new form of government and with the driving personality of the manager initiated a remarkable civic renaissance."

Dayton was the first large city to adopt the council-manager plan. Up to that time opponents of the still new system were fond of insisting that, although it obviously worked well in smaller communities, it would not work in big cities. The immediate success of the plan in Dayton started a procession of other large cities on the road to administrative improvement and the statesmanship of Colonel Waite set precedents which became traditional in Dayton and elsewhere.

Many municipal services now accepted as commonplace were pioneered by Dayton. Free nursing, free legal aid bureau, free employment bureau for women, crime prevention bureau and numerous other services were established while, at the same time, Colonel Waite was finding many ways to make spectacular businesslike economies. He saved several hundred thousand dollars a year for gas consumers by securing natural gas at 34 cents to replace artificial gas at 85 cents. He cut unit costs all along the line through adequate financial and administrative control. Garbage collection costs, for example, were cut from $2.60 to $1.60 per ton, and a modern garbage reduction plant was built that became self-sustaining. Centralized purchasing and sound budget procedure were inaugurated to insure proper control over expenditures. The eight-hour day was established for municipal employees.

Colonel Waite left Dayton to take part in the first World War as chief engineer and deputy director of transportation on the staff of the American Second Army and as deputy transportation director with the Third Army in Germany. He received the Distinguished Service Medal and was made an officer of the Legion of Honor by France.

After the war he was a consulting engineer, except for the period during 1933 and 1934 when he was deputy administrator of the Public Works Administration. At his death he was a consultant on war projects in the United States Bureau of the Budget.

Colonel Waite succeeded Charles Evans Hughes as president of the National Municipal League in 1921 and served for three years. He was a member of the League's Council at the time of his death.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

A Little County Shall Lead Them

IT HAS often been claimed that, although the manager plan has shown good results in populous counties, it is adaptable only to large-scale operations and would not work in sparsely populated rural counties, which the large majority of our more than 3,000 counties are.

The politicians have been loud champions of this idea. But their opposition to non-political administration stands suspect, for no one knows better than they that the counties are the sinews of the state political organizations. Until the county party leaders can be persuaded that it is possible to base a political organization on principles and issues rather than on the dispensing of jobs to their workers they will continue to deny the validity of every demonstration that county bossism is wasteful and anti-democratic.

More significant in the long run, some distinguished students of government have agreed with the politicians, though of course for entirely different reasons. They have felt that the small rural counties perform little in the way of services for their people and that there is, indeed, scant justification for many of them to have organized governments at all.

Now, for the first time, a small rural county has tried the manager plan and has demonstrated, over a period of eighteen months, that efficient organization makes it possible to live within available income.[1]

Petroleum County, Montana, has a population of less than 1,200 and its largest community, the county seat, has 400. As its oil resources declined, tax revenue fell far below expenditures, with no apparent hope of bringing income and outgo into harmony without a major operation of some kind. In desperation, the people adopted the manager plan by a two-to-one vote. The plan went into effect January 1, 1943.

Expenditures were cut 25.6 per cent and the net indebtedness from $50,350 to $12,292.

The amounts involved here may look like chicken feed to people accustomed to the offhand bandying about of millions and billions in talking of government finance, but suppose 2,000 other rural counties could have similar awakenings. Suppose unnecessary officials and employees could be cut off the public payroll everywhere, from bottom to top, on the same scale.

No government operation is too big *or* too small to be operated in a way that will cut out unnecessary waste and give the taxpayer his money's worth. Confidence in our whole system is weakened when the people are led to believe that inefficiency, waste and costly favoritism are essential parts of self-government.

* * *

It is worth mentioning that for many years the politicians used to say, "The council-manager plan may work all right in small towns but it would never do for big cities." Then came dramatic demonstrations to the contrary as Dayton, Cincinnati, Toledo and scores of other sizable cities adopted the plan.

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[1] See "Rural County *Can* Be Efficient," by R. R. Renne, p. 448 this issue.

With counties it has been different. The big counties, with big problems, felt the pressure first and had to clean house. Petroleum County, out of sheer necessity, has put forth a pioneering effort which can be followed profitably by many other small counties. In the aggregate, they could produce huge savings. More important, they could, by proving themselves competent to run their own affairs, stop the continued growth of federal and state controls which are gradually destroying local self-government.

Getting Rid of Red Tape

THIS is no time, and perhaps there never is a time, to say a few words in defense or justification of governmental red tape and bureaucracy, but the forthright article "Let's Look at Civil Service!" in this issue brings to mind the old yarn about the argument between the physician, the engineer and the politician over whose profession is the oldest.

The physician cited the creation of Eve from Adam's rib as a surgical operation. The engineer argued that, before Eve, order had been brought out of chaos—clearly an engineering feat. "Not so fast, not so fast," said the politician, "who d'you think made the chaos?"

Without seeking to justify or preserve any part of existing government chaos, it would seem wise to grant that much if not most of today's red tape and bureaucracy came bit by bit as the result of honest efforts to overcome abuses, thwart scoundrels or protect public funds. Every time someone discovered a loophole in the law another patch was added in the shape of six forms to fill out instead of three, a new bureau to make some part of the population behave or another agency to check up on existing agencies.

The end product becomes pretty ridiculous in many specific situations and it's a healthy thing to promote critical re-examination. But it is scarcely sound to believe, as many do, that government just naturally *wants* to be circuitous and pettifogging any more than business or any other organization does.

The demand for the elimination of red tape in civil service is wholly justified. There should be constant effort, indeed, to combat it in all governmental activities and to simplify the operation of public affairs. Even at the risk of adding still another bureau, it would probably pay many governments to have agencies devoted wholly and positively to this cause.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

Let's Look at Civil Service!

Merit system champion calls for end of archaic methods, red tape of meaningless precedent and tradition; sees modernization of personnel practices a postwar need.

By H. ELIOT KAPLAN, ***Executive Secretary National Civil Service Reform League***

INCREASING demands on our state and municipal governments, with their expanded construction programs which will probably run into billions, make the need for more effective administration of state and municipal personnel agencies one of the major problems of postwar reorganization and readjustment. Now is the time to take stock of our civil service merit system and to start overhauling the personnel machine to make it work more expeditiously and smoothly.

Two decades ago, commenting on the civil service in Great Britain, Winston Churchill paid the service this high compliment:

> Powerful, uncorruptible, anonymous, the civil service of this country discharges a function which is invaluable and without which immediate disaster would overtake any administration that attempted to carry on the business of the state. In all this quick moving life what a vital thing it is to have some instrument which is thinking not in days or in months or in parliaments, but is thinking of the affairs of the British Empire in terms of a whole lifetime.

The same sentiments might well be expressed with relation to the civil services of our states and municipalities, as well as our federal service.

We have made great strides in virtually eliminating the patronage system in our public services, or at least in keeping it within reasonable bounds. We have, however, been too complacent with slow, irregular and plodding progress in improving the organization of personnel agencies. We still indulge archaic methods and outworn practices. Yet we wonder that our personnel management system is only partly effective despite the half century of experience in merit system administration.

Criticism of civil service administration is to be expected from the predatory politicians. We can dismiss these as the grousings of frustrated spoilsmen. There are, however, many political statesmen and advocates of the merit system itself who have just cause for complaining that it has fallen far short of its objective. They justly claim that too much attention has been given to form and not enough to substance. They properly deplore the tendency of personnel agencies to act as policing agencies instead of servicing agencies for operating departments.

Advocates of the merit system appreciate that it has been made only half as effective in practice as it could be made. Strides have been made by fits and starts. No planned, sustained program for the achievement of a well rounded, sound personnel system has been developed under really effective leadership. Many ambitious programs in that direction have been started but few have been carried to completion.

Let us look at our civil service objectively. We find that basically what has been lacking has been the will on the part of government executives to make the merit system work objectively, impersonally and nonpartisanly. Neither foresight nor imagination has been sufficiently invoked to inspire the drivers of the civil service machine to make it hit on all cylinders. Neither political courage nor dynamic leadership has really existed in most of our civil service commissions.

Educate the Public

We have yet to educate public opinion as to what is really needed to make our merit system work effectively within the framework of our democratic system. We have had reorganization after reorganization of personnel agencies. But is this the solution of the problem of making the merit system what it should be—a modern personnel system which will provide the state or municipality with trained, competent employees, managed with the same scrupulous regard for economy and efficiency expected of employees of private enterprise, insuring to the taxpayers a dollar's worth of service for every tax dollar expended on the public payrolls, while at the same time underwriting for public employees a sufficiently attractive career in government service?

Hardly so. No law, no system of administration, no highly refined practices or procedures nor lavish appropriations will solve the problem of public personnel management. All these, even when applied concurrently, will fail in reaching the goal of a true merit system unless the governor, mayor or other executive head assumes full responsibility for making the merit system work. The executive is responsible for determining policies of administration and must assume leadership. On his interest or concern depends primarily the caliber of the public service. Regardless of the theory of the independence of our personnel agencies, in practice it is the executive who must exercise leadership and determine the kind of service the people should get.

In most jurisdictions civil service laws already contain the essentials of a comprehensive merit system. In many jurisdictions the law needs strengthening and in some even complete overhauling. But this is only one phase of the problem. The real crux is the strengthening of administration. This demands a strong, well equipped and adequately financed central personnel agency. We have the framework but we lack the vitality necessary to make the merit system work.

First of all, we must determine whether the personnel agency is to be half political and half merit, or all merit. It is too much to expect a strong merit system administration if the personnel agency views its task in large measure as solely the balancing wheel of political administration. The function of that agency is to determine public policies of merit system administration, not the partisan political policies of any administration in power. Our present setup of bipartisan, politically selected commissioners is hardly conducive to objective, nonpartisan administration of our civil service. Under such system the merit system already has one political strike against it before it gets started, even under the best of political auspices.

We have not yet rid our minds of the notion that the political party in power is entitled to patronage and that its control must be exercised through a politically guided personnel agency. We often confuse control of political patronage with personnel management. We are here concerned, however, not with the problem of patronage but rather the more vital issue of sound personnel management.

Partisan Commissioners Unnecessary

To begin with, then, we must organize our personnel agencies by getting rid of the notion that a multiple commission representing both major political parties is necessary for maintaining the integrity of the merit system. The truth is that a bipartisan commission contributes toward its political concept rather than encouraging nonpartisanship. The time has come when we can safely entrust the administration of the merit system to a single executive—comparable to other heads of departments—held solely responsible for determination of policies and direction and administration of the personnel agency.

What is the real job of a modern public personnel agency? It is not solely to recruit and examine for public positions. It must assume the management of personnel affairs of its jurisdiction from the initial point of attracting talent to the service, through the processes of selection, training, promotion and, finally, separation from the service. It must give its attention to working conditions of employees and be mindful of the prerogatives of operating departments in their responsibility for servicing the people.

The personnel agency must not continue as a mere passive recruiting and examining agency seeking only to find reasonably qualified persons for public employment. It must strive to make the public service attractive enough to persuade the most talented persons to seek careers therein. Not until the public becomes aware that personnel management is not the task of amateurs and self-seeking politicians, and demands the services of top-flight executives of demonstrated capacity for formulation and direction of personnel policies and administration, will we achieve the results we seek. Membership on the civil service commission is still viewed in most jurisdictions as a political plum rather than as a challenging task for the ablest executive and administrator.

There is hope of getting nonpolitically an able personnel manager or director whose responsibility it must be to see that the work of the personnel agency is carried out expeditiously, intelligently and with more than just routine, passing interest on the part of his technicians. He must set the tempo of service to be furnished operating departments, must supply the drive and must coordinate the agency's many activities. It is not essential that he be a technical expert in personnel practices and procedures; rather he must be a trained administrator with capacity and imagination and with a general understanding of and sympathy with the operation of a sound merit system. It is a man-sized job for which a state or municipality may have to search far and wide to find the ablest person. It must pay adequately for his hire.

The creaking civil service machine has become bogged down by meaningless precedent and tradition and has been clogged with futile red tape. It needs to be rejuvenated. It needs more than grease and oil. It needs new parts and capable drivers and mechanics.

Capable Staff

Most personnel agencies lack a professional and capable technical staff equipped to perform the vital functions demanded of a modern personnel agency. We need more than just high grade appointment clerks and technicians. We need persons with proper appreciation of their responsibility to make available to operating department heads the best talent that can be found for public service.

What about the responsibility of operating departments in the personnel picture? They, too, must play a more vital role if we are to have a modern personnel system. For example, responsibility for recruiting competent talent is a dual one. Initially it belongs to the personnel agency. It is also, however, the responsibility of the operating departments to cooperate in this sphere. They must not depend exclusively on the personnel agency. They must aid in the recruiting process by encouraging persons of talent to compete for public places.

The probationary service period must be revitalized. The mere passing of a competitive test is not enough to demonstrate actual proficiency or capacity to assume responsibility of the job. This can better be demonstrated by actual performance on the job itself. Unfortunately, the probationary period is viewed only casually by most department heads. They overlook its place as part of the examination procedure in determining the practical value of the appointee in a particular job and promise of his capacity for more responsible future service. It is the department's responsibility to guide and train the new appointee through the probationary period, to scrutinize critically the performance of the probationer so as to weed out the unfit and those lacking promise. The personnel agency, however, must act as a safety valve in protecting the service itself from possible loss of overlooked talent which may be directed into other channels.

At present there is little integration and coordination of the personnel practices of the operating departments and the personnel agencies. Few jurisdictions recognize the need and value of the part played in the personnel program by departmental personnel officers whose responsibility it should be (1) to act as liaisons between their department and the personnel agency in recruiting, selection, in-service training, etc., and (2) to be responsible for the personnel phases of their department beyond these functions, including proper assignment of employees, handling of employee relationships, grievances, welfare, etc. To be sure, in some jurisdictions attempt to cope with these personnel problems has been made. Few of them have been really successful, largely because the approach is only half-hearted and the means inadequate. Departmental personnel directors where they do exist in operating departments rarely rise above the level of appointment clerks with little authority. They are usually ignored in developing the management policies of the department. They must be in close contact with the personnel agency and be an integral part of the operating department machine. They should be constantly aware of the mutual personnel problems that arise and aid in recommending or effecting solutions for and improvements in personnel management.

Inject New Blood

The civil service must not be permitted to become static, stodgy and unduly bureaucratic in its methods. We must occasionally infuse new blood into the life stream of the civil service to inject new vitality. We must bring persons of demonstrated capacity into the service to get more elastic and imaginative direction. If nothing else, such a plan would keep those in the more responsible places alert and on their toes, encourage a finer competitive spirit and help to keep the public service out of the doldrums.

Salaries paid for the general run of positions in the public service are reasonably comparable to those paid for similar work in private industry. In the lower brackets they are generally as high as and often higher than those paid by private industry for similar work. In the higher administrative and executive positions, however, salary levels in the public service are far below those paid for similar service in private enterprise. The salaries of key positions in the civil service are much too low to attract the talent our public service needs. In spite of the commendable patriotic desire of citizens to serve the public, the spread between salaries paid for executive direction in industry and in the civil service makes too wide a gap and demands too much sacrifice. Salaries in the higher brackets must be raised considerably if we are to attract the best potential employees to our civil service and keep them content. It is an investment the taxpayers can well afford to make.

There are other weaknesses in the present operation of our civil service systems. Competitive examinations are essential in a sound personnel system. They must be well planned, tested by experience and made practical to be of real value. They must not, however, be viewed as a mere fetish where other practical means of determining merit and fitness serve a better purpose and bring better results. All modern techniques must be tried for determining the qualitative capacity of prospective employees, as well as quantitative education and experience. Too much emphasis is placed on quantity rather than quality of record and accomplishment and inadequate evaluation made of potential supervisory capacity.

We are still suffering from long delays in rating examinations. Shortcuts without sacrificing the competitive principle must be and can be developed. There must be more preliminary screening of lesser qualified candidates who, although barely meeting minimum requirements for entrance, indicate by their lack of education and experience little likelihood of obtaining a sufficiently high place on the eligible list. We must seek out the best qualified candidates for reasonably immediate appointments. It is not the province of the personnel agency merely to determine how many candidates may receive a passing mark, or how long an eligible list can be established. The number on eligible lists should be limited to meet the needs of the service. If an eligible list of five, ten or twenty-five names will serve the purpose why worry about the lesser qualified applicants who may never be reached for appointment anyway?

Find the Best

We must appreciate the fact that civil service tests, unlike licensing tests, should be designed to find the best among qualified candidates. The purpose is not merely to "qualify" candidates as for a physician's license or for admission to the bar. It requires better judgment on the part of the personnel agency in determining the passing basis in competitive tests as well as the reasonable number necessary on each eligible list to meet the needs of the service.

Considerable strides have been made in improving the classification of positions but most jurisdictions are still 25 years behind the times.

Only lately have we given much attention to guiding, acquainting and training new appointees with the duties of their positions and their relative responsibilities. Little has been done to train those in the service for responsible administrative and executive positions. No effective system of developing employees for responsible supervision has been carefully planned and organized. One of the basic shortcomings of our present personnel systems is the lack of trained, competent supervisors. We have instituted orientation courses and basic training programs for the state police and fire forces, for example, but we have not gone far enough in equipping our public servants for more responsible supervisory services in other essential fields. We have done even less toward developing leadership among our more promising employees.

We have done little to develop selective certification from eligible lists. There are occasions where certifications can better be made on the basis of specialized qualifications among those passing more general tests. It is wasteful to hold unnecessary examinations when eligible lists already established can be made to fill our needs. With proper safeguards the personnel agency can develop a system of certification which will be more selective, and yet avoid possible abuses, and so meet more readily the needs of the service without undue delay and expense.

No adequate provision has been made for pooling resources in such fields as stenographic, clerical and even labor groups, to meet the fluctuations within the various operating departments seeking temporary or seasonal help.

Promotions within the service in most jurisdictions are haphazard and discriminatory, without regard to proved fitness. The personnel agency often plays only a casual part in the process and in most cases none at all. Service ratings as applied in most jurisdictions are of questionable value. True, no wholly reliable system of performance ratings has been yet developed which defies manipulation by biased supervisors or eliminates faulty subjective reaction on the part of well meaning administrators. We have made strides in developing more satisfactory rating systems, but there is still reluctance in applying them. Even where applied the service rating results are not permitted to serve any particularly useful function. Operating departments, unfortunately, do not view them seriously enough to warrant more than casual attention. Here is a challenging subject for research and study to develop a simple, practical and reasonably reliable means of rating efficiency of employees.

Most personnel agencies are utterly devoid of investigators even for the purpose of checking or verifying prima facie cases of exaggeration and misrepresentation. Even investigation of character records is non-existent. Research activities have been only begrudgingly undertaken in a few areas and in minor fields. In the personnel field the research laboratory has been shunned as mere academic experimenting and financial extravagance, but we go on year after year probably making the same errors and blundering along in applying practices and procedures, the real selective and objective value of which we have only vague knowledge. Modest funds invested judiciously in this direction would bring large dividends in developing new methods and practices, in eliminating useless and needless ones, and in finding shortcuts to more practical results.

Transfers and Dismissals

Transfers within the service are generally handled haphazardly and without any planned program. Dismissals from the service are as varied as whim and prejudices dictate with no attempt to face the problem realistically and in the light of long experience. The problem of handling dismissals has always been a knotty one, and no universally acceptable solution has yet been evolved; but the trouble is that most personnel agencies shun it rather than seek its proper solution.

Uniform plans governing leaves of absence, hours of work, vacations, compensable injuries, service retirements, as well as handling employee grievances and employee relationships, are generally absent.

If we are to make our personnel agencies capable and equipped to meet the needs of our postwar era the present shortcomings and weaknesses in the administration of our civil service merit system must be eliminated. We must vitalize and modernize our civil service system. We must strengthen it and give it new impetus. The personnel agencies must find and make available within our democratic system the means to enable our operating departments effectively to serve the people.

Rural County Can Be Efficient

Manager plan, tried for first time in sparsely populated area, cuts government costs to fit shrunken tax revenues after oil resources run out in Petroleum County, Montana.

By R. R. RENNE, *President*
Montana State College

RESULTS achieved with the manager plan in Petroleum County, Montana, after eighteen months of operation, may not be spectacular but they are significant. They demonstrate that the manager plan can operate effectively in small rural counties as well as in larger urban counties.

Petroleum County is strictly rural. Its largest town, Winnett, the county seat, has four hundred people, and its total population is only 1,146. The manager plan went into effect January 1, 1943, having been approved by the voters of the county by a two-to-one vote on July 21, 1942.

Petroleum County was organized in 1924, the last of Montana's 56 counties to be created. Its area of 1,675 square miles was taken entirely from the eastern third of Fergus County, a large county in the center of the state. In 1926 the taxable valuation of the new county totaled $4,875,000, almost $2,000,000 of which came from oil fields in the Cat Creek area in the northeastern portion of the county. The county went heavily in debt for expansion of roads, schools and other services and in 1926 had an indebtedness of more than $200,000.

Then taxable wealth and population began a steady decline because of a diminishing flow of oil and declines in crop returns accompanying drought and depression. By 1942 the taxable valuation had shrunk to $825,000, or about a sixth of the county's earlier wealth. Delinquent taxes piled up and tax-deed foreclosure acreage reached five figures. Widespread abandonment of farms was followed by submarginal land purchase by the federal government, creation of cooperative grazing districts, and the return of most of the land formerly used for wheat and corn to grass for cattle and sheep range.

Montana counties are not permitted by law to levy more than sixteen mills for general administration. Under this limitation Petroleum County raised only $12,028 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, whereas expenditures from the general fund amounted to $22,882. This difference of more than $10,000 was made up to a large extent by sales of tax-deeded lands and collection of delinquent taxes accompanying improved economic conditions. By 1942, however, the better county lands had been sold and most of the delinquent taxes had been collected. The county found it necessary to issue warrants in the late '30's and early '40's because it was unable to operate on a cash basis.

In the face of these conditions the Board of County Commissioners decided that the county should be put upon a cash basis and if possible all indebtedness, both bonds and registered warrants, liquidated. Since they could not increase the millage levy they were faced with two alternatives—to raise assessed valuations or to reduce costs. The first of these was extremely unpopular and in the long run would undoubtedly defeat its own ends by creating increased tax delinquency. The second raised the question of what was the most desirable means of reducing expenditures.

One method of reducing costs which the commissioners considered was the consolidation of certain county offices. In 1938 they had consolidated the superintendent of schools' and assessor's offices and the sheriff's office was consolidated with the public administrator and coroner. On February 4, 1942, they passed a resolution consolidating the offices of superintendent of schools, assessor, public administrator, and coroner into one office, and the offices of sheriff, clerk and recorder, and treasurer into another. These sweeping consolidations were to go into effect January 1, 1943.

Governmental Costs Reduced

As has already been stated, however, the voters in the summer of 1942 approved the manager system, so that these consolidations never went into effect. Had the consolidations been put into operation they would not have secured centralized purchasing of supplies on a bid basis, simplified record keeping, nor the coordinated effort among the county officers possible under the manager plan. Consolidation of the county with a neighboring county did not appear feasible.

Costs of general county administration in Petroleum County have been reduced more than one-fourth under the manager system. General governmental expenditures totaled $22,250 for the year ending June 30, 1942, the last full fiscal year before adoption of the manager system. For the year ending June 30, 1944, the first full fiscal year of operations under the manager plan, general governmental expenditures totaled $16,560. This is a saving of $5,690, or 25.6 per cent, in general governmental expenditures in the first complete fiscal year of operations.

Elden Freed, the present manager and director of finance, believes that $2,000 more can be saved after additional experience with the manager plan has been secured. During the past year, ending June 30, 1944, the maximum sixteen-mill levy allowed by law for general administration raised $14,537. Thus, governmental expenditures would be approximately equal under the manager plan to the revenue derived from the sixteen-mill levy, indicating the county is approaching a pay-as-you-go basis.

These achievements substantiate the author's predictions, made at the time Petroleum County voters were considering adopting the manager plan, that total general administrative expenses could be reduced to less than $15,000 anually with the manager system.[1] This amount is in sharp contrast to the more than $22,000 spent for general administration under the old plan of operation. Even after some of the offices had been consolidated this amount was nearly double the revenue which was being secured from the maximum sixteen-mill levy.

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[1] See "Petroleum County, Montana, Secures Manager Plan," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, September 1942, p. 461.

Debt Liquidation Record

In addition to this fine record of reducing government expenditures and virtually enabling the county to go on a cash basis, Petroleum County has an excellent debt liquidation record under the manager system. On June 30, 1942, Petroleum County had $20,705 of warrants and $40,000 of bonds outstanding. On June 30, after eighteen months of operation under the manager plan, the county had only $3,057 of warrants and $20,000 of bonds outstanding. Sinking fund cash on June 30, 1942, amounted to only $426, while on June 30, 1944, it totaled $3,568. Cash balances in all funds excluding sinking fund amounted to $9,929 on June 30, 1942, and $7,196 on June 30, 1944. Thus, the county has a net indebtedness of only $12,292 now, compared with a net indebtedness of $50,350 at the end of the last fiscal year prior to adoption of the manager plan.

Although this excellent debt liquidation record is due in part to an increase in taxable valuations and reduced tax delinquency accompanying improved economic conditions during the war period, it is also partly the result of the reduction in governmental expenditures accompanying the manager form of government. Taxable valuation increased from $825,000 in 1942 to $908,000 in 1944. There were no increases in millage levies for any funds, including debt reduction.

These very significant financial achievements are largely the result of the coordinated plan of government administration characteristic of the manager system. With the previous system voters of the county elected a board of three commissioners, a county attorney, a clerk and recorder, a treasurer, a superintendent of schools and ex-officio assessor, a clerk of court, a sheriff and ex-officio public administrator, and coroner. Each of these officers ran his own office independently of the others because Montana law does not provide for any consolidation of activities.

A total of eight individuals in addition to the board of three county commissioners was employed to operate this headless, uncoordinated form of government. Before the county superintendent's office was consolidated with the assessor and the sheriff's with the public administrator and coroner, a total of eleven different individuals in addition to the county commissioners was employed. The election of these individuals by popular vote made a long ballot and relatively expensive elections.

Under the manager plan Petroleum County voters now elect only a board of three commissioners and a county attorney. The county attorney is the legal counsel for the county. The commissioners serve as a board of directors to formulate general policies and plans for the county. This board selects a manager to carry out its policies and to execute administrative details. The manager is removable at the pleasure of the board with rights to a public hearing.

The manager appoints the workers employed to operate the county government. At the present time five individuals including the manager, in addition to the three county commissioners, are employed. These are (1) the county manager who also acts as the director of finance, (2) a chief deputy, (3) a director of records and clerk of the district court, (4) a sheriff and assessor and (5) one clerical worker. Thus, the number of employees is now only three-fifths as great as previously and less than half as many as were employed prior to consolidation of the offices indicated.

Significance of Manager Experience

Under the Montana county manager law the work of the county is divided into three departments, finance, public works, and public welfare. There may be other departments where the work of the county justifies them. Petroleum being such a small county, the manager will probably eventually serve as head of all three departments, with perhaps three assistants, after additional experience with the manager plan has been secured. The number of employees would be only four, or just half the number employed under the previous system, and approximately a third as many as were employed prior to the consolidation of certain offices.

Considerable credit for the fine record of the manager plan in Petroleum County belongs to the employees who are responsible for its operation. The staff of five, headed by Mr. Freed, who followed Roy Martin, the first manager, on September 20, 1943, have no illusions about the possible accomplishments of the manager plan. But they are fully convinced that with honest, efficient workers this new form of administration is a very desirable one and one which has made it possible for their county to get on a cash basis and to liquidate much of its previous indebtedness — something which the former uncoordinated, headless form of government was not achieving.

In addition to making it possible for Petroleum County to balance its books and get on a pay-as-you-go basis and to liquidate most of its indebtedness, the experience of this county demonstrates that the manager plan can operate effectively in small counties. This is contrary to the far too general impression that the system is suited only to larger counties that can pay salaries adequate to get qualified, highly trained managers. Moreover, the Petroleum County record is an excellent example of the possibility of obtaining a form of government better adapted to the needs and resources of the plains region. Many northern great plains counties, faced with much the same problems Petroleum County has encountered, have considered the manager system for some time but have lacked the courage to initiate it.

Philadelphia Tax in Fifth Year

Earned income tax produces one-fourth of city's revenues, balances budget after two decades of deficits, forestalls increase of property tax or renewal of unpopular sales tax.

By **ROBERT J. PATTERSON**
Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA has now had almost five years' experience with its earned income tax.

Financially that experience has been excellent. The tax has been highly productive and continues so even with the reduction of one-third in the rate made about two years ago. Adoption of this tax has enabled the city to balance its budget each year beginning with 1941, the second year of income tax collections, in sharp contrast with nineteen successive annual budget deficits immediately preceding 1941 — deficits which averaged $10,284,000 a year and ran as high as $32,530,000.

The income tax has much more than bridged the gap that for years had existed between revenues and expenditures chargeable against revenues, and it has done this alone, without benefit of additional taxes or charges, or increases in the rates of existing revenues. The city-county tax on real estate has continued at the low rate that had been in effect in and since 1936, the lowest rate since 1917; and the renewal of the unpopular 2 per cent sales tax of 1938, imminently threatened until the income tax was adopted, has been avoided. Had the income tax not been imposed and continued, there probably would have been both a substantial increase in the real estate tax rate and a restoration of the sales tax.

An especially noteworthy feature of Philadelphia's income tax is its ability to reach, better perhaps than anything else could, the many thousands of non-residents who earn their living or part of it in the city but who, with few exceptions, would contribute little or nothing toward the cost of Philadelphia's government were they not subjected to the tax.

Solves a Major Problem

Through the tax Philadelphia neatly and effectively reaches these "daylight citizens," as the non-resident constituents of the city's working population have aptly been called.

Philadelphia thus has gone far towards solving one of the major problems faced by most big cities—how to make the large and increasing number of "outsiders" who benefit more or less constantly from numerous costly facilities, activities and services which the city provides pay their fair share of the costs involved.

Exact information as to how much the city obtains through its income tax from non-residents is not available, but officials in charge of city tax collections estimate that it is upwards of $6,000,000 a year, or about 30 to 33 per cent of the total income tax receipts. Six million dollars is more than one-seventh of the current year's city-county real estate tax levy. It would require an increase of $2.50 per $1,000 of assessed valuation—from $17 to $19.50—to raise that amount by additional real estate taxes.

Subjects and Rates

Philadelphia's income tax applies to two kinds of earned income: earnings of individuals as employees and the net profits of unincorporated businesses and professions. More specifically, the tax applies to:

(1) All salaries, wages, commissions, and other compensation of employees earned on and after January 1, 1940, by (a) residents of Philadelphia, whether earned within or without the city, or by (b) nonresidents for work done or services rendered in the city. Compensation earned during the three years 1940-1942 was taxed at 1½ per cent; compensation earned after 1942 is taxed at 1 per cent. The tax applies to the entire compensation; none of it is exempt.

(2) The net profits earned on and after January 1, 1939, by unincorporated businesses and professions conducted in Philadelphia, whether by residents or non-residents; the net profits earned on and after January 1, 1939, by unincorporated businesses and professions conducted outside Philadelphia by residents of Philadelphia; and the shares of residents of Philadelphia in the net profits earned on and after January 1, 1939, by unincorprated businesses and professions conducted outside Philadelphia by one or more residents of Philadelphia in association with non-residents. The profits of the three years 1939-1941 were taxed at 1½ per cent; those of 1942 and subsequent years are taxed at 1 per cent. The tax applies to the entire net profits; none of it is exempt.

It will be observed that the income tax applied to the net profits of unincorporated businesses and professions beginning with those of 1939, whereas it applied to employees' compensation beginning with that earned in the following year, 1940. It will be observed also that when the rate of the tax was reduced from 1½ per cent to 1 per cent, the new rate applied to the net profits of unincorporated businesses and professions beginning in 1942, and to the compensation of employees beginning in 1943. Thus, each of the two classes of earnings were taxed for three years at the original 1½ per cent rate, and since then have been taxed at the reduced 1 per cent rate. Presumably, any further changes in the rate of the tax, or the repeal of the tax, would be on the same basis in order to subject each class to the same rate of tax for the same length of time.

Profits of corporations are not subject to Philadelphia's income tax. This is because (1) it is believed that the city's power to tax incomes rests solely on a state law of 1932; (2) this law, in so far as it enlarged the city's taxing power, granted the city the right to tax only subjects not taxed by the state, and only while not taxed by the state; and (3) the incomes of corporations have been taxed by the state since 1935.[1] The state, however, does not tax the incomes of individuals or partnerships.

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[1] The courts have ruled, however, that the state tax commonly regarded as a corporation income tax is not a tax on incomes, not an income tax, but a franchise tax *measured* by the corporate net income. Possibly, therefore, the city has power to tax the incomes of corporations, as well as those of individuals and partnerships. It is unlikely, though, that the city would attempt to take advantage of these legalistic distinctions and try to tax the incomes of corporations.

Income derived from interest, dividends, pensions, annuities, rentals, and royalties is not subject to the tax, except as such income may enter into the computations of the profits of businesses or professions subject to the tax.

The tax on salaries and other compensation is a tax on the individual employee; it is not a tax on either the payrolls or the employers. Employers in the city are required, as collecting agents for the city, to withhold and remit the tax on the compensation paid by them to residents of the city, or to non-residents for work done or services rendered in the city; but, except to remit the taxes thus withheld, employers make no payments to the city with respect to their payrolls or any of the earnings of their employees.

How and When Payable

Most of the tax on compensation of employees is collected at the source. From its start employers in Philadelphia have been required to deduct the city's income tax from each payment of the salary or other compensation of each employee affected. Amounts thus withheld are required to be paid to the city by the 15th day of the succeeding month. Practically every employer in the city (except the federal and state governments) complies fully with this requirement. Remarkably little difficulty has been encountered in securing full compliance.

Residents of the city who are employed outside the city, and both residents and non-residents who are employed in the city but whose employers have not withheld the tax on their pay, are required to file a return by March 15 of each year, showing their taxable earnings during the preceding calendar year and the amount of tax due. At the time the return is filed at least one-fourth of the year's tax must be paid. At least one-half must be paid by June 15, three-fourths by September 15, and all of it by December 15. This group consists largely of federal and state employees.

All persons who conduct unincorporated businesses or professions in the city, and all residents of the city who conduct an unincorporated business or profession outside the city, whether alone or in partnership, are required to file a return on or before March 15 of each year, showing net profits and other relevant details for the preceding calendar year and the amount of the tax due the city on those profits. At least one-fourth of the year's tax must be paid when the return is filed, one-half by June 15, three-fourths by September 15, and all of it by December 15. Where the fiscal year differs from the calendar year, however, but ends with the last day of a calendar month, and is recognized by the federal government for income tax purposes, the return must be filed and at least one-fourth of the year's tax paid not later than the 15th day of the third month following the close of the fiscal year; and if the tax is not then paid in full further payments must be made so that not less than one-half, three-fourths, and all of it is paid, respec-

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Should the city do so, the state legislature doubtless would bar the city from extending its income tax to corporations.

tively, by the 15th day of the sixth, ninth, and twelfth months succeeding the end of the fiscal year.

Taxes not paid when due bear interest at the rate of 6 per cent a year until paid and in addition have a penalty of 1 per cent a month or fraction of a month added for each of the first six months of delinquency. Failure to file a return or refusal to pay the tax when due makes the offender subject to a fine of $100 or, if the fine is not paid, to a term of thirty days in jail.

What the Tax Has Produced

Total Yield. From the first collections in February 1940 to the close of July 1944 Philadelphia's income tax has yielded the city $93,648,076.97, or an average of $1,734,223.65 a month for the 54 months. In the four years 1940-1943 (47 months of collections) the city's receipts from this tax totaled $80,185,646.65, or $1,706,077.59 a month. Last year, 1943, the receipts amounted to $20,761,883.44, and averaged $1,730,156.95 monthly.

In the last twelve months (August 1943-July 1944) collections were $21,394,458.13, or $1,782,871.51 a month. Virtually all the receipts of this twelve-month period represented collections at the present 1 per cent rate; only a small portion was for delinquent payments of taxes at the former 1½ per cent rate. Although the rate of the tax was one-third lower, the receipts of these twelve months were only 14.51 per cent below those of the last twelve months during which the collections were all at the original 1½ per cent rate (February 1942-January 1943). In that period, which was also the record high twelve-month period of income tax collections, the receipts were $25,026,602.12, a monthly average of $2,085,550.18.

Yield from Payrolls. By far the major share of the city's income tax receipts comes from the tax on the salaries and other compensation of employees. This is the portion of the income tax that is commonly called the "wage tax" or the "payroll tax" (although in some quarters these terms are used to designate only that part of the tax which is withheld by employers). Of the total income tax collections of $92,030,948.02 to the close of June 1944 (the last month for which a breakdown is available), $80,710,817.39, or 87.70 per cent, came from the tax on payrolls. During the four years 1940-1943 payrolls produced $71,031,251.76, or 88.58 per cent of the $80,185,646.65 total yield. In 1943 collections from the tax on employees' earnings amounted to $18,403,255.24, or 88.64 per cent of the year's total income tax collections of $20,761,883.44. Last year the average monthly receipts from the payroll portion of the income tax were $1,533,604.60; from the start to the close of June 1944 (53 months) they were $1,522,845.61; while to the close of 1943 (in other words, during the four years 1940-1943, with 47 months of collections) they were $1,511,303.23.

Pay-As-You-Go-Collections. From the outset practically all the tax on employees' earnings has been collected on the pay-as-you-go plan through withholdings of the tax by employers, and most of the employees subject to the city's income tax always have been currently paid up. Altogether, to the end of June 1944, collections through employers amounted to $76,085,009.35, an average of $1,435,566.21 a month for the 53-month period, and constituted 94.27 per cent of the total receipts from the tax on employees' earnings ($80,710,817.39) and 82.67 per cent of the receipts from the entire income tax ($92,030,948.02). In the four years 1940-1943 collections through employers totaled $67,693,804.01 ($1,440,293.70 a month for the 47 months of collections), and accounted for 95.30 per cent of the total payroll tax receipts ($71,031,251.76) and 84.42 per cent of the total receipts ($80,185,646.65) from the income tax. Last year, 1943, the pay-as-you-go collections totaled $16,468,504.93, averaged $1,372,375.41 a month, and represented 89.49 per cent of the total receipts from the tax on employees' earnings ($18,403,255.24) and 79.32 per cent of the $20,761,883.44 obtained from the income tax as a whole.

Direct Payments by Employees. To the close of June 1944 direct payments of the income tax by employees aggregated $4,625,808.04. These payments account for 5.03 per cent of the total income tax collections from their start in February 1940 to the end of June 1944 and for 5.73 per cent of the total receipts in the same period from the tax on employees' compensation. However, since payments by employees whose tax was not withheld by their employers were not required to be made until March 1941, and no such payments were made until January 1941—in other words, since direct payments by employees began a year later than the other income tax payments, and have continued to be a year behind them—it is more significant to compare these direct payments with the city's income tax collections beginning with January 1941. On this basis, direct payments by employees were 5.99 per cent of the total income tax collections from January 1, 1941, to June 30, 1944, ($77,223,761.23) and 6.83 per cent of the collections of the payroll portion of the tax in the same 42-month period ($67,700,974.81). In the three years 1941-1943 direct payments by employees amounted to $3,337,447.75 and averaged $92,706.88 monthly. In those three years direct payments constituted 5.75 per cent of the collections from the tax on employees' earnings ($58,021,409.18) and 5.10 per cent of the total income tax collections ($65,378,459.86). Last year, 1943, collections from employees whose employers did not withhold the tax from their pay totaled $1,934,750.31, averaged $161,229.19 a month, and equaled 10.51 per cent of the total collections of the payroll portion of the income tax ($18,403,255.24) and 9.32 per cent of the entire yield of the income tax ($20,761,883.44).

A considerable portion of each year's receipts from direct payments by employees, beginning with the receipts in 1942, represents payments due in one or more previous years. Many—perhaps most—state and federal employees withheld payment of the tax pending court determination of their liability to it. As decision after decision went against these employees, however, they began making payments, and more and more the city pressed for, and forced, payment by them. Even yet, it is stated, there are 25,000 to 30,000 federal

YEARLY RECEIPTS, PHILADELPHIA EARNED INCOME TAX

	Payroll Through Employer	Payroll Direct from Employee	Total Payroll	Unincorporated Businesses and Professions	Yearly Total All Sources	Cumulative Total All Sources
1940	$13,009,842.58[a]		$13,009,842.58[a]	$1,797,344.21[a]	$14,807,186.79[a]	$14,807,186.79[a]
1941	17,279,858.35[a]	$ 477,299.47	17,757,157.82[a]	2,097,377.17[a]	19,854,534.99[a]	34,661,721.78
1942	20,935,598.15	925,397.97	21,860,996.12	2,901,045.31	24,762,041.43	59,423.763.21
1943	16,468,504.93	1,934,750.31	18,403,255.24	2,358,628.20	20,761,883.44	80,185,646.65
1944[b]	8,391,205.34[b]	1,288,360.29[b]	9,679,565.63[b]	2,165,735.74[b]	11,845,301.37[b]	92,030,948.02

[a] Correct amount of receipts for the period. The officially reported amount differs somewhat because the city, in order to make a better cash and budgetary showing for 1940, treated its general fund revenue receipts during the first twenty days of January 1941 as receipts for December 1940.

[b] Six months, January-June.

employees who are withholding payment of the tax on their pay. A large proportion of these are, or claim to be, non-residents of the city, and thousands of them reside, or say they reside, outside the state as well.

Yield from Businesses and Professions. From that portion of the income tax that applies to the net profits of unincorporated businesses and professions the city has received $11,320,130.63 to the end of June 1944, a monthly average of $213,587.37 for the 53 months. In the four years 1940-1943 the receipts were $9,154,394.89, or $194,774.36 a month (47 months of collections), while in 1943 $2,358,628.20 was collected, an average of $196,552.35 monthly. Of the total income tax receipts in the respective periods, the tax on the net profits of unincorporated businesses and professions provided 12.30 per cent during the 53 months from the first collections in February 1940 to the close of June 1944, 11.42 per cent in the four years 1940-1943, and 11.36 per cent in 1943.

The above table gives an over-all picture of the city's receipts from the earned income tax to the end of June 1944.

Importance of Income Tax

That the earned income tax is a highly important element in Philadelphia's revenue system is clearly evident from the following facts:

(1) Last year, 1943, the income tax supplied 24.23 per cent of the city's entire revenue, while in the first four years of collections, 1940-1943, it provided 23.70 per cent of the total revenue.

(2) The yield of the income tax in 1943 was equal to 47.46 per cent of the year's total receipts from the city-county real estate tax (including both current and delinquent taxes); for the four-year period 1940-1943 the yield equaled 45.82 per cent of the total city-county real estate tax receipts.

(3) The receipts from the in-

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By Their Own Bootstraps, II

Eugene and Lane County descend together into the depths of debt over the typical free-spending road; problem: how to persuade the people to break a century-old habit.

By **WILLIAM M. TUGMAN,** *Managing Editor*
Eugene (Ore.) Register-Guard

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the second of a series of articles which tell the story of the efforts of an Oregon city and its neighboring communities to solve their problems and prepare for the future without outside aid.

IT IS less than a hundred years since that day in June of 1846 when Elijah Bristow stood on the grassy ridge above the forks of the Willamette River, at what is now known as Pleasant Hill, and said to his companions: "This is my claim! Here I will live, and when I die here shall I be buried!" Bristow built a cabin of logs at Pleasant Hill, the first white man's home in what is now Lane County.

The following spring one of Bristow's companions, Eugene F. Skinner, returned to the Upper Willamette valley and, with no declamation but with a keen eye to future values, staked out his claim where a certain butte which the Indians called "Ya-po-ah" stood near a ford of the rushing Willamette—and now the butte bears the name of Skinner—which may or may not be an improvement on Ya-po-ah. The city, with a better sense of euphony, has adopted the pioneer's first name Eugene, which they say means "well born."

Since then city and county have gone through nearly all the trials and vicissitudes which are common to American self-government. But, when and if the centennial is celebrated with one of those great open air pageants of the Oregon Trail—3,000 people on stage with covered wagons and animals etc.—which the community has been staging since 1926, it will be possible to write into the script some joyous note on the fact that for the first time in nearly a hundred years county, city and schools are debt free.

It is not possible to say just when this community of Oregon pioneers first began to borrow money and accumulate public debt, but the available histories show plainly that its settlers brought with them across the burning plains the great American tradition—or myth—that the public credit is always good for more and more.

In 1852 the county of Lane was organized under act of the Oregon territorial legislature, and in that same year the town site of Eugene City was platted and recorded. In 1853, by a vote count which still puzzles, Eugene City became the county seat—instead of any neighboring town. By 1862 Eugene City had grown to the point where ambitious citizens wanted to incorporate, and the familiar phenomenon of taxpayer resistance had begun to appear.

This comment in *The State Republican* of September 27, 1862, may be illuminating:

> Some of our citizens are striving to have Eugene City incorporated. Their reason is that they wish to

> banish the common nuisances, hogs and grog shops, from the town. These are desirable objects but we would suggest that the whiskey shops can be abolished by cutting off the southern portion of this precinct, which extends away out into Africa, and was attached to this precinct for the sole purpose of sustaining these drinking holes. This can be done without any expense to the town. As to maintaining a city government *merely to get rid of a few old sows that might perambulate the streets,* that would be a very expensive way of accomplishing a small amount of good. The amount which would be expended for a couple of years to come in sustaining a city organization had better be applied to keeping a public school, or to making public improvements such as will *increase the business of the place* and attract a wealth and population competent to sustain a city government without oppressing the citizens with heavy taxes.

Do those arguments have a familiar ring? Despite protests the people of Eugene in 1864 voted to incorporate and in April 1865 they became a city under the law.

Early county, city and school records are not easily accessible, although it is known that most of them have been stowed in attics or basements of courthouse and city hall, there to wait the discriminating historian—and Miss Mabel McClain of the University of Oregon Library is seeking to get at them.

Walling's excellent *History of Lane County,* however, gives many glimpses up to 1884. Eugene City was having much trouble with fires—burning down every now and then. Hogs and grog shops had to be policed. Fire companies, police officers and hog wardens come and go upon the scene.

On April 10, 1876, President B. F. Dorris addressed a lengthy message to his city council: unpaid city operating warrants totaled $732.90, roaming hogs were still causing complaints, street improvements remained unpaid, a considerable suburban area had been annexed and was threatening secession. Tax valuation was put at $400,000 but President Dorris ordered his council to get busy and find retrenchments.

In October the council ordered an end to tolling the courthouse bell on the occasion of a death in the community, but this seems to have been more to save the nerves of the populace than for economy. By April 1877, Eugene City's debt had grown to more than $1,100—but demands of a growing town were not letting up. President Dorris records that now they wanted street lamps and modern fire engines.

1879—All Debts Paid

Eugene City, however, was discovering that a city can collect revenues "other than taxes" and it was busily adding fines and license fees, so that in 1879 President Dorris was able to report "all debts paid and a balance of $197.15." But the thrifty President Dorris noted many new headaches. The University of Oregon had been established in 1876, students in grog shops were becoming a problem, citizens were demanding solid footing on mud street crosswalks and more adequate lighting and policing. The thrifty Dorris recommended that the town marshall's pay be cut to $60 a month and that collection of back taxes be added to his duties, and that citizens be required to give a day's labor each year to build their own crosswalks. The city tax levy was up to four mills.

In the next few years there was much activity; the city bought a Button hand engine to fight fire, established a fire company, built a huge cistern for water supply in the business district—and got into debt again—but on April 9, 1883, Mayor T. G. Hendricks reported with pride: ". . . a balance of $585.44. Outstanding warrants, nothing; indebtedness, nothing."

And Mayor Hendricks (he was the pioneer banker) added this significant statement in view of Eugene's present effort to maintain a cash policy: "The current expenses of the city have been run on a three-mill tax . . . [This] has demonstrated *that two mills from the five-mill levy allowed by law can be used for many needful improvements within the city*. If you levy and collect taxes according to law, there is no occasion to leave the city in debt at the close of any administration."

1929—Millions of Debt

Something happened to Mayor Hendrick's "pay-as-you-go" program! So far as we can learn, from 1884 to the present the city has never again been out of debt!

By 1929 Eugene's books and records were so scrambled that the council hired a firm of Portland accountants to set up an entirely new set of books. But the new set of books showed all too plainly that the city by that time owed $2,421,000, not counting $373,000 additional in unpaid operating warrants!

Lane County was in debt $1,743,500, with $300,000 additional in warrants.

The Eugene schools owed $454,000 in bonds and approximately $175,000 in operating warrants.

We know now that every dollar the county borrowed cost $1.67 against the bonds were paid with interest; that the school dollar of borrowed money cost $1.70; the city dollar of borrowed money cost $2.02.

There are reasons for tracing some of this early history of Eugene and Lane County, even at the risk of boring distant readers—what happened in Eugene has its deadly parallel in every city in the United States. Eugene makes a better guinea pig than older towns only because it is less than a hundred years back to its very beginnings. There are still men and women in this community who "remember when."

A great deal has been written about graft and corruption in American cities. The writer grew up in the Cincinnati that was struggling to be free from the misrule of George B. Cox and Rud Hynicka, knew the Cleveland of Maschke and Gongwer, the Boston of the Curleys and his ilk, many other cities big and small. He knew Lincoln Steffens and saw him progress from "muckraking" to a certain tolerant sophistication. Yet the writer would venture this assertion: "Sheer ignorance and inefficiency have probably cost the urban taxpayer of the United States much more than all the political manipulation and graft."

Certainly this is true of Eugene and Lane County, Oregon, where there is almost no trace of actual corruption or graft in the entire century.

To be sure there have been such things as "the terminal deal" of 1926, when the people of Eugene were persuaded to bond themselves $175,000 at 5 per cent (last payment 1955) in order to lure Southern Pacific to build its big freight yards in Eugene instead of in Springfield across the river—on sideline real estate promoters cleaned up.

But the real crime was in long-term borrowing at high interest on top of already huge debts, and even more in lending the city's credit to build pavements and sewers through the so-called "developments" of the real estate promoters. When the depression hit, hundreds of vacant lots had to be foreclosed for taxes and assessments and city and county were left "holding the bag," the city to the tune of some $1,700,000.

Citizen Ignorance

It was sheer ignorance—as well as a crafty wile of school politicians—when in 1926, the year of the railroad terminal boom, school authorities refunded old school debts and persuaded voters to authorize $351,000 in bonds for new schools with payments on principal deferred ten years—on the theory presumably that in the thirties everybody would be rich.

In its big road program of the early twenties Lane County elected to use long term bonds, of varying denominations and final retirement dates, and $1,743,500 of county bonds will have cost the taxpayers $1,175,822 for interest to retirement.

It was ignorance on the part of officials and public which permitted the pyramiding of county, city and school debts, when requirements for debt service kept taking bigger and bigger bites out of the total tax revenues available, leaving not enough to operate necessary functions properly.

It was ignorance which sanctioned the piling up of city, county and school "operating warrants" at 6 per cent interest to pay school teachers, janitors, city police and firemen, county road menders and buy all manner of operating supplies from asphalt to chalk—until in depression warrants could scarcely be banked. Yet in 1928 a county assessor of Lane County, a popular figure with the people, was arguing at tax meetings: "Borrowing is good business if it keeps down present tax rates."

In every city in the land this story could be repeated. When the late, able pioneer fact-finder G. A. Gessell became finance director of Cleveland in 1921 he revealed that 50-year term bonds had been used to buy Model T Fords and Cleveland officials, squirming out from under the vicious "Smith 1 per cent tax limit law" had borrowed millions in "city certificates."

Many times the question is asked: "How are you ever going to get the masses of voters interested in these complex facts."

It can be done—by honest and competent public officials and by research bureaus which will dig for facts and by intelligent newspaper reporting. But the presentation must be bold and graphic, visual, down to earth. Too much city hall reporting emphasizes inconsequential sensation or bickering!

In the preparation of the ambi-

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How to Set Up Utility Districts

Operation by central city, with representation from rest of metropolitan area, best method; well planned regional organization provided by state a workable alternative.

By **JOHN BAUER**, *Director*
American Public Utilities Bureau

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the last of a series of four articles by Dr. John Bauer on public utilities in metropolitan areas. Preceding articles have presented the problem and surveyed the bases on which such areas are served at present.

THIS article discusses the means by which efficient utility service may be obtained at minimum cost to consumers in metropolitan areas and emphasizes the importance of comprehensive regional organization.

In every such area public officials would wisely include in their postwar plans needed reorganization of the major utilities, particularly electricity, water and sanitation. These are basic regional necessities for progress in industry and general welfare.

For electricity ownership and management will doubtless remain chiefly under private control, but public responsibility will nevertheless be of importance in assuring adequate service at minimum cost. Whether organization is under private or public auspices, regional interest is the same—to bring about the lowest possible rates for industry, business, home and municipal uses. To this end properties, organization, financial policies and management almost generally need overhauling.

Low electric rates for all economic and social purposes will have far-reaching competitive influence as between different sections of the country. Low rates will attract industry and promote progress. High rates will retard development. Competitive production will depend increasingly upon electricity, and the cost of power will be a primary factor in regional advancement.

Consideration should be given both to feasible readjustments in private systems and to the alternative of public organization. Private companies usually have regional unity but frequently there is extensive plant obsolescence and inadequacy; they are burdened with over-capitalization and excessive managerial costs, directed by absentee control, and not subjected to effective regulation in the public interest.

These conditions have naturally produced and perpetuated high rates. Firmly fastened upon the industry, they will persist indefinitely unless stripped off by clear-seeing and vigorous regional effort. While as a long-run matter private companies are interested in general progress, restrictive features lodged in the corporate structures largely preclude far-seeing policies and virtually enforce the continuance of such high rates as can be kept despite public pressure.

Where electric power is privately supplied regional progress demands adequate public action to bring about essential adjustments for the attainment of the lowest possible rates with fairness to the company. A regional survey and program are a vital part of postwar planning. Under the recent Supreme Court decision in the Hope Natural Gas Company case, much more effective regulation can now be obtained than in the past.[1] If sufficient changes cannot be brought about to furnish the otherwise attainable low costs and rates, outright displacement by public organization furnishes the sensible alternative.

The distinctly low rate sections of the country are served through publicly owned systems.[2] Any locality can get low rates through public ownership provided it has reasonable enabling statutes, acquires the existing properties at their intrinsic service value fair to both the investors and the region, pays for them through bonds issued at available low interest rates of about 2.5 per cent, and provides appropriate organization and management for the attainment of maximum efficiency and economy.

Normally the main city would be the best agency to succeed the private company, with suitable representation and protection for outlying territory. Large central production is essential, and the distribution network ramifies from production; where properties are taken over from a private company there is already regional integration, and the simplest acquisition would be by the city. If, however, conditions preclude succession by the chief city, then outright district organization furnishes the alternative. Considerations would be generally the same as for water supply and sanitation, outlined below.

Water Supply and Sanitation

For water supply and sanitation, including sewage and waste disposal, future planning and provision will generally be public, for existing facilities are already provided chiefly through municipal ownership. Where private organization exists the same public considerations are needed as for electricity.

For public systems the chief problems involve extent and character of the facilities and service to be furnished, type of governmental structure, methods of financing and operating organization.

The basic question in a public ownership program is whether regional facilities and services shall be supplied by the central city or through a separate district unit. Weighing the advantages of each, the balance would usually favor the central city. In addition to those advantages already listed for electricity, central city organization would have still greater advantages for water supply and sanitation, provided sufficient legal powers and the ability to finance needed new projects can be acquired.

When an adequate and economical water supply requires development of expensive distant sources, however, with large expenditures for purification and transmission, and when several municipal units are involved each zealous as to its own rights and position, then recourse to comprehensive district organization can hardly be avoided. This may be true also in modern sanitation.

Water and sanitary systems could

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[1] See "The Establishment and Administration of the 'Prudent Investment' Rate Base," by John Bauer, *Yale Law Journal,* June 1944.

[2] See "Cities Must Seek Cheap Power to Hold Their Industries," by John Bauer, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, November 1942.

be brought under the same framework of organization. The district would constitute a special municipal corporation empowered to perform for the entire metropolitan region. The first essential is that the legislative enabling act provide adequately for attainment of the district purposes. Then follow the main problems in regard to the scope of properties and services to be furnished, the best form of control, policies and methods of financing and provisions for management.

What Properties and Services?

The first district problem is whether the utility function shall be limited to mass supply and transmission, or shall include local connections and distribution. Shall it be restricted to bulk or wholesale activities, or shall it provide also the retail facilities and service?

In the case of water supply, if the individual municipalities have their own distribution systems the district could readily limit itself to development of resources, storage, purification and bulk transmission to the constituent communities. Then each municipality would furnish the distribution through its own plant and organization.

This holds true for sanitation. The district could provide trunk and connecting sewers, treatment plants, incinerators and other central provisions for garbage and refuse disposal, while each member municipality would own and operate local sewers and the facilities for collecting and delivering garbage and refuse.

Such division of function would normally facilitate agreement between the communities. It would encroach least upon the existing modes of furnishing service, would cause minimum conflicts of interest in establishing the district, and might also simplify financing. For most efficient and economical integration, however, complete district ownership and operation would usually have substantial advantages.

What Form of Control?

The second problem is to establish the most suitable form of district control. In general, this would consist of a board of trustees or directors, but several important questions arise as to the best setup for the board—its size, whether elected or appointed, period of individual membership, and relation of the board to management.

The board is the governing body of the district. It is responsible for carrying out the purposes of the district within the terms of the empowering statutes and the district charter. It should consist of persons with outstanding capacity and interest in the project. Such individuals can be drawn from business and financial concerns and from distinguished professional and public-minded groups. When public ownership has once been firmly established on a district basis qualified individuals can be secured to assume responsibility, provided that suitable means are used for their selection and that they can act without unwarranted interference.

Size of the Board

In providing for the board, there is the question of size. In the districts surveyed the number of members ranged from five to 22; three districts had five, one had seven, one had twenty and one, 22. What are the relative advantages and disadvantages of a large or small board?

A large board has the advantage of providing for representation of the various groups and interests which must be harmonized. Disadvantages appear mainly in organizing the large number into an efficient over-all body and into sub-groups for special functional purposes. Special efforts are required to keep the individuals duly informed and active. At best, the majority will go along without serious concern, and the main burden will be borne by a few individuals whose efficiency is retarded by the unwieldiness of the large body. Success will depend particularly upon the personality and devotion of the board chairman.

The small board has the advantage of centralization. Each member would normally be selected more carefully, and could be kept readily informed on matters of policy and control. Regular meetings can be more conveniently arranged to suit all, and special conferences can be called as may be desirable from time to time. A board of three would probably be most efficient, but five would usually furnish representation to the various district areas without being cumbersome.

Election or Appointment

Shall the board members be elected or appointed? Of the six districts surveyed, two had elected boards and four appointed.

The election process has the advantage of democratic appeal and of direct citizen representation. Its disadvantage is that often, if not usually, the persons with the best qualifications would avoid seeking the position; candidates would be selected through ordinary political channels with only casual consideration for capacity to control a vitally important public business.

The advantages of appointment appear in the selective process. Persons with suitable qualifications can be sought out and induced to accept the responsibility on grounds of public service. The objection to appointment is, of course, the lack of immediate participation by the voters, with no direct accountability to them. Responsibility exists nevertheless; while it moves through the appointing officials, its effectiveness comes from the individual's public concern evidenced by his acceptance of the appointment.

On balance, the best board can be obtained normally through appointment. If the appointment method is adopted, there should be provision for recourse to election, say by petition of 25 per cent of the voters, as in the Hartford district.

If Elected

If the board is elected, should the vote be at large or by subdivisions, or by a combination of both? In the districts surveyed two select their boards by popular vote, both on a district-wide basis.

Since the entire territory is a single corporate and service unit, election at large would be preferable. The composition of the area, however, might require concession to subdivisional election so as to give specific representation to each community. This requirement would be a factor for creation of a large board.

If Appointed

If board members are appointed, then by whom—the governor or the local government units. Of the districts surveyed four boards are appointed—two by the governor, one by the constituent municipalities, and one by the mayor of the central city—here the city actually constitutes the district. Where appointment is by the local governing bodies, the relative voting right is fixed according to tax valuations.

Appointment by the governor has rather natural legal justification in that the district is a special subdivision of the state, created for the purpose of superseding the local governments in the particular function. Furthermore, such appointment would remove the selection from local rivalries and politics. Disadvantages would include lack of direct local responsibility, but this would be more nominal than real. The persons appointed would be residents of the district, and would have no conflicting loyalties. While they would be responsible to the governor and the state, they would feel particularly devoted and accountable to their locality; in turn, the governor too would have responsibility for the district.

The appeal of local appointment is in the more democratic form of responsibility to the communities involved. This advantage, however, is more apparent than real. It would usually be offset by the diffusion of appointment and by the greater disregard of appropriate qualifications. A higher type of person and a more efficient board would normally be obtained through gubernatorial than through local appointment.[3]

Term and Compensation

As to the period for which board members should serve, of the six districts surveyed the term for one is three years, for two it is five years, and for two it is six years; for one it is apparently dependent on the local appointing bodies.

For all boards surveyed appointments or elections are staggered.

The best all-round provision would probably be a board of five members appointed by the governor, each for a five-year term, one appointed each year. This should make it possible to secure highly competent members as well as continuity in the board.

In regard to compensation, in the districts surveyed board members serve with nominal or without compensation. On the whole this appears reasonable in that the appeal is public interest, not earning a living. If the functions of the board are clearly aligned for policy making and control, and if responsibility for detailed planning and administration is lodged with the operating management, there is no reason why qualified board members cannot be obtained without salaries. The correctness of this view is attested by experience in the districts surveyed as well as in similar boards in other departments of government, notably in the public school systems.

Financial Policies

Financial requirements are of two

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[3] On this point I have changed my mind since writing "Hartford Metropolitan Needs Served by Water and Sewer Board," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October 1943. AUTHOR.

kinds: capital and operating.

Capital financing involves payment for land, construction, equipment, and the acquisition of needed facilities. The first question is whether these funds shall be provided by issuance of district bonds or through assessments upon the local bodies. All the districts included in the survey have used district bonds, although one has resorted partially to assessment. District bond issues would seem to furnish the simplest and most suitable form of financing.

A second question is whether bonds shall depend exclusively upon district service rates or whether they shall have also the benefit of tax support. Inasmuch as the entire organization is for purposes which reach virtually everybody in the district, interest and retirement provisions might properly be paid out of revenues, but there is no reason why tax support should not also be available. The double provision of security would result in lower interest rates than would be available with sole dependence upon revenues.

Requirements for operation include operating expenses, interest and retirement provisions on bonds outstanding, and such other charges as may be incurred. Shall all such annual costs be paid through direct charges for service or assessed in whole or in part upon the properties within the district? If assessed, shall taxes be levied directly by the district or through the constituent municipal agencies?

Of the six districts surveyed in only one instance are annual costs borne exclusively by the rates paid for service; operation is completely self-sustaining. In three, except for incidental revenues, the costs are assessed upon the constituent municipalities or upon the taxpayers within the district; assessments are made chiefly according to tax valuations, but also according to population and volume of service furnished. In two, the costs are partly assessed and partly covered by service revenues.

Through whatever means the annual costs are paid, consideration should be given to the relative benefits conveyed to the different parts of the district. Simple assessment according to tax valuations or population may overcharge some areas and undercharge others. In fixing rates for service, consideration should be given to relative population densities and their bearing upon costs. Probably in most instances the central city consumers are relatively overcharged because of disregard for population density and its relation to consumption and costs.

Operating Organization

Along with control and financing, there is the problem of establishing an efficient operating organization. For this purpose the lines of procedure have been well established and in general are uniform among the district systems.

The district board appoints a general manager—a trained and experienced executive—who is responsible to the board. The latter determines policies which are administered under the supervision and responsibility of the manager. The board usually appoints also some other general officers—attorney, treasurer, auditor. The manager appoints operating heads and supervises all regular operations. He is responsible for the entire personnel, although each department head makes the selections within his group.

Appointments are made within civil service standards and under personnel policies adopted by the board. Regular provisions are made for salaries, wages, promotions, discharges and similar matters. The management is not subject to the pressures of the spoils system which too often enmeshes municipal organization. The merit system prevails, or should prevail, and the personnel provisions should be sufficiently flexible to get and keep employees who are efficient and interested.

The district management has the character of any well organized business, public or private. It conducts a basically important enterprise for the welfare of the entire locality. The manager should be primarily an efficient executive, and his assistants should have the technical qualifications essential for their jobs. The objectives, standards and procedure should be directed throughout to efficiency and economy.

At the same time provision should be made for participation by the citizens who are served and by employees who devote their lives to the service. Various democratic provisions and techniques can be established so that citizens and particularly interested groups may obtain hearings or representation in the determination of policies and in the administrative conduct of the district. There must be combination of business efficiency along with responsiveness to public needs.

BY THEIR OWN BOOTSTRAPS, II

(Continued from Page 461)

tious program of postwar cash reserves for Eugene and Lane County, more than 30 large wall charts were prepared in brilliant colors. First these were discussed with small key groups, then with large gatherings. At one large meeting a test was made with a large chart showing "probable effect of adding fifteen mills now."

First reaction was glum silence. Then a "cost of borrowing chart" was hung up with the remark: "Well, this is what you've been doing!"

Questions began to flow. Then the man from Central Lane Council asked a question: "Does anybody in the room remember the old Central High School?"

Two aged gentlemen held up hands. "Did you know you finished paying for it in 1938. It was built in 1883 and torn down many, many years ago."

Then: "Anybody remember old Patterson school which was torn down ten years ago, built about 1890?"

A good many raised hands: "Okay, you will finish paying for that school this year!"

It can be done. The process is not easy. But it is observable that where sound practice has been set in any kind of business it tends to spread. There is evidence that sound practice is spreading not only in Oregon but in many other states. Tough-minded old pioneer Mayor Hendricks would be pleased to know.

On the Local Front

Prepared by the Federal Security Agency
Paul V. McNutt, Administrator

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

Community Responsibility to Returning Veterans

MUNICIPALITIES, which have grown used to new responsibilities during the years that sent the American man away to war, are beginning to meet the even greater responsibilities which face them when he comes back. And he is coming back now. More than a million service men and women have already been discharged from the armed services.

To help the returning service man, Veterans Demonstration Employment centers were set up on January 26, 1944, in the U. S. Employment Service of the War Manpower Commission, in New Haven, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Denver, Minneapolis, Los Angeles and Houston. Recognition was given to the need for veterans information centers in the Baruch report on war and postwar adjustment policy, on February 15, 1944, which said: "when he [the service man] returns to his home community, there should be one place to which he can go in dignity and where he can be told of his rights and how he can get them."

On April 1944 a New York Veterans Service Center was set up under the sponsorship of the War Manpower Commission, the Selective Service System and the city, directed by the Federal Security Agency's Office of Community War Services.

In June the OCWS issued a *Directory of Services to Veterans* in Chicago, listing the addresses and functions of local agencies.

National policy was set when the President established by executive order a Retraining and Reemployment Administration in the Office of War Mobilization on February 24, 1944. The functions of this new agency are:

> (a) To supervise and direct activities of all government agencies relating to the retraining and reemployment of persons discharged or released from the armed services or other war work.
>
> (b) To develop programs for the orderly absorption of such persons into other employment.
>
> (c) To develop programs for the adequate care of persons discharged or released from the armed services, including physical and occupational therapy for the wounded and disabled and the resumption of education interrupted by the war.

The order provided for a Retraining and Reemployment Policy Board, composed of representatives of the Department of Labor, the Federal Security Agency, the War Manpower Commission, the Selective Service System, the Veterans Administration, the Civil Service Commission, the War and Navy Departments and the War Production Board. Brigadier General Frank T. Hines, head of the Veterans Administration, was appointed administrator of the new agency.

On May 17, 1944, the Retraining and Reemployment Administration issued its Order No. 1 which laid down the pattern of operation on a federal-state-community basis and set the wheels of nation-wide activity in motion. Order No. 1 provided for the creation of state and local veterans service committees. Each state committee is made up of representatives from the Selective Service System, the War Manpower Commission and the Veterans Administration. The Committee will add to its membership or will represent the federal government on state committees of the same nature. Committees are responsible for mobilizing "the efforts of volunteer or other groups in the state in relation to veterans information activities" and for assisting in the establishment of veterans information centers in those towns where needed.

Membership on the local veterans service committee includes representatives of the same three federal agencies wherever one or all of them have representatives available in the community. The local committee may enlarge its membership to include representation from local organizations or it may represent the federal government on community committees of the same nature. Order No. 1 outlines the responsibilities of the local veterans service committee as follows:

> To determine the need for a single information service center over and above those existing in the individual agencies of the community.
>
> To act as a central point for and to mobilize the efforts of volunteer or other groups in the community in relation to veterans information activities.
>
> To be the contact point in that community for the state veterans committee in connection with the particular subject matter of this program.

The order recognizes that "there is no single pattern for the operation of a center which will fit communities of all types and sizes," but stipulates that the function of veterans information centers shall be primarily one of advice and reference.

This is the broad framework within which veterans will be enabled to obtain information on their post-service rights, and to seek guidance in making what for many will be a difficult personal adjustment. The order anticipates that advice "will be sought as to housing, family programs, special assistance, business or farm problems and many other matters."

Needs of Servicemen

The experience of the veterans service centers in operation before Order No. 1 was issued has given considerable indication of services veterans need. Local committees set up under the new order have a storehouse of information on which to draw.

One of the early centers recently summed up the general problems it had met during the first months of operation as follows:

> *Housing:* There is considerable concern and some bitterness on the part of returning veterans who have been unable to find apartments for themselves and their families.
>
> *Business Advice:* A number of veterans would like to invest their savings in a small business, and are in need of sound counseling of a noncommercial sort.
>
> *Farms:* There have been frequent requests for advice about farming and assistance in evaluation of possible farm locations.
>
> *Loans:* A number of veterans have requested loans because they have business or job possibilities which require small investments.
>
> *Blue Discharges* (without honor): Serious effects result from the blue discharges of men, who, in most instances, present a picture of emotional disturbances and instability.
>
> *N. P. Discharges:* Men with N. P. discharges have difficulty in obtaining employment in addition to being disturbed about the reason for their discharge.

The same service center shows that many returning veterans are facing family relationship problems serious enough to prevent a quick and effective readjustment to civilian life.

In considering the need for a central veterans information center, each service committee would do well to remember that all community services will be required if the needs of the returning veterans are to be met. The Council of Social Agencies will take its place in the whole pattern of federal, state and local services for the veteran and his re-orientation into community life.

Some veterans service centers are already stressing psychiatric and social services. This is true of the center in New York which during one month referred veterans to well over a hundred agencies. Among those represented on the committee for the New York Center are the Veterans Administration, Army, Navy, Red Cross, Welfare Council, State Rehabilitation Council, New York City Board of Education, American Legion, and Veterans of Foreign Wars.

In Charlotte, North Carolina, the state, the Red Cross and the USES provide trained social workers and assistance for the veterans center, which is operated by the Defense Recreation Office. In Grand Haven, Michigan, a local counseling service has been set up sponsored by the American Legion. In Minneapolis a Veterans Information and Referral Committee is sponsored by the Council of Social Agencies, which allotted $21,626 to the activities for the next eight months. In Gary, Indiana, the Community Chest pays the director of the veterans center.

These are only a few of the many examples of broad community planning under way for the reorientation of the serviceman into civilian life. In many towns municipal government is assuming leadership and responsibility for the development of such agencies. In this as in many other fields cooperation between public and private agencies is the key to the solution of a complex human problem.

PHILADELPHIA TAX

(Continued from Page 457)

come tax in 1943 were equal to a tax levy of $8.38 per $1,000 of the year's assessed valuation of taxable real estate—49.29 per cent of the actual $17 tax rate; in the four years 1940-1943 the average annual receipts from the income tax were equivalent to a tax levy of $8.02 per $1,000 of the average annual assessed valuation of taxable real estate in those years—47.18 per cent of the $17 tax rate effective throughout that period.

Major Robert C. Hendrickson, an honorary vice president of the National Municipal League and former Senator and State Treasurer in New Jersey, is now chief legal officer for Allied Military Government in Rome where he was assigned the responsibility of establishing military government courts. One day after the entrance of allied troops into the ancient capital, the courts were ready to function. Hendrickson delivered a lecture to 1,000 members of the Roman bar instructing them as to the procedures which had to be followed in practicing before the judiciary set up by the allies to try offenders against military regulations.

Contributors in Review

A SPECIALIST in civil service and the merit system is **H. Eliot Kaplan** (*Let's Look at Civil Service!*), executive secretary of the National Civil Service Reform League and of the New York Civil Service Reform Association. Mr. Kaplan is a member of the New York Bar, specializing in civil service law, and is author of numerous articles on the administration and enforcement of the civil service laws. In 1933 he was a member of the New York Municipal Economy Committee and in 1934-37 he acted as advisory counsel to the Competitive Civil Service Employees' Association. Since 1939 he has been advisory counsel to Administrative and Supervisory Employee Associations of two of Manhattan's transportation systems. In 1940-41 Mr. Kaplan was a member of the special legislative commission which studied methods of extending the civil service to counties, towns and villages throughout New York State and of the Governor's committee on reclassification of non-competitive positions in the New York State service. He is editor of the Court Decisions Section of *Public Personnel Review.*

LOCAL government and public finance have been the special fields of work of **R. R. Renne** (*Rural County Can Be Efficient*), named president of Montana State College in September 1943. President Renne has been with the College since 1930, first as assistant professor of economics and agricultural economics and—from 1939 to 1943—as head of the department. In 1941-42 he was visiting professor of local government at Cornell University. He has prepared numerous experiment station bulletins and articles on Montana county and school district government organization and costs and is author of *The Montana Citizen,* a textbook on Montana state and local government used in Montana grade and high schools.

WITH the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research since 1914, **Robert J. Patterson** *(Philadelphia Tax in Fifth Year)* has been its chief accountant, in charge of work and studies in the fields of finance and accounting, since 1915. Mr. Patterson's major activities and interests center around municipal debt and debt limits, sinking funds, financing of public improvements and budgetary standards and procedures. He has played an important part in the drafting of financial legislation and in numerous financial improvements in the government of Philadelphia, notably the adoption by the city in 1921 of the practice of making all long-term bonds callable at par after twenty years—a practice which has saved the city millions of dollars in interest; adoption in 1939 of the policy of issuing only straight serial bonds superseding the city's 40-year practice of issuing single-maturity sinking fund bonds; and maintenance of the integrity and adequacy of the city's sinking funds.

For an account of the career of **William M. Tugman** *(By Their Own Bootstraps, II),* see the REVIEW for September, page 406.

For an account of the career of **John Bauer** (*How to Set Up Utility Districts*) see the REVIEW for June, page 301.

Letter to the Editor

To the Editor of the
National Municipal Review:

This letter is prompted by an article entitled "Wanted: A New Type of Politician," by Dr. William E. Mosher, which appeared in the May issue of the Review.

It is my wish to examine what I take to be one of the leading notions expressed in Dr. Mosher's essay; that is the notion that somehow formal instruction in our colleges and universities can improve the quality of the men and women who manage our political parties. These parties, as Dr. Mosher quite correctly observes, are fundamental to the working of our variety of representative democracy, and it follows that if their managers are inefficient or immoral in the broadest sense of the latter term, democracy will not work well.

But what interests me in this connection—and it must interest other teachers—is the definition of a politician of a high type which is implicit in the article. I pick from the article the following descriptive phrases used to characterize desirable and, by contrast therefore, undesirable politicians: "broad and independent view of party policies," "sound and progressive policies," "broad-gauged and capable persons," "progressive measures," "inspired or uninspired," and "narrow or broad-minded."

Now with respect to these terms I would point out that there is obviously no general agreement as to their meaning. What is "broad-minded" or "progressive" or "sound" to one of us may seem "narrow-minded" or "reactionary" or "unsound" to someone else, and I see no hope of finding an arbiter in the matter—except, of course, the electorate, whom we would all improve if only we knew how. The absence of such an arbiter raises in my mind the suspicion that academic persons are not minding their proper business when they attempt the type of indoctrination which Dr. Mosher apparently approves. For, while I am aware that teachers cannot avoid indoctrination to the extent that they assign one book or article because they approve it rather than another, still our proper business is the cultivation of the intellect and not the cure of souls.

For this reason it seems to me that teachers must do what they can to make a better type of politician by helping their students in the enterprise of thinking. Since we cannot do *everything* we must leave the care of souls to other agencies—though I might point out that upright and honorable conduct on our part will be worth volumes of sermons.

The Politician

The bad reputation of politicians is not new and this is at least as well known to Dr. Mosher as to any of us. In his essay on *Politics* Emerson says: "What satire on government can equal the severity of censure conveyed in the word *politic,* which now for ages has signified *cunning,* intimating that the state is a trick?" Adam Smith somewhere refers to the politician as "that crafty animal." Socrates in the *Republic* says that the disciples of philosophy "know that no politician is honest" and suggests that the guardians of the state should be chosen from among those who have other honors and "another and better life than that of politics."

It is unnecessary to multiply quotations to show that the breed has changed very little from the "moral" point of view. In any case a "good" politician must, I think, be defined in terms other than moral, and teachers would do well to leave this part of education to other agencies which society provides in great profusion. If any of these agencies is "bad" from the point of view of any of us, all I can suggest is that we be patient and hope that the general tone of private morals will in time rise to the point where the politician will take note of the fact and govern his conduct accordingly. There is plenty of evidence that he will meet a higher standard with alacrity when this is the condition of his success.

"Improve the Mind"

In the classroom, I think, little can be done to moralize politics. But a good deal may be done to improve the minds of those who presumably will become politicians. And it seems to me that only by improving their minds can the teacher do his part in producing a higher type of politician.

It avails little to deplore the fact that politicians "are not interested in progressive policies and competent management of public affairs." This is not their business. That business is rather to stay in power. This they do if they are successful in assessing accurately the interest of the voters in "progressive policies" and "competent management of public affairs." It is not the business of politicians to reform the state or to moralize it. Their task is a much more mundane one. It is their business, in a society where there is agreement on only the vaguest of general aims to keep the peace, to find solutions within this area of agreement. In other words, they deal with what is possible in an imperfect world.

This means, I think, that a "good" politician is simply a man of good judgment. Therefore, the real question is, What can formal instruction do to improve the judgment of our budding politicians?

The usual answer to this question—though only rarely is the question put this way—is disappointing, for it has taken the form of multiplying "courses" in such subjects as social problems, contemporary civilization, problems of democracy, citizenship or political science. It may be that these titles are harmless enough, but such courses seem usually to rest on the assumption that if the student is given enough information he is likely to act on it in such a way as to further "progressive policies" and "competent management." This assumption, I think, is false, for even if the student could know the entire current scene in all its bewildering detail, *how* he acts has nothing to do with the amount of his information. His "conditioning" with respect to this is for only a small part of his time under the control of his teachers who, even if they were themselves models of political virtue, would meet stiff competition from the market-place.

Information Not Enough

And even the appeal to information is, I fear, doomed to failure for we shall always be in arrears. If this is the sort of thing which Dr. Mosher means by "a revolution in educational methods and content," I am afraid he will be disappointed. For the teacher cannot control the conduct of his students when in their turn they become politically active. They cannot alter the rules of the game. These rules are at any moment a consensus concerning what the rank and file regard as permissible public conduct. Apparently they have changed little since Socrates deplored the low state of politicians' morals.

If this is true what can the teacher do? I think he might profitably share with his students the adventure of thinking about politics in the grand manner. The usual textbook in "courses" in "modern problems" and so on is a dreary compilation of facts ranging from lateral sewers to the League of Nations, interlarded with homilies about the citizen's duties and responsibilities. It is little wonder that students leave high school with no notions about the content of such concepts as "democracy" or that the products of such a system are apathetic at election time. Those of us who are professionally interested in the raw materials of politics do not find these concepts easy to define or our allegiance to a party clear-cut or unequivocal. Why should we expect it of callow youngsters reared on such fare?

The Prime Qualification

It is true, of course, that judgment must have facts to which to apply itself but it need not be smothered in facts to the point where it abdicates. It seems to me that the good judgment which I have suggested as the prime qualification of a "good" politician might be inculcated if we and our students were required to read the first-rate books on politics. I do not say this because of any belief that Plato can help us to decide whether North Elm Street should be paved or only gravelled, or that Locke can advise us how to vote on a municipal pension plan, for this sort of direct, "practical" wisdom is scarcely to be expected. But why we should prefer one of the modern compendiums of facts to the solid thinking of an acknowledged master is hard to understand.

A handful of thinkers in the world's history have applied their minds to problems which, under changed forms, still perplex us. The student in the twentieth century could not but profit if he wrestled with these problems in company with the best minds, sharing the rigorous labors of their quest, their discoveries, their perplexities, their tentative conclusions. If it be said that only the best students are fit for such a regimen, the only answer must be that in every age only a few are capable of the only sort of instruction which can hope to do something for the faculty of judgment. If by any chance this number can be increased, then beyond doubt we shall get a higher type of politician because we shall get more people who will delimit the moral area within which he will be compelled to practice his arts.

Lane W. Lancaster

University of Nebraska

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Subdivision Planning Urged for Regulation of Postwar Expansion

Housing, Finance Experts Seek Development Control

WARNING of the dangers of inadequately controlled real estate developments after the end of the war, two national organizations have recently issued reports resulting from studies of the effects of unplanned or poorly planned subdivisions in and around American cities.

Following an extensive survey of methods to avoid the evils that have come in the wake of past real estate booms, the National Committee on Housing points out the vital need of large-scale urban and suburban planning to restrain land speculation and forestall incongruous and uncoordinate residential subdivisions. Without such planning these are doomed to deterioration or at the least will impede sound community development as a whole.

The results of the survey, made possible by the Field Foundation, Inc., are set forth in a report on neighborhood design and control prepared for the committee by Henry S. Churchill. It stresses the great waste in the use of land from ill-considered residential developments; the surplus of subdivided lots has been estimated as high as 15,000,000 for the nation as a whole. Great financial waste has also occurred, in losses to purchasers and the forced assumption by municipalities of unpaid assessments. Besides emphasizing the need of control by planning, the report outlines the features of a well designed neighborhood.

The Municipal Finance Officers' Association has also made a recent study of this problem, which points out that excessive subdividing of land and municipal expenditures on improvements for subdivisions, particularly from 1920 to 1929, were primary causes of financial difficulties of large and small municipalities and suburban areas in 1929-1935 and earlier. The report states that cities in general have a sufficient number of satisfactory building lots, with all or some public improvements, available within city limits, and that construction on the outside will tend to decrease city population and property values. Many examples of excessive numbers of vacant lots, and of defaults, delinquencies and waste of public money, are cited.

Finance Officers' Report

The Association makes the following recommendations to preserve municipal credit, to prevent the spending of public funds on unnecessary improvements, and to protect the builders and owners of small homes:

1. Municipalities and rural areas as well should foreclose now all properties with accumulated tax delinquencies, such properties to be held by the state or community to guide the direction of growth and prevent unnecessary public investment in improvements.

2. Broadest control would be exercised if all subdividers were required to record plats and install all necessary public improvements required before the plats are accepted and the lots offered for sale.

3. All plats should be approved by legally constituted planning authorities which, with the necessary power to protect the public interest, should exist not only in incorporated communities but in unincorporated areas as well, perhaps on a county basis.

4. The authority of municipalities to

control subdivision and building within a reasonable distance outside the city limits should be subject to state zoning or subdivision laws.

5. Construction of undesirable homes in suburban and rural areas might be prevented by a state building code requiring minimum standards of housing construction and minimum facilities in those areas where municipal building codes are not effective.

6. When any area requests special improvements, the city should examine the tax records to determine whether the property to be assessed has a history of tax payments which indicates it is willing and able to pay new special assessments.

League of Nevada Cities Gets under Way

Another state municipal league, reported to be the 43rd active state league in the United States, has been formed in Nevada. A preliminary gathering in Las Vegas in June was followed by an organizational meeting in Reno on July 19, at which the cities of Reno, Las Vegas, Caliente, Fallon and Sparks were represented. Several other cities sent written statements approving the movement but were unable to send representatives to the session, according to *Western City*.

Charles C. McCall, city manager of Las Vegas, arranged for the meeting and acted as temporary chairman. Mayor H. E. Stewart of Reno was elected president. A board of directors was also elected which appointed Emerson Wilson, city attorney of Reno, temporary secretary until an executive secretary is employed.

The organization has been incorporated as a non-profit, non-partisan, cooperative corporation under Nevada law, with the name of League of Nevada Cities. Headquarters are at Reno. The purposes of the League, as set forth in the articles of incorporation, are:

(a) To foster periodical conferences or meetings of public officials for the discussion of municipal problems and for the purpose of promoting governmental efficiency.

(b) To foster and disseminate knowledge relating to municipal government by all appropriate means and to arouse greater interest and more active civic consciousness among the people as to its importance and significance.

(c) To publish and circulate publications on municipal and/or technical subjects of interest to cities.

(d) To promote good legislation respecting municipal affairs, and to oppose such measures as seem to be inimical to public interest.

(e) To secure harmony of action among cities in matters that affect the rights and liabilities of the cities and of the public.

(f) To render technical, informational and other services to cities for their general welfare.

Council-Manager Plan News

The *Times-Herald* of **Huntsville, Missouri,** is advocating the manager plan for that city and has opened its columns to discussion of the idea.

The *Post* of **Hannibal, Missouri,** urges consideration of the manager plan, as suggested in a report following a comprehensive survey of that city's government.

Petitions were circulated in August in **Ashtabula, Ohio,** in an effort to replace the council-manager plan, in effect since 1916, by a mayor and a council of seven members, three elected at large.

A charter which, if adopted, will nullify the council-manager amendment approved by the voters of **Long Beach, New York,** last November, has been filed with the city clerk and will be voted on at the regular election on November 7. Proportional representation, likewise approved last year, would also be rescinded. The proposed charter was drafted by a fifteen-man charter commission, elected last year at the same time that the manager amendment, advocated by the Long Beach Citizens Union, was adopted.[1]

A charter commission of nine members, elected in June in **Negaunee, Michigan,** has a new charter in preparation for submission to the voters early next year. Interest in the council-manager plan is being demonstrated.

Petitions are being circulated in **Green Bay, Wisconsin,** calling for a vote on adoption of the council-manager plan for that city at its next election.

A vote on the manager plan for **North Vancouver, British Columbia,** is expected to take place some time in December.

The 31st annual conference of the International City Managers' Association will take place at the Medinah Club in Chicago, October 12-17. The program will include discussions on social and economic factors in local postwar planning, municipal airport financing and administration, disposal of surplus war commodities, administrative personnel, managerial control, and special municipal problems suggested by managers and taken up at population-group sessions.

San Francisco Charter Revision Committee for 1944-45 Named

Mayor Lapham of San Francisco has appointed a charter revision committee, which is expected to cooperate with the judiciary committee of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in the preparation of whatever charter changes may be found necessary, in time for submission to the voters next year. It includes various city officials and representatives of the public.

Cooperative Efforts Counteract Port Chicago Disaster

An outstanding example of quick, effective, unselfish cooperation of public and semi-public agencies was provided in California when two ammunition ships blew up at a pier in San Francisco Bay, a mile from the unincorporated wartime community of Port Chicago, at 10:16 P. M., July 17. The explosion killed 320 sailors and civilian workers; it also caused injury to most of the 1500 inhabitants of Port Chicago, wrecked almost all the 350 homes and 27 business establishments, some beyond repair, and put water, electric, gas and telephone services out of commission.

Almost instantly emergency agencies began functioning. The county civilian defense coordinator, the sheriff, the Red Cross disaster director and the area representative of the Federal Committee for Congested Production Areas sped to the scene, and men, women and equipment of the combined mutual aid resources of the nine counties surrounding the bay began to arrive.

The Army and Navy, the State War Council, a dozen state departments, the Federal Works Agency, the U. S. Public Health Service, the American Legion and the Salvation Army participated in the activities. Within an hour all roads into Port Chicago were guarded by the State Highway Patrol and auxiliaries, and by 11.30 some 259 law enforcement officers from neighboring cities and counties responded to the sheriff's appeal, including 75 civilian defense auxiliaries from Martinez, ten miles away.

Doctors and nurses came from all

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[1] See also "Citizen Probe Halts One of Two P. R. Repeal Moves," p. 488, this issue.

over the bay area. Fire-fighting equipment of nearby communities and of the State Forestry Division stood by for several days, but by great good fortune was not needed. The Red Cross mobilized volunteer workers from fourteen chapters to give first aid, shelter and emergency feeding; other chapters stood ready to help if needed. A circus which happened to be in town supplied floodlights. Workers for the private utility companies installed emergency telephones, inspected all premises to guard against fire hazards and pollution of water, and began to restore services.

The experience at Port Chicago demonstrated the value of training and preparation for civilian defense and disasters, the need of continuing plans for such emergencies, and the possibilities of individual and public initiative and enterprise in meeting public problems and serving basic human needs.

Rochester, N. Y., Cooperates with Neighbors for Fire Safety

A mutual aid plan for fire defense has been established by Rochester and Monroe County, New York, and other municipalities and districts in the county. The various townships, villages and fire districts have agreed to cooperate and provide for the mobilization of all fire-fighting personnel and equipment to be used in emergencies whenever the local fire force is inadequate. As described in the September bulletin of the New York State Conference of Mayors, there is a governing advisory board consisting of two county supervisors, two village mayors, five fire district commissioners, two county fire chiefs, two members of the Monroe County Volunteer Firemen's Association, one Rochester city councilman, the commissioners of public safety and two representatives of the city's Bureau of Fire.

Cleveland Police to Study Juvenile Delinquency Causes

The State Police Chiefs Association of Ohio, the Cleveland Police Academy and Cleveland College, the downtown center of Western Reserve University, are jointly sponsoring a new and unique course in crime prevention among adolescent youth.

More than 35 policemen specially selected for the course will be taught at the college how to make more effective use of the social agencies of the city in the problem of crime prevention. They will study the behavior of adolescents and their mental and social problems, legal procedures in dealing with delinquent children and their parents, and use of referral agencies.

The course was initiated at the suggestion of the State Police Chiefs Association. Edward G. Krauss, executive secretary, states: "There have been many police science courses, but this is the first time an organized group of policemen has sponsored a program that is intended to deal entirely with the cause of crime instead of effects."

Police officers will go to school for two hours each Monday and Wednesday afternoon for fifteen weeks, beginning October 9, for a total of 60 class hours. Selection of students is on the basis of the responsibilities they hold in connection with crime prevention among adolescents. It is expected that those trained in this course will in turn plan educational programs for their staff members along similar lines.

Welfare Problems of New York and Other States Discussed

In conformity with a resolution of the New York State legislature, a special committee on social welfare and relief of the Joint Legislative Committee on Interstate Cooperation is holding a series of eleven conferences in various cities in New York State, extending from September 6 to December 14.

Their purpose is to study the welfare services of the state and their relationship to each other and to those of the other states and the federal government, and to bring about recommendations to the legislature for laws to coordinate the efforts of the various agencies of social security and welfare, to make them more effective in their accomplishments and to provide simplified administrative machinery for their efficient operation.

Supervisory Employees of Flint Given Training Course

One hundred and eighty city employees of Flint, Michigan, engaged in supervisory work have been given job relations training courses sponsored by the training-within-industry service of the War Manpower Commission. Development of good relations with employees was stressed, and supervisory problems were discussed by the director of personnel and members of each group.

New York City Officials Foster Health Insurance Plan

A comprehensive plan of medical and surgical care for residents or workers in New York City, put forward by Mayor La Guardia, was presented for incorporation on August 31 as the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York. If papers filed with the State Board of Social Welfare and the Superintendent of Insurance are approved by those agencies and by a state judge, the enterprise will be established as a non-profit membership corporation. The incorporators include the mayor, controller, president of the city council, and three of the five borough presidents, and an imposing list of representatives of medicine, industry, commerce, finance, labor, social welfare and the general public.

It is hoped by the mayor that the plan will be in operation by January 1, 1945, with most of the city's 190,000 employees and many workers in private industry. A selected list of physicians, surgeons and specialists is expected to be available to members at a cost approximating 4 per cent of their annual incomes, with employers paying at least half the expense. It is limited to persons of not more than $5,000 annual income—a limit considered too high by spokesmen for the five county medical societies of the city who propose a $2,500 ceiling.

The *New York Times* on September 11 said editorially, "It may well be that the city will set a pattern of medical care at low cost that Congress cannot afford to ignore."

Payroll Deductions for Union Dues in Baltimore

The city of Baltimore, Maryland, is collecting union dues of per diem employees of the Public Works Department by means of salary deductions when requested by the employee, turning the money directly over to the labor union, under a new union agreement. The union pays the city for expenses of collecting the dues.

A somewhat similar contract between the city and the union was abrogated by court ruling. The new agreement recognizes the union as the bargaining agency for the employees as a group but does not deny the right of individuals to bargain with the municipality. An interim court opinion held this contract "not invalid on its face." However, a taxpayers' suit challenges the authority of the city to deduct dues for the union.

The closed shop and the right to strike are specifically outlawed in the contract. Machinery for arbitration of disputes is set up, but the authority of the department head to settle grievances and to hire and fire employees is recognized.

The first payment made to the union was for dues of 829 workers at the rate of two dollars per month.

AMA Conference This Month

The annual conference of the American Municipal Association will be held at the Blackstone Hotel, Chicago, October 25-27; there will be preconference discussions on October 23 and 24. It will be a gathering of municipal officials and state municipal league officers about problems of cities related to the war and the postwar period.

U. S. District Court Dismisses Suit Against Hatch Act

An attack on the constitutionality of the Hatch Act provision forbidding governmental employees to be active in political campaigns, which was made by the Federal Workers of America (CIO), resulted in a dismissal of the case by the U. S. District Court, according to the Civil Service Assembly which states that the Union planned to appeal.

Unified Plan Recommended for Missouri River Valley

Calling for legislative and administrative action to develop a coordinated plan, a resolution agreed to by representatives of Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota, Wyoming and Montana was forwarded to Congress by President Roosevelt on September 21. Endorsing the idea,[1] the President recommended a method similar to the Tennessee Valley Authority.

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[1] See the REVIEW, June 1944, p. 306.

Researcher's Digest

G. R. A. to Establish National Office with Tax Foundation Aid

Leslie M. Gravlin Named President at Convention

THE Governmental Research Association voted September 7 at its conference at the University Club in New York to employ a full-time secretary and to maintain a national headquarters. The Tax Foundation will underwrite the new arrangement. In an address prior to the Association's business meeting, Lewis H. Brown, chairman of the Tax Foundation, indicated that the Foundation would be willing to support the Association's secretariat to the extent of $25,000 annually.

The Association also elected Leslie M. Gravlin, director of the Hartford Governmental Research Institute, president, and Loren B. Miller, director of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, vice president. Members of the Board of Trustees elected were: A E. Buck, Institute of Public Administration; Alvin A. Burger, director, Department of Governmental Research, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce; Carl P. Herbert, director, St. Paul Bureau of Municipal Research; Lennox L. Moak, director, Bureau of Governmental Research of New Orleans; Douglas Sutherland, executive secretary, Civic Federation of Chicago.

The national secretary will be appointed by the Board of Trustees. Dr. Lent D. Upson, director of the National Training School for Public Service and former director of the Detroit Bureau, reported that members of the Association's Board of Trustees and officers of the Foundation had been discussing the establishment of the secretariat for two years. The meeting adopted Dr. Upson's proposal that the newly elected officers and trustees be empowered to complete the arrangements with the Foundation in accordance with the following memorandum drawn up at a meeting of several members of the Association with officers of the Tax Foundation held July 28:

"This memorandum results from several conferences over the past two years between a number of especially interested members of the Governmental Research Association and operating officials of the Tax Foundation.

"Its purpose is to outline possibilities for greater usefulness on the part of the Governmental Research Association in assisting in the establishment of new local citizen agencies concerned with government and in stimulating existing agencies to greater interest and effort both in municipal affairs and in federal fiscal programs affecting the cities.

"It is proposed that the officers of the Governmental Research Association elected at the annual conference of the Association at its September 1944 meeting appoint a full-time professional secretary to take office at the earliest possible opportunity.

"That it be the duty of such secretary to (a) visit periodically existing local citizen agencies; (b) follow up inquiries that might lead to the establishment of additional local agencies or governmental activities by governmental research agencies, organizations of taxpayers, boards of commerce, and other citizen groups; (c) issue a periodic bulletin for the information of members and the annual directory; and (d) perform such other duties as fall within the purposes of the organization.

"That the cost of these operations be underwritten by the Tax Foundation, such costs to be paid in accordance with a budget approved by the officers of the Governmental Research Association and the Tax Foundation.

"That the offices of the Governmental Research Association be located in New York City in quarters adjacent to those of the Tax Foundation, and that so far as expedient use be made of Tax Foundation facilities."

The actual choice of a location for offices was left to the discretion of the trustees.

Since the Governmental Research Association was founded in 1914 it has been served by part-time secretariats in the offices of the National Municipal League, the Brookings Institution, the Public Administration Clearing House, and for the last several years the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.

President's Message

Urging approval of the plan to establish a headquarters, Harland C. Stockwell, outgoing chairman of the Association, said in part in his farewell address:

"The Governmental Research Association is entering its thirtieth year. There is no question but that the organization has justified its existence many, many times over. Even in the limited services it has performed, it has developed and maintained a spirit of professional solidarity among the various governmental research agencies and other groups interested in more effective and economical government. In addition it has rendered numerous minor but nevertheless important services to its members. However, we cannot ignore the fact, which I believe most of us are aware of, that the GRA has never realized the full inherent potentialities of the organization.

"We have been, and still are, an organization whose members are primarily interested in the effective operation of *local* government in the United States. Our members have been instrumental in bringing about better and more economical personnel, budgeting, purchasing and contract-letting practices in American cities. We have accomplished much, but very much more remains to be done.

"I am one of those who believe that local government is the basis of our democracy and that if our large centers of population are allowed to fall into and remain in the hands of those who seek only their own gain, simply because the people do not adequately understand what is happening, then a most serious threat is imposed on 'our way of life.'"

Topics and Speakers

On the second day of the conference, September 8, Carl P. Herbert, director of the St. Paul Bureau of Municipal Research, and G. Sidney Houston, investment research manager for the First Bank Stock Corporation, St. Paul, spoke on "The Twin Cities Postwar Tax Plan." Dr. Claude Robinson, president of the Opinion Research Corporation, spoke at the luncheon session. In the afternoon Herbert J. Miller, of the Citizens National Committee, spoke on "Citizen Control Over Federal Government Spending" and Dr. Harley L. Lutz, professor of public finance at Princeton University and chief economist for the Tax Foundation, spoke on "The Future of the Social Security Programs."

On the closing day, September 9, speakers were: Bruce Smith and A. E. Buck, Institute of Public Administration, who discussed "Developments in State and Local Public Administration"; Guy Greer, of *Fortune Magazine,* who addressed the luncheon session on "Financing Education in the Postwar Period"; and Dr. Thomas H. Reed, municipal government counselor for the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, who spoke on "Postwar Public Works Planning."

Research Awards Made for 1943 and 1944

The awards committee of the Governmental Research Association, composed of Clarence E. Ridley, director of the International City Managers' Association, and Edward M. Martin, of the Chicago Union League Club, announced awards for both 1943 and 1944 for noteworthy pieces of research prepared by members of the organization. The awards, made at the Association's national conference in New York on the basis of usefulness, practicality and originality, were as follows:

For the period July 1, 1942, to June 30, 1943—First Award: *A Study of the Kansas City Police Department*, prepared by J. M. Leonard, staff member of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, assisted by H. C. Cornuelle of the Civic Research Institute, and issued by the Civic Research Institute of Kansas City, Missouri.

Second Award: *Police Problems in Newark,* report of a survey conducted by the Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., of Newark, New Jersey.

For the period July 1, 1943, to June 30, 1944—Two First Awards: *The Taxation of Intangibles in Missouri and Other States,* prepared by the Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis, Missouri; and *Manual of Purchasing Organization and Procedure of the Office of Purchasing Agent, Cook County, Illinois,* prepared by John F. Ward, under direct supervision of Harland C. Stockwell, assistant executive secretary of the Civic Federation of Chicago.

The latter study was given the equivalent of first award by motion of the GRA conference in order to remove the disability of Mr. Stockwell who, as chairman of the Association, had appointed the committee.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Your County Government 1844 or 1944 Model?

League of Women Voters Urges Wisconsin Amendment

STARTING well in advance of the 1945 legislative session, the **Wisconsin League of Women Voters** is already hard at work to arouse popular demand for removal of constitutional restrictions on county government. They urge passage of the so-called Daugs amendment to remove the requirement of uniformity in county government and to empower the legislature to set up optional forms of county government. The amendment was passed by the 1943 legislature but must pass the next session in identical form and then be submitted to the voters of the state.

Mrs. Harold Marsh of Madison, state president of the League, says that League members' interest in this proposed constitutional amendment dates back many years. "About fifteen years ago," she states, "all local leagues conducted detailed surveys of county government which proved that the county board form of government was many times inefficient and wasteful. In such counties little improvement can be made under the present constitutional requirements. Greater freedom of choice should be given those counties for which another setup would prove better."

A League flyer titled "Your County Government—1844 or 1944 Model?" inquires: "Do 71 Wisconsin counties—large and small—urban and rural—industrial and agricultural—want the same form of county government?"

The amendment would not force counties to give up their present government, but would give them the opportunity of changing if the county board so voted.

Civic Groups Plan "A Greater San Francisco"

A special Greater San Francisco Committee has been appointed by President William H. Caruthers of the **San Francisco Civic League.** Francis V. Keesling, long a leader for civic improvement in his city and a member of the council of the National Municipal League, has been appointed chairman. The committee met with Mayor Roger D. Lapham on August 2 and presented a program which includes annexation of San Mateo County to San Francisco.

According to the *News Bulletin* of the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research,** discussion and plans for consolidation were an active issue for ten or fifteen years prior to 1930. Said the *Bulletin:* "Committees of prominent citizens in both counties, during the period the consolidation proposal was a live issue, took an active part in attempting to work out an acceptable basis to present to the voters of the two counties."

The board of freeholders which drafted the present San Francisco city-county charter provided for future consolidation with all or a part of San Mateo County by including certain sections in the charter setting up a borough form of government—to come into operation in the event of such consolidation.

Seattle League Committees Begin Fall Programs

By early September six committees of the **Seattle Municipal League** were already at work on the problems assigned them. Well attended meetings discussed city charter changes, city and county budgets, November ballot propositions and other questions.

The Governmental Research Committee has held three meetings to consider proposed charter changes. The committee's findings will be transmitted eventually to the League Board of Trustees for final action.

The City-County Planning Committee has considered the proposed budget for the Seattle City Planning Commission and a proposed charter change to give the commission broader scope in its activities. Postwar projects have also been reviewed.

The City Budget and Finance Committee has discussed the preliminary city budget and appointed subcommittees to study specific departmental budgets. Members will attend weekly meetings of the City Council's finance committee.

The County Budget and Finance Committee is investigating the $105,000 emergency budget request of the county treasurer whose budget for 1944 is nearly exhausted.

A program for increasing the League's membership from its present 2,000 to 2,500 has been outlined by the Membership Committee.

The Legislative Committee is studying the two amendments to the state constitution and the three initiative and referendum proposals to appear on the November 7 ballot.

Commenting editorially on the significance of the organization's committee work, the *Seattle Municipal News* says:

"Without the work by its committees, the League's program would not have much vitality. . . . From the study and recommendations by the League committees and board, followed by 'selling' them to public officials, come the positive, specific results in improving local public operations. This is the primary justification of the League's existence. . . .

"More than 300 committee preference questionnaires have been returned from our 2,000 membership. Among the most popular choices were the city-county planning, candidates' investigation, housing, health and public assistance, Port of Seattle, and public schools committees."

Los Angeles Town Hall Reports on Redevelopment

The Need for Urban Redevelopment in California is the theme of a report issued by the Regional Planning and Development Section of the **Los Angeles Town Hall.**

The report discusses several proposals for urban redevelopment by private enterprise, including the Greer-Hansen plan as published by the National Planning Association, the Urban Land Institute plan which represents primarily the viewpoint of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, and the proposals put forth by the Federal Housing Administration. The several proposals are set up in outline form for easy comparison. Other chapters deal with proposed federal legislation and state legislation already enacted, and suggest basic provisions of an urban redevelopment law for California.

Recommendations are:

1. *Eminent Domain.* The right to acquire property for urban redevelopment through condemnation proceedings should be granted to the community only and not to private redevelopment agencies.

2. *Land Acquisition Agency.* For the assembling and disposing of property involved in urban redevelopment projects the local government should be required to designate an existing public agency or create a new one.

3. *Disposal of Land.* The local government should be permitted to convey land to the redevelopment agency by sale *or* lease.

4. *Comprehensive General Plan.* Be-

fore any local government may participate in a redevelopment program it should be required to have a planning commission and a comprehensive general plan drawn up and approved by this body. A precise project plan in conformity with the comprehensive plan and its approval by the planning commission and the local legislative body should be required before any redevelopment project is approved.

5. *Intergovernmental Cooperation.* Where two or more local governments share an area in need of rehabilitation they should be able to participate jointly either through contractual arrangements or by the delegation of sole responsibility to one of the communities.

6. *Redevelopment Agencies.* Any private individual, company or corporation should be permitted to engage in urban redevelopment and to acquire property from the local government for this purpose, and any public agency authorized by California law should be permitted to acquire property from the local government for the purposes for which it was created.

7. *Public Controls.* To insure that urban redevelopment shall operate in the public interest reasonable public controls of private operation are necessary and, as a part of the deed of sale or the lease agreement, a contract should be drawn between the local government and the redevelopment agency which includes the terms of the redevelopment plan and all other pertinent matters.

8. *Finance of Redevelopment.* For the acquisition of blighted land local governments which otherwise conform to the requirements of the proposed legislation should be permitted to receive federal assistance or credit under the terms of any federal urban redevelopment legislation which may be passed, and they should also be permitted to make use of their own financial resources for the purpose of urban redevelopment.

9. *Acquisition of Land for Future Redevelopment.* Communities should be permitted to acquire land for redevelopment without a prior commitment from a redevelopment agency for redevelopment of the land.

10. *Tax Abatement.* Tax abatement for redevelopment companies should not be a part of the initial urban redevelopment legislative program.

11. *Limitation of Dividends.* Urban redevelopment should not be limited to agencies which accept a restriction upon the earnings or dividends which may be derived from redevelopment projects.

12. *Re-housing of Displaced Tenants.* Urban redevelopment legislation in California should not contain an unqualified requirement that the redevelopment agency itself provide or assure re-housing for displaced tenants.

13. *Racial Discrimination.* Racial discrimination should not be an issue in drafting urban redevelopment legislation for California.

Here and There

Bond Program Supported

The $41,000,000 city-county-school bond program in Cincinnati has the endorsement of the **Cincinnati City Charter Committee** which states in its *News Letter:* "The importance of ... support cannot be over-estimated in the light of the all but insuperable handicaps which the state legislature has imposed upon the approval of bond issues for pubic improvements." State law requires a 65 per cent favorable majority and calls for the segregation of the various items in the improvement program and a majority vote on each item. "Thus," says the *News Letter*, "it will be necessary to get 65 per cent of the voters to go into the polls and mark twelve or more separate and distinct ballot questions properly."

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Watchdogs of the Treasury

Urging that citizens attend budget hearings and insist that needless expenditures be eliminated, the **Indiana Taxpayers Association** warns that, "while war prosperity and high wages may make taxpaying comparatively easy now, there is a possibility that decreased incomes in the future will make property taxes a more perplexing financial problem. "Indiana is fortunate," says Walter T. Horn, executive secretary of the Association, "in having laws that afford taxpayers more opportunities to offer criticism during the preparation of budgets than any other state and the taxpayers should take advantage of these privileges."

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Community Training Course

In connection with the program of the Greater Peoria Community and War Fund, the **Junior League of Peoria** is conducting a volunteer training program—lectures, panel discussions and field trips—as an orientation course for new League members and to acquaint public and private welfare agency board members with community problems. The study covers the city government, population and housing, industries, churches and schools, returning soldiers (the Peoria Plan for Human Rehabilitation) and the social services—welfare, health, child and family recreation.

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"Armchair Citizens"

With this title the *Wisconsin Taxpayer* calls to task those who fail to exercise their citizenship at election time. The bulletin points out that only two out of five thought the election for governor in 1942 important enough to bring them to the polls. This was the lowest vote cast at a general election in the last ten years. For the April 1944 referendum on a two-mill property tax for paying state aid to high schools, only one out of three voters visited the polls. In commenting the *Taxpayer* states: "The large number of stay-at-homes when a state and local election day rolled around simply forgot that democracy is a grass-roots affair that has its basis in the local community and its problems."

Strictly Personal

The Cincinnati City Charter Committee announces the appointment by President Harry Drackett of **Arthur L. Thexton** member of the Charter Committee's board and executive vice-president of Clopay Corporations, as chairman of the Charter Men's Division. Mr. Thexton succeeds Robert F. Muhlhauser, widely known insurance man, who has been chairman of the division since 1940.

Miss Anna Lord Strauss, newly elected president of the National League of Women Voters, was the guest and speaker at the Department Day luncheon of the Illinois League of Women Voters on September 22.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Two Attacks on P. R. Charters

Hamilton and Long Beach to Vote This November

Petitions to replace the present method of electing councilmen by the Hare system of P. R. with majority election at large have been filed with the Hamilton, Ohio, City Council, which has placed the question on the November 7 ballot.

Under the proposed amendment candidates for the Council are nominated by petition, their names to appear on the ballot without party designation as at present. Each voter may vote for as many candidates as there are members of the Council, the seven candidates receiving the highest numbers of votes being elected. No provision is made for a primary or preferential ballot to concentrate votes on candidates with a chance of election, which means that the entire Council may very easily be elected by less than half the voters.

The amendment provides that the councilmanic candidate receiving the highest number of votes will become mayor and president of Council.

Hamilton, profiting by the experience of Cincinnati, its near neighbor, adopted the Hare system of P. R. in 1926 as part of a new charter providing the city manager plan of government. Previously it was one of the most boss-ridden and misgoverned cities in Ohio, infested with underworld characters and generally down at the heel. Under the new charter municipal services have been of a high order. Three attempts to discard P. R.—one in 1929 and two in 1933—were overwhelmingly defeated at the polls.

A Citizens Committee has been organized to conduct a campaign to defeat the amendment. The Woman's City Club, which took a leading part in securing the manager-P. R. charter of 1926, is also working to retain the present plan of election.

Citizen Probe Halts One of Two P. R. Repeal Moves

In a last-ditch fight to prevent the council-manager plan with the council elected by proportional representation from going into effect in 1945,[1] the dominant political machine in Long Beach, N. Y., has brought forth a substitute charter which will be on the November 7 ballot.

The proposed charter, prepared by a machine-minded charter commission, was rushed in just before the deadline in the midst of an investigation by the Citizens' Union, a local civic group, of petitions to repeal P. R. The petitions, circulated by leaders of the political organization, had been filed with the city clerk and were examined at once by investigators for the civic organization. The mayor denied permission to make photostatic copies of the petitions to determine whether they contained forgeries. That evening the city council failed to take scheduled action to place the P. R. repealer on the ballot and substituted the proposed new charter. The P. R. repeal petitions were withdrawn by their sponsors.

The proposed charter is frankly an attempt to nullify the adoption of a charter amendment last November to provide P. R. and the council-manager plan but represents a retreat by the administration on several controversial points which have been under attack by the Citizens' Union.

It is provided that the council shall consist of four councilmen, elected from as many districts and receiving $900 per year, plus the county supervisor who receives $5,000 per year from the county. The council would elect its own president who would receive an additional $300 per year. At present councilmen are paid $2,500. Under the amendment sponsored by the Citizens' Union and adopted last November, the councilmen would be unpaid and the supervisor would have no vote in the council.

The "red herring" charter, as it is branded by the Citizens' Union, reduces the part-time mayor's salary from $7,500 to $5,000, retains the treasurer and tax assessor as elective officers instead of appointive as in the city manager amendment, provides for appointment of other officers by the council with the exception of administrative department heads, who would be named by the mayor.

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[1] See "Long Beach Adopts P. R.," National Municipal Review, December 1943, p. 618.

Senator Norris, P. R. Supporter

George W. Norris of Nebraska, who died early in September while in retirement at his home in McCook. Nebraska, after 40 years in the United States House of Representatives and Senate, included proportional representation among his many interests. For 25 years he was a member of the Advisory Council of the Proportional Representation League.

Known as one of the nation's foremost liberals, Senator Norris disregarded party lines and the political consequences of fighting for his principles. He built a reputation as a foe of special privilege, champion of the common man and a never discouraged advocate of government reform.

His philosophy was aptly summed up in a statement ten years ago in the *New York Times:* "He legislates for posterity rather than for a political clientele."

Among his greatest accomplishments were his fathering of the Tennessee Valley development under the TVA, the abolition of lame-duck sessions of Congress and the unicameral legislature in Nebraska. The adoption of the unicameral legislature by his state, a mechanism approved by students of government for many years and prescribed by the National Municipal League's "Model State Constitution," is considered an outstanding example of his freedom from outworn tradition. Senator Norris not only was author of the Nebraska reform but also led the campaign for its adoption in 1934 and contributed heavily to it.

In the formative stage of the unicameral campaign he told the editor of this department that he would be glad to see the one-house legislature elected by P. R. if sufficient understanding of the idea could be spread through the state to create a popular demand for it. Unfortunately the P. R. League and the friends of P. R. in Nebraska were not then in a position to put on the statewide educational campaign that would have been needed.

Senator Norris also showed his belief in the proportional principle by joining Congressman Clarence F. Lea of California some years ago in sponsorship of a constitutional amendment to abolish personal presidential electors and to divide the electoral votes of each state among the candidates in proportion to the popular votes instead of giving them all to the leading contender.

Senator Norris' defeat for re-election to the United States Senate in 1942, at a time when he was revered by millions throughout the country, including a large minority in his own state, was cited in this department in January 1943 as a striking example of the need of P. R. in our own national legislature. It was pointed out that though proportional representation between states in the United States Senate is constitutionally impossible without unanimous approval of all the states, proportional representation within each state can be secured by a simple act of Congress whenever the people are ready for it. It will only be necessary to raise the number of each state's senators from two to three and provide for their election together at the same election by P. R. This, without sacrifice of majority rule, would insure senatorial representation to both major parties throughout the country, even in many parts of the "solid south," would make possible the election of an occasional independent as a minority representative, and would avoid the present tragic loss of the services of outstanding leaders like Senator Norris when the tides of party feeling tip the majority in their home states temporarily against them.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Wayne County Tries Again for Home Rule

Constitutional Change To Be Submitted to Michigan Voters

On November 7 the voters of Michigan will have another opportunity to amend their constitution to permit the residents of Wayne County (Detroit) the privilege of drafting a home rule charter that meets their needs. A similar opportunity was refused them in the elections two years ago by a vote of 221,000 to 143,000. If adopted the constitutional amendment would be an important forward step in overcoming the difficulties imposed by the uniformity provisions of the state constitution adopted 96 years ago.

The amendment would authorize election of a charter commission that would be charged with the preparation of a home rule charter for submission to the Wayne County electorate. The proposal states, however, that the charter must provide for a chief executive and a legislative body not to exceed 21 members.

The proposal states further that not more than two-thirds of the legislative body may be from the city of Detroit, and that outside the city members must be elected on a district basis. Nominations and elections must be nonpartisan and periodic reapportionment is required. The initiative and referendum are also provided for.

The term "home rule" is not used in the proposed amendment, and the proposal does, in fact, restrict the voters' choice to the alternatives of the existing system or the structure of government it provides.

The home rule features of the proposal are found in the provision, "Wayne County shall not by classification on any basis or by any method be made subject to any general law not applicable in actual fact in all counties," and in the provision, "Wayne County shall, under such charter, have power and authority to pass all laws and ordinances relating to its county municipal concerns." The latter provision not only confers a high degree of home rule upon the county, but it serves as another example of the trend in the transformation of urban and suburban counties from administrative organs of the state to municipal organizations possessing police powers. The transference of legislative power from the state to the county is clearly implied in the provision, "All local or special acts having local application, now in effect in said county, shall continue in effect, unless and until superseded by some provision of the charter of said county or by an ordinance adopted thereunder. . . ."

Adoption of the amendment next month will force the issue to a vote because it declares that an election of charter commissioners must be called and held within five months of the effective date of the amendment. The commission is to consist of 21 members, twelve from the city of Detroit. They must be residents but not on a city, county, village or township payroll, and they must be selected by a nonpartisan primary and election. Candidates for the primary may be placed on the ballot either by petitions signed by at least 500 registered voters or by a deposit of $50 which will be returned if the candidate is nominated.

County Officials Hold National Conference

Over 300 county officials assembled at Syracuse, New York, on July 24 to 27 for the second annual war conference of the National Association of County Officials. A balanced program, on which appeared representatives of federal, state and county governments, evidenced the awareness both of county officials to other levels of government and of officials of other levels to the importance of county government.

The "sights" of the convention were adjusted to postwar problems. Howard Evans of the War Production Board explained evolving plans for distributing war materials after the war. Past trends in county finance were analyzed by Wylie Kilpatrick, county consultant of the Census Bureau, as a preparation for postwar financing.

Postwar planning was the theme for an entire session addressed by four Syracusians. The chairman of the Onondaga County and Syracuse Planning Commission, Chancellor Tolley of Syracuse University, and members of the Commission set forth the objectives and techniques of joint county-city planning in a "clinic" that unfolded practical guides to action.

The implications of the land policy of the federal government in whittling down local tax resources were canvassed by Edwin J. Reagin, president of the Interstate Association of Public Land Counties, and by other delegates pleading for equity in intergovernmental tax relations.

Every session was addressed by one or more county officials, who also foregathered between formal sessions for an exchange of views and anecdotes.

The National Association of County Officials is gathering momentum under the guidance of an able group of officers. The presidential term of Judge Truman H. Preston of Syracuse, New York, ended with this meeting; he was succeeded by W. D. Ralston of Middletown, Ohio.

Thirty states were represented at the convention. The largest delegation outside of New York was that from Utah which was headed by Governor Herbert B. Maw. The size of this delegation, as well as not a few other excellent features of the convention, was due in no slight degree to the efforts of the secretary of the Association, George F. Simmons of Ogden, Utah.

WYLIE KILPATRICK, *County Consultant*
Bureau of the Census

Census Bureau Issues 1942 County Finance Study

The U. S. Bureau of the Census has issued a 500-page volume on 1942 county finances.[1] It covers the finances and employment of all county governments in the United States. Since 1850 counties have been reported as part of *Wealth, Debt and Taxation* and similar studies by the Bureau, but this 1942 study, prepared under the planning and direction of Dr. Wylie Kilpatrick, county consultant of the Bureau, constitutes the first such federal report dealing exclusively with counties and presenting detailed information for all county governments in the United States.

In addition to a series of general tables covering county revenue, expenditures, capital outlay, debt, and employment, the compendium presents detailed information of the county governments by states. Each county is listed in each state, and the data recorded in a series of tables include revenue, general expenditures, capital outlay, public debt, employment, population, and economic characteristics.

The report reveals that of the total 1942 county government revenue of $1,635,000,000, $934,000,000 consisted of taxes paid by county taxpayers and $551,000,000 was received as fiscal aid from the state and federal governments. It further reveals a 1942 county payroll (excluding schools) of 332,231 persons drawing salaries and wages of $422,000,000 for the year. Excluding areas lacking county governments and those in which counties are consolidated with cities, it was discovered that 116,000,000 Americans live under county governments, which constitutes the largest population affected directly by one type of local government in the United States.

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[1] *County Finance* 1942 Compendium, 1944.

An "independent county government" is defined in the report as "one with a separate governing body and personnel exercising independent financial powers adequate for a degree of discretionary management of one or more functions delegated to the county." The report identifies 3,100 units or areas blanketing the entire nation, but only 3,050 of these were considered independent county governments.

The remaining 50 units or areas include eight in the consolidated city-county governments of Boston, New Orleans, New York and Philadelphia; the legally denominated "city-counties" of Denver and San Francisco; and the "cities" of Baltimore and St. Louis which have absorbed all county functions. Also in the 50 are the 24 "independent" cities of Virginia which perform all municipal functions within their boundaries and the District of Columbia which is regarded as a municipality. The five county areas in Rhode Island have no organized government, and hence are considered not truly counties. The remaining eight units are the sparsely populated areas of five attached counties in South Dakota and portions of Yellowstone National Park lying in three states.

The scope of the report includes all general government financial operations, embracing county departments and all institutions, agencies, and districts administered as part of the county government. Excluded are detailed transactions of county-owned enterprises and of trust and sinking funds. County debt is defined to include both general and enterprise obligations and sinking fund or other debt offsets are likewise shown in order to ascertain net long-term debt.

The report classifies general revenue into the categories of county taxes, fiscal aid from other governments, and service charges and miscellaneous. General expenditures are placed in the categories of operations, capital outlay, and fiscal aid to other governments. Where possible, comparisons are made with financial statistics for 1932.

For 1943 and later years, the Census Bureau's annual report on county finances will take a representative sample of approximately a thousand counties including some large, some small, urban and rural.

Merit System Adopted in Ventura County, Calif.

Electors of Ventura County, California, by a two-to-one vote, have adopted the merit system. The new civil service provisions will place 500 county employees in the classified service. The Board of Supervisors has appointed a Civil Service Commission to administer the system.

Illinois Proposal Gives County Officials Successive Terms

Next month the electorate of Illinois will vote on a proposed amendment to the state constitution which would permit the county sheriffs and the county treasurers to serve for two or more successive terms. Under present provisions of the constitution they cannot serve for more than one term without an interval out of office.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Port Authority Tax Exemption Affirmed

U. S. Circuit Court Rules Bond Interest Not Subject to Federal Government Tax

IN A two-to-one decision handed down August 24, the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second District, at New York, affirmed the decisions of the United States Tax Court[1] in the Port of New York Authority and Triborough Bridge Authority cases, ruling that interest on Authority bonds is exempt from federal income taxes.[2]

The majority decision, written by Judge Hand with Judge Chase concurring, held, as had the Tax Court's ruling, that the Authorities were political subdivisions of the states of New York and New Jersey and as such were entitled to exemption under the revenue law. The Tax Court had held that no constitutional issues could be involved unless or until the Congress amended the revenue act to remove statutory immunity, and in this the Court of Appeals concurred.

In a dissenting opinion Judge Frank argued that the Authorities were not entitled to the immunity because, among other things, they lacked the power to tax property *ad valorem* and hence were not political subdivisions within the meaning of the statute. Considerable emphasis was placed on the thesis that Congress in enacting the immunity could not have intended to extend it to authorities, since no use had been made at that time of the revenue bond.

The justice in this was, of course, overlooking the fact that no later than the end of 1910 Spokane and Tacoma, Washington, had both issued rather large amounts of bonds for their respective municipal electric systems, secured solely by a pledge of specified revenues and not eligible for property tax support, while there had been even earlier use of the pledged revenue device in scattered instances which can hardly have been unknown to the members of the national legislature.

"Little" Townsend Plan Plagues West Coast

Voters in Arizona, California, Oregon and Washington will probably be called on again this fall to pass judgment on grandiose old-age pension schemes, this time appearing in the guise of a so-called "Little Townsend Plan" to provide $60 monthly pensions financed from proceeds of gross income taxes.

The preliminary skirmishes revolve around efforts to keep the measures off the ballot. In Oregon, where the constitution requires that constitutional amendments be submitted separately for referendum, the first round has gone to the pensioners. There the Circuit Court of Marion County held on September 7, 1944, that the constitutional requirement governed as to measures referred by the legislature, but did not apply to initiated amendments. The proposed Oregon amendment admittedly covers a lot of ground including among other things a prohibition against a state sales tax, although its 3 per cent to 5 per cent gross income tax is in effect such a tax.

Similar measures have been defeated by decisive majorities in elections in all these states in earlier years, so their reappearance is probably notable mostly for its nuisance value.

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[1] NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, March 1944, p. 154.

[2] Those interested in studying the opinions in the two cases may secure copies from *The Bond Buyer*, 67 Pearl Street, New York 4, N. Y., which has printed the complete text in pamphlet form, at 50 cents each.

Miami Considers Sewer Charge

With a $12,000,000 sewerage disposal system in prospect, Miami, Florida, city officials are said to be considering imposition of a monthly service charge to meet the cost. Preliminary estimates place the charge at from $1.25 to $2 per month for residences, to be collected on water bills.

The possibility of merging the water and sewer systems is also said to be under study, since about $10,000,000 of new water bonds are to be sold to refinance $7,600,000 outstanding water bonds and finance new wells.

1944 Legislatures Make Property Tax Changes

The greatest number of 1944 state tax laws of any single category dealt with the property tax, reports the Federation of Tax Administrators.

California has amended its state constitution to permit the taxation of federally-owned land and other property previously exempt; this will permit taxation of vast properties controlled by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation or its subsidiaries for which Congress has waived immunity.

New Jersey repealed the exemption granted up to now on property owned by the United States, while New York provided that United States property taxable under federal law shall no longer be exempt from state taxation. Similar action was taken in Virginia.

Kentucky made rural electric cooperative corporations subject to ad valorem and franchise taxes; Virginia made supplies of pulpwood, veneer logs, mine props and railroad ties subject to the capital tax.

Deductions and exemptions of various types were established in Kentucky, Mississippi and Virginia. Kentucky provided that federal bonds as well as bonds of the state and its localities need not be included in computation of total property in determining the exemption of corporate stock in the hands of stockholders; Mississippi while eliminating certain exemptions established an exemption from property taxation for factories or plants which slaughter, cure, pack, can or otherwise preserve animal food; Virginia granted exemptions of money on hand or on deposit for taxes on employees' wages and salaries and withheld by the employer subject to capital tax but not paid over to the government.

Virginia also enacted several technical amendments in the property tax field, abolishing oath and affirmation on tax returns for property taxes, changing the date for filing returns from June 1 to May 1, and regulating the freezing of property tax assessments in counties with a certain density of population.

Louisiana provided that common carriers, except by water, and public utilities shall be assessed by the State Tax Commission instead of local assessing officials and reenacted for another two years the gas-gathering tax at a rate of 1/2 cent per 1,000 cubic feet.

St. Louis Has $63,500,000 to Spend on Postwar Plans

The postwar projects fund of St. Louis has now reached the sizable sum of $63,500,000. At the August primary $43,527,000 was added to the funds already available from earlier bond issues etc. The money has been earmarked for 165 projects which will provide an estimated 23,100,000 man-hours of employment.

The eleven proposals with specific appropriations approved at the primary include a new major airport, hospital improvements, increased fire protection facilities, sewer construction, street improvements, new facilities at the zoo.

Largest majority was given the $950,000 appropriation for hospitals and institutions. This amount together with other funds available will provide $3,350,000 for improvement and expansion of facilities at the city hospital, the Negro hospital, city sanitarium, tubercular hospital, city infirmary and the St. Louis training school. More than $1,000,000 will be spent to build a hospital for the chronically ill.

Fire Protection and Sewers

Next two most popular projects in the primary were the $800,000 bond issues for fire protection and $7,957,000 for sewer construction. Voters also approved the $7,800,000 asked for street improvements; $2,200,000 for a fire-police electric alarm system; $7,500,000 for waterworks extension; $1,778,000 for bridges and viaducts; $3,625,000 for parks and recreation; $750,000 for the zoo; and $250,000 for the art museum.

The $9,897,000 suggested for airport development ranked fourth in voting interest. The city now has a total of $10,000,000 to spend for a new airport and $4,000,000 for the expansion of St. Louis-Lambert field.

The Board of Public Service will contract with private firms for design and engineering work to speed plans for starting construction when peace is declared, according to the American Society of Planning Officials. An expenditure of $3,000,000 is proposed for engineering and specifications.

If the original plan outlined by the postwar projects committee is followed, more than 60 per cent of the $63,500,000 will be spent for labor, including work in preparing a substantial reserve of jobs before conversion of war plants is completed.

Local Affairs Abroad

Edited by Edward W. Weidner

Collective Bargaining for England's Local Governments

Reorganized Whitley Councils Bring New Growth in Practice

WHITLEYISM, long an effective force in government-employee relationships in the civil service (national government), is gaining new strength in England's local government service. This is the significance of the reorganization, last November, of the National and Provincial Whitley Councils for the Local Government Service.

Although Whitleyism[1]—a means of collective bargaining between government and its employees—is 25 years old in local government, only three provincial councils have functioned continuously throughout that period.[2]

In 1920 a National Whitley Council for Local Government was established; the government side was represented by members of the four local government associations—Association of Municipal Corporations, County Councils Association, Urban District Councils Association and Rural District Councils Association—and the London County Council, while the staff side was represented chiefly by NALGO (National Association of Local Government Officers[3]) as well as by two smaller organizations. Its main functions of helping set up provincial and local joint councils and of recommending salary and condition of service standards were completed in less than a year, and it ceased to exist.

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[1] J. H. Whitley, who later became speaker of the House of Commons, was chairman of a committee on relations between employers and employees which proposed in 1917 the establishment of a system of joint industrial councils.

[2] See *Civil Service Staff Relationships*, by E. N. Gladden, William Hodge and Company, Ltd., London, 1943, pp. 145-7.

[3] Local government "officers" in Eng-

In 1936 a National Joint Council was created to replace the Standing Conference of Joint Councils which for many years sought to promote cooperation among the provincial Whitley groups. Unlike the 1920 body, representation was based upon provincial councils, each of which had six representatives, three from each side—government and staff. By last year membership of the National Joint Council reached 120.

After what NALGO termed a "long and weary struggle," it was instrumental in securing the reconstitution of the National Whitley Council for the Local Government Service—officially called the National Joint Council for Local Authorities' Administrative, Professional, Technical, and Clerical Services—in November. The primary purpose of the reorganization was the formation of a council "upon which the local authorities associations would be represented, and which would, by reason of that fact, be fully representative of all local authorities in the country."[4]

Thus for the first time it is possible to have the pay and conditions of service of local government officers[3] nationally standardized by employer-employee negotiation and consultation, for the joint body's decisions will be "both morally binding upon and legally enforceable against every local authority in the country."[5]

The new Whitley Council for the Local Government Service is composed of 60 members, 30 from each side, plus an independent chairman appointed by the Minister of Health. An executive committee of fourteen members from each side has been established, NALGO getting ten of the fourteen employee seats. The sixteen provincial councils also were somewhat reorganized; most of them accepted the recommended model provincial council constitution.

Underlying these changes in Whitley organization was the growth of Whitleyism. In 1932 three provincial councils covering 145 local authorities existed. By 1939, of the 1,530 local governments in England, 460 were supporting Whitleyism; by December 1943 the figure was 728. Six months later 940 local authorities comprising sixteen provincial councils were subscribing to it. For the first time a majority of local authorities were participating in collective bargaining through national machinery. Much of this recent increase is due to the reorganized National Whitley Council for the Local Government Service.

Local Government Employees Debate Union Affiliation

Two of the most important matters confronting the National Association of Local Government Officers after the Whitleyism victory are a decision on affiliation with the Trades Union Congress and a campaign to secure permanent compulsory arbitration.

A decision on affiliation has been postponed a year since the annual conference of NALGO was cancelled because of the war. Early this year the National Executive Council voted 47 to 10 for postponement of the issue until after the war—it had planned to offer a motion to that effect at the conference. Five local groups filed "notices of motion," however, for immediate affiliation.

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land include, in general, administrative, professional, technical, and clerical employees.

[4] *Local Government Service,* November 1943, p. 469.

[5] *Ibid.,* January 1944, p. 1.

Last year's conference voted in favor of affiliation, but instructed the National Executive Council to conduct a poll of the branches and districts to see if the matter would be made more conclusive. Results of the poll showed 159 branches with 43,152 members voting for affiliation, 163 branches with 39,326 members voting to defer consideration, and 71 branches with 12,382 members against affiliation. With a clear majority of branches and members against immediate affiliation, opponents of the move prevailed.

Compulsory arbitration as provided by the Conditions of Employment and National Arbitration Order is a wartime innovation so far as local government employees are concerned. Early in 1943 the judgment given by the House of Lords in the Bolton case enabled local employees to bring appeals in disputes with their employers to the National Arbitration Tribunal. Since then several important cases have come before that body or the Industrial Court. The order provides only wartime machinery, however.

Commenting on wartime experience with arbitration, *Local Government Service* for February 1944, (p. 21) said: "It has demonstrated beyond a shadow of a doubt the need—for which NALGO has long pressed—for a permanent, statutory, and impartial tribunal, with overriding powers, to determine conflicts between a local authority and its officers. Today under the National Arbitration Order we have such a tribunal, and every member of NALGO knows how many injustices, in the field of cost-of-living bonus, war service pay, and other matters, it has enabled the association to remedy. But the Conditions of Employment and National Arbitration Order is a temporary wartime measure and it may go after the war along with other emergency legislation. We must ensure that, if it does, we do not return to the position as it was before the war, but that some other body no less powerful and comprehensive in its jurisdiction takes its place."

Local Government Franchise in England

The Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform and Redistribution of Seats, which reported last June, proposed a radical change in the local government franchise. It recommended the assimilation of the local government and parliamentary franchises.

Unlike parliamentary elections, local government elections in England have not been on the basis of universal suffrage. The principle of no representation without taxation has been in force; citizens renting furnished rooms, adult children living with their parents and servants "living in" have not had the local franchise. Therefore two voting registers have been kept, one for each set of elections.

The question of electoral reform arose this year because plans for the resumption of local and parliamentary elections are being considered. For the fifth year, local elections were postponed for 1944. Principal reasons were that the local register is out of date and that local staffs are so depleted that elections would interfere with more important work. The only wartime register maintained has been that for parliamentary elections under the Parliamentary Electors (Wartime Registration) Act, 1943. When a vacancy occurs in a local government council during the war, someone duplicating the past member's political affiliation is appointed to fill it.

The 32 members of the Speaker's Conference (29 from the House of Commons, three from the House of Lords) were appointed last February and were asked to consider, among other matters, reform of the parliamentary and local government franchises including possible merger of the two. Groups representing the Association of Municipal Corporations and the County Councils Association came out in favor of assimilation of the two franchises. In addition to the merits of extending the local franchise, the fact that by assimilation local government elections could be held much sooner because of the available parliamentary register was a factor in favor of the merger.

The report of the Conference states: "The local government franchise shall be assimilated to the parliamentary franchise and the parliamentary and local government elections shall be held on the same register, provided that peers shall not lose their right to vote in local government elections." The reception of this part of the report has been, in general, favorable. Inasmuch as the last registers showed 24,000,000 on the local government elector roll and 32,000,000 on the parliamentary roll, 8,000,000 new voters will be added if the proposals of the Conference are put into effect.

Although the question was brought up before the Speaker's Conference issued its report, there has been little interest shown in providing a system of absentee voting for local elections advocated by a few individuals.

English Local Borrowing Regulations Discussed

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir John Anderson, has sent a memorandum to the local authority associations for their observations outlining the government's proposals on borrowing by local governments after the war. Stating that large capital expenditures, both public and private, "will be vitally necessary in the national interest and it is essential that [they] should be financed not merely in an orderly manner but as cheaply as possible," the memorandum goes on to outline a proposed postwar policy which will permit borrowing to be centrally controlled and timed.

All local authorities should, with certain exceptions, "borrow only from a central source which will be supplied with the necessary funds by the treasury." The advantages of such a plan are outlined as follows. "The necessary funds will be raised by the treasury as and when it is most convenient from the point of view of its general borrowing program and of the state of the market from time to time. Local authorities will get essential finance whenever they need it and will not be subject to market delays. The rates of interest of their borrowing will be determined by the central government's own credit, as measured by the market rates for treasury issues of corresponding periods, with the addition of a very small charge for management expenses."

The exceptions are that a local authority should be free to borrow surplus funds which other local authorities have available for investment, and to borrow from its own sinking funds, superannuation funds and other similar internal funds. In addition, a local authority may borrow temporarily by bank overdraft and it may borrow by a mortgage of rates and other revenue to provide for repayments of existing mortgages.

Previously, local authorities had access to the money market much like private borrowers and could issue securities. Also, their borrowing by mortgage was not limited as is now proposed. With few exceptions, local governments in England have not been able to borrow except with the consent of the proper central government department, usually the Ministry of Health.

Books in Review

Cities of Latin America. Housing and Planning to the South. By Francis Violich. New York City, Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1944. xii, 241 pp. $3.50.

It is indeed a refreshing experience to read a book which discusses Latin American countries in terms not only of what they can learn from us but also of what we can learn from them. This is especially true in the housing and planning field, long regarded as a near-monopoly by North Americans. The experience is still more rewarding when the author is as competent an observer as Francis Violich.

There is much in the book that is not new. The people of this country have long been conditioned to accounts of the general technical backwardness of Latin America, to its deplorable slum conditions, and to its lack of adequate sanitary facilities. But few have pointed out why these phenomena exist or have taken the trouble to give a picture of the other side of the ledger.

There are four essential ways in which Latin American cities differ from ours: "in their age since settlement, in their economic youth and unbalanced industrial development, in the concentration of population, and in the strong influence from Europe" (page 45). The second factor, especially, explains many of the deplorable conditions which exist.

The reader may be surprised to find how old some of the "modern" city planning techniques are in America. The founding of the "majestically planned" city of Macchu Picchu 1500 years ago is an example of how long city planning has been taking place in Latin America.

As one goes through the pages rich in description and understanding of housing and planning problems of our neighbors to the south, one begins to see Latin America not only in physical terms, but culturally, socially, and economically as well.

We can learn from the Latins. This is the most important conclusion the author draws. Besides many variations of technique, we can learn "to make our sterile cities more human, more habitable, more urbane. We can learn how satisfactory are less material values, and we can give vigor to our still immature, newly-emerging culture. We can slow down our frantic pace, and reshape our cities for increased leisure and more pleasant living" (page 202). "Compare the community use of the beaches of Montevideo and Rio de Janeiro with privileged use at Miami Beach, Florida, or the beaches of the Los Angeles area. . . . In Rio de Janeiro, in Montevideo, in every other Latin American seaside city which I visited, I found not a single case where private privilege had preference over public use of natural scenic areas" (page 203). And finally as to social democracy: "In front of the Copacabana Palace Hotel (Brazil), the lowliest worker, black, white, or tan, can sunbathe along with the highest diplomats. Yet we call ourselves democratic!" (page 204).

Property private or public has a social use which is primary. This we can learn from the Latins.

E. W. W.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Absentee Voting

Absentee Voting Information for the Men and Women of the Armed Forces of All the United States. New York, Young Republican Club, 1944. 53 pp.

Assessment

Should the United States Adopt the British System of Assessing Realty? By Arthur Collins, etc. New York 10, Tax Institute, 1944. 31 pp. 50 cents.

City Planning

City Plan, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1943. Salt Lake City, City Planning and Zoning Commission, 1943. 87 pp. Maps, illus.

Los Angeles: Its People and Its Homes. By Earl Hanson and Paul Beckett. Los Angeles, California, The Haynes Foundation, 1944. viii, 209 pp.

Master Plan of Residential Land Use of Chicago. Chicago, The Chicago Plan Commission, 1943. 134 pp.

Tacoma the City We Build. A Report from the Mayor's Research Committee on Urban Problems. Tacoma, Washington, City Council, 1944. vi, 147 pp.

Your Dallas of Tomorrow. A Master Plan for a Greater Dallas. Report No. 1, Character of the City; Report No. 2, Scope of the City Plan. St. Louis, Missouri, Harland Bartholomew and Associates, 1943. 51 pp.

Constitutions

State of New Jersey. Revised Constitution for the State Agreed Upon by the One Hundred Sixty-eighth Legislature. To be submitted to the people for their approval and ratification or rejection, as a whole, at the General Election on November 7, 1944. Trenton, New Jersey, Secretary of State, 1944. 29 pp.

Summary of Major Changes Embodied in the Proposed Revised Constitution for the State of New Jersey. Newark 2, New Jersey Constitution Foundation, 1944. 6 pp.

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Housing for the United States After the War. Chicago 37, National Association of Housing Officials, 1944. xix, 65 pp. 50 cents.

Housing Yearbook 1944. Chicago 37, National Association of Housing Officials, 1944. vii, 176 pp. $3.

Rental Housing Operation January 1939 through June 1943. Washington, D. C., Office of Price Administration, Rent Department, Program and Analysis Branch, 1944. 25 pp.

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Judicial Review of Legislation in Ten Selected States. By Oliver P. Field. Bloomington, Indiana University, Bureau of Government Research, 1943. 81 pp.

Recreation

Standards. Playgrounds, Playfields, Recreation Buildings, Indoor Recreation Facilities. New York 10, National Recreation Association, 1943. 16 pp.

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Balances of State General, Highway, and Postwar—Reserve—Funds in 1943. By V. J. Wyckoff. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1944. 12 pp.

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County Finances 1942 Compendium.[1] Washington, D. C., U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1944. 490 pp. $1.

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Wartime Conference Papers — 1944. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance*, August 1944. 31 pp. 50 cents.

Why Tax Business? Edited by Mabel L. Walker. New York 10, Tax Institute, 1944. 5 pp. 25 cents.

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[1] For a review of this volume see p. 491, this issue.

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Toward the Peace

AS the National Municipal League observes the 50th anniversary of its founding, the civilized world is becoming more certain of victory over the forces which sought to enslave us.

Though victory seems certain, it is not yet near. Great tasks lie ahead of us. We cannot let down for a moment, either now or later. This time we must win the peace and we must win it in the larger sense. Only by finding a common basis of world citizenship and by accepting far-reaching and progressive social change can we hope to secure the economic and social security which will make any peace real and lasting.

We must have faith in ourselves, in our institutions and in our abilities to adapt our way of life to the needs of today and to the challenge of tomorrow. We must make democracy work. That is the price of responsible citizenship in our country and in the world. Every citizen and every nation must accept the full responsibilities of freedom.

One of the earliest evidences of civilization was the establishment of the town and the city. It marked man's first effort to live on common ground and to stabilize that living. Some of our simplest but most important concepts have grown out of that experience. Much has been added to family life because of community life—neighborliness, common schooling, the town hall, the church—these and other simple, homely institutions we have come to accept so completely that we are hardly aware of the effort and the slow evolution that created them.

As small communities grew into municipalities and society advanced in its concepts of justice and service, we find a growing sense of protection accorded the citizen because we came to realize the greater worth of human life, and so we set up our courts and lighted and policed our streets and organized our water systems and our fire departments. We established boards of health. We set up schools to give the child a chance.

In doing all this, we enlarged and complicated the problem of administration and control. But we learned to improve our techniques and to make local government responsible to the people.

It is significant that impressive progress has come during the lifetime of the League. We are grateful, as an organization, that we have been able to be helpful in bringing improvement to these techniques and in making the citizen's control over them more certain.

In the postwar world, in the true winning of the peace, the municipalities will be the chief centers of activity and change. In them the League will find new and greater opportunities for service.

JOHN G. WINANT, President,
National Municipal League, and
Ambassador to Great Britain

The League and the Future

The responsibilities and opportunities of the League have not diminished; they are greater now than they ever have been in the course of the past 50 years.

By CHARLES A. BEARD

MORE than a hundred years ago, Alexis de Tocqueville, the distinguished French observer, made a survey of American civilization and political institutions. The results of his work he summarized in his *Democracy in America,* which is still the most discerning treatise on American society ever written by a foreigner. Indeed, it may be said with justice that nothing comparable to it has come from the pen of a native American.

Among the characteristics of American society which made a deep impression on Tocqueville, even back in the days of Andrew Jackson, was the number and variety of associations formed for political, moral, commercial and other purposes. To him it seemed that there was no object attainable to the human will which Americans despaired of achieving through the formation of associations and the conduct of associational activities.

In the course of American history since Tocqueville's time the strength of this propensity in American character has been even more amply demonstrated. It is among the best guarantees that we have for the future of civilization, constitutional government and civil liberty in the United States. When all associations of citizens have been *gleichgeshaltet* what remains save the totalitarian state?

Near the close of the nineteenth century, to be precise in January 1894, the associational spirit, so long evident in American society, found expression in the formation of the National Municipal League, "composed of associations formed in American cities for the improvement of municipal government." The call for the first meeting was sponsored by many eminent leaders of the time, such as Theodore Roosevelt, Carl Schurz, Charles W. Eliot, Richard T. Ely and Charles J. Bonaparte.

But among the rank and file of men and women who carried the main burden of the work done by the League were innumerable persons whose names seldom if ever appear in written histories of the age and are utterly unknown to their beneficiaries. This anonymity is also a characteristic of most associational activities. Those who labor and bear burdens find their rewards in good work conscientiously done, not in the prestige and emoluments sought by the ambitious.

The League was founded in stirring times. The country was then in the midst of a periodic depression. Strikes and unrest were abroad in the land. By leaps and bounds cities had been growing in population, wealth, poverty, slums and degradation. During the preceding years scandals and frauds in national, state and local government had been unearthed in shocking forms. At that very hour Brooks Adams was working on *The Law of Civilization and Decay* which was to warn Americans of deep perils close at hand. James Russell Lowell had wondered whether the Republic could weather the storms. Even Walt Whitman had been haunted by disturbing doubts about the success of the democracy to which he had paid such lavish tributes in line and verse.

Groping for a Program

Like many associations the League at first had no very comprehensive program of action. Perhaps the leading idea of the men who sponsored it was the belief that good government could be achieved if good men were elected to places of power in municipal government. Although they were often sneered at as "goo-goos" or "men-milliners," there was something in the idea that decency in legislators and administrators is necessary to decency in government, whatever its particular form. But others among the sponsors, Richard T. Ely, for example, knew very well that mere honesty was not enough, that the exposure of corruption was not enough, that many sources of municipal ills lay deep in the social and economic conditions of the great cities. Yet it was characteristic of American life that men and women of widely differing social philosophies could work together in a common cause, helping it without stopping their other work or surrendering their personal convictions. So the National Municipal League set out bravely and flourished.

Broadly speaking, its development has fallen into three stages. At first it served as a kind of clearing house for information on municipal government and activities and as a point of contact for thousands of men and women in all parts of the country who were laboring to improve conditions in their own communities. At the annual conferences of the League papers on various phases of municipal government were read and discussed and the annual volumes of the "National Conference on Good City Government" provided students and citizens with invaluable materials on the science and art of municipal administration. Unrecorded and yet of immeasurable influence were the exchanges of ideas and experiences among members of the League during the two or three days of the annual sessions.

Students who pore over the aging records of the League may find them rather thin in many places and lacking in wide discernment, as compared with the wealth and critical excellence of materials at the command of citizens and practitioners today. But it is well to remember that in 1894 no great works on municipal government in the United States were available. There were some books on municipal law and minor treatises on aspects of city government. Yet knowledge of municipal affairs was scanty and fragmentary in those days—a booklet here and there, stray articles in newspapers and magazines, numerous special pamphlets.

One only has to compare a bibliography of 1894 with a bibliography of 1944 to discover how densely ignorant we were 50 years ago in trying to deal with the uprushing Leviathans—American cities. I am painfully aware of the fact for it was about 1895 that I began my long searches into the history and nature of American government, and I know from experience that the publications of the League, meager and limited as they were, served as a kind of godsend to students. I know also that the secretary of the League, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, long served as an unfailing aid to students and citizens in quest of current information on municipal affairs in widely scattered cities. If he had clippings at hand he would send them to us. If nothing printed was available to him he wrote fully out of his own knowledge won by study and by contacts with key persons in various parts of the country.

The Second Stage

What may be called for convenience the second stage in the development of the League began in 1912 when a quarterly journal, the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, was substituted for the annual volume containing papers presented at the annual conference. Clinton Rogers Woodruff acted as editor and Charles A. Beard, John A. Fairlie, Adelaide R. Hasse, John A. Lapp and Arthur Crosby Ludington as associate editors. Two general ideas controlled this undertaking.

The first was to reach a wider audience and maintain a more continuous discussion of municipal concerns than was possible by the publication of a bulky volume of proceedings each year. The conferences were continued as before, the annual proceedings were reported and selected papers were published; but it was the design of the editors to make a quarterly report on all phases of municipal progress in all parts of the country and, indeed, in other parts of the world.

The second idea which the editors had in mind was to give extended consideration to municipal functions as well as to the machinery of city government. The opening page of the first number of the REVIEW announced the new emphasis in the following words: "Believing, with George Bernard Shaw, that 'man lives not by tramway statistics alone,' neither by political machinery alone, the editors will accord full treatment to municipal functions and welfare enterprises, as well as to ballot laws, charters, and bureaus of municipal research."

Besides publishing leading articles on various aspects of municipal government, the editors established four regular departments: municipal reports, current municipal legislation, events and personalia in city affairs and book reviews. From time to time sections were added on special municipal documents.

The following selected heads from early numbers of the new Review indicate the range of its interest: administration in general, bakeshop inspection, billboards, budgets, building construction, charters and ordinances, child welfare, city planning, civil service, courts, debt, employment bureaus, excess condemnation, finance, fire service, food and drug regulations, hospitals, housing, insurance, labor conditions, libraries, light and power plants, markets, milk supply, municipal accounting, lodging houses, municipal theaters, museums and art galleries, parks, pensions, playgrounds, police, poor, port development, public baths, public charities, public health, public works, refuse disposal, sanitation, school hygiene, schools, sewerage, street railways, streets, taxation, traffic regulation, water supply.

Dull? Yes, to the dull mind incapable of seeing the human interests involved in all the activities reviewed. *Old Stuff*? Yes, to the bright youth of our day with vast libraries of classified materials now at their disposal. *Significant*? Yes, for the struggle of American democracy to transform cities into dwelling and working places worthy of civilized human beings.

In this way the National Municipal League sought to make available to citizens and officials in all parts of the country indices to and news of achievements in the most progressive and enlightened communities—to inform as well as inspire citizens and officials in their uphill battles.

While the League was moving forward in this second stage of its development, interest was growing in municipal affairs and finding expression in the formation of new organizations for the promotion of special activities. At length an almost bewildering variety of associations had sprung up. Some were in close affiliation with the League. Others were pursuing an independent course. Before many years had passed there was scarcely a phase of municipal government and economy that was unrepresented by a society for municipal improvement. Citizens and officials had drawn together in associations to advance every kind of civic undertaking from charter-making tc accounting, from housing to city planning. The literature of city affairs had grown so large and so technical that no person could hope to master it all. This was in short an age of intense specialization.

The Third Stage

More or less in relation to that turn in affairs, and particularly under the leadership of Richard S. Childs, the National Municipal League entered upon the third stage of its career. Its headquarters were moved to New York City. The quarterly Review was changed into a monthly Review. Emphasis was laid again upon the machinery of city government and campaigns were launched to promote the adoption of the city manager form of government. The Review no longer attempted to cover all the functions and services of city government. Model charters and other documents pertaining to government, administration and civil service were published; a consultant service was established to furnish cities, officials and civic organizations with expert guidance in dealing with special problems of municipal life; at the central office of the League an agency was set up to give advice to citizens interested in organizing or promoting the work of local associations, to local societies and committees engaged in remodelling governments or creating and administering particular services, and to public officials desirous of having the light of experience in other cities thrown upon their own questions and difficulties. In other words, the League continued and expanded its function as a clearing house for collecting and distributing information on the arts, sciences and methods of municipal improvement.

Although programs for municipal government sponsored by the League have been put into effect in hundreds of cities large and small, from one end of the country to the other, and many of the aims which were mere dreams 50 years ago have been realized, the responsibilities and opportunities of the League as a general organization have by no means diminished. On the contrary they are greater now than they ever have been in the course of the past 50 years. The growth of highly specialized associations has relieved it of many technical burdens. Innumerable associations dealing with administration in general and in detail can supply officials and citizens with information and guidance in respect of such matters as finance, accounts, public works, public housing and public health.

All such progress in municipal science has been to the good. But innumerable problems of municipal government that are general in nature yet remain untouched by this specialization. In fact the number and complexity of these issues have been increased in recent years.

New Problems

In the long course of the League's history, the position and functions of the city in American society have actually undergone a revolution. It is no longer a question of an autonomous municipality well governed within its borders. While the city has been gaining more home rule in respect to its form of government and many of its functions, its relations to state government have multiplied in many directions—financial, legal and operational, for instance. Furthermore new connections with the federal government and its numerous agencies have been established. Some of these connections are through the state government, others are direct. Was it not the federal government that came to the aid of cities during the great depression when they were threatened with bankruptcy? Federal legislation and administration in respect of taxation, housing and social security impinge immediately on the powers and activities of cities. It takes whole volumes now to tell the story of this alteration in the issues and duties of city governments throughout the United States.

It is no longer enough to consider municipal affairs mainly in terms of home rule, model charters and autonomous forms of government. Instead of easing the strain of thought about municipal government, the intense specialization of recent years has intensified it, has raised a new issue. Who is to do the general thinking about municipal government that encompasses all the disparate specialties, that gives unity to them, that considers the city as a self-governing body of citizens in its new relations to the state government and the federal government? What organization is best fitted by its history and experience to take leadership in fostering this kind of thinking and searching, in bringing together persons and associations concerned in it, and in putting the results of the work in general circulation?

America has no dearth of technicians—the crying need 50 years ago. Now there are multitudes of men and women who are technicians, and often little if anything more. They are indispensable but not enough. Hitler has had plenty of technicians. But his combination of astrology and technology has not excited the envy of civilized people anywhere. Nor can it be truly called an unmitigated success even for the German people. Certainly this can be correctly deemed an understatement.

The Fourth Stage

Herein lies, as I am given to see things, the opportunity of the National Municipal League to enter upon the fourth stage of its development, by taking leadership in fostering anew the general consideration of the whole art and science of municipal government in relation to state and federal affairs. This would, of course, be no sharp break in its history. It would be indeed a continuation and expansion of the general interest in municipal affairs that marked its first stage of development, combined with the several interests which were subsequently taken into account, and a new consideration of the whole field in the light of the present setting—as we face the future. If it be said that this is emphasis on theory, my answer is that all practice springs out of some theory, precise or muddled, and that without theory practice is rudderless. Take, for instance, the theory of 1787, namely, that the United States needed a constitution.

In its membership and among its officials the National Municipal League has a body of citizens who, whatever their special concerns, have a general interest in the whole city—its place, role, functions and obligations in American society. No other association in the country is so constituted. No other organization is, in my opinion, so well fitted to look at the city as a whole, in relation to all its responsibilities. None is better prepared to promote the development and diffusion of knowledge pertaining thereunto, thereby more effectively equipping American citizens for those indispensable tasks which transcend, while making use of, each and every specialization—tasks which must be assumed if the ideal of the city just, efficient and beautiful is to be more than a shimmering mirage.

Many indefeasible tendencies of the times, I am convinced, mark out for the League this more general opportunity and function in the years ahead. Although the League throughout its existence has laid emphasis on the methods, processes and mechanics of municipal improvement, leaders in the organization and, no doubt, most of the rank and file, have taken a double view of their work. The techniques of municipal improvement have been regarded as expressions of enlightened civic interest and as instruments for the accomplishment of civic ideals.

At the same time one of the supreme purposes of the League, from the beginning, has been the development of an informed, responsible and active citizenry capable of using such instrumentalities in the public interest. In short the League's model charters, model laws and other standards for guidance in municipal affairs have not been looked upon as ends in themselves but as agencies for the achievement of ends related to the good life in municipalities; to the preparation of citizens for efficient participation in public affairs and for the enjoyment of the activities associated with this participation.

After 50 Years

Immense changes in American life since 1894 have enlarged and increased the responsibilities of governmental and associational agencies in advancing civilization — indeed in safeguarding American society against internal disasters and the perils of international impacts. Concurrently in many respects the education of our people for political and civic duties has made rapid strides.

A personal note may give concreteness to this general statement. On the desk before me lies the only book relative to civic affairs which I studied in high school a few years before the National Municipal League was established. It is *A School History of the United States* by W. H. Venable. Although it contains several trite references to inventions, literature and the fine arts, it is mainly a record of political contests, wars and presidential administrations. More space is given to the nature of the Indians than to anything that bears on the intimate social life of the newcomers—the American people.

In the last paragraph of my text book I was informed by the hopeful author: "The student who has studied thoughtfully the annals of the past will be better able to judge concerning the significance of present events and tendencies. He will be able to enter into the spirit of the time, and to take an intelligent interest in politics, society, and civilization. He should supplement the knowledge already acquired by reading the important current news of the day. . . .

This land is like an eagle, whose young gaze
Feeds on the noontide beam, whose golden plume
Floats moveless on the storm, and in the blaze
Of sunrise gleams when earth is wrapt in gloom. . . ."

When I rode to graduation on an examination in Mr. Venable's history, I could give the dates of all the presidential administrations—and I have no quarrel with that—but I knew no more about my community than the little I picked up at home, play and school, and my knowledge of American government and society as going concerns was fearful and wonderful! Such was my "education" for the fate that befell me in the coming 50 years and for the opportunities taken and missed.

Consider the changes since Mr. Venable illuminated the path for young citizens in those ancient days. Historical instruction has been widened to include social and economic activities, as well as political battles. In their social studies boys and girls are now encouraged to take an interest in their communities and in wider circles, and they are given definite instruction in community associations, functions and services. From the concreteness of community affairs they are led into the study of state and national affairs, more difficult for them to grasp, and their interests are widened to larger horizons.

In the experiences of social practice and of education is to be found one of the prime secrets of such success as Americans have achieved in the discharge of their civic responsibilities. No people can govern themselves on a large scale until they have acquired or developed the capacity to govern themselves on a small scale. From colonial times American society and political institutions have expressed this idea and have been so organized as to permit and encourage self-government in communities. On this basis rest the states and the union of states. And civic education in our schools now seeks to give youth knowledge of this complicated system and to encourage habits of participation.

Thus care for civic education merges in the growing consciousness of the American people that, apart from their individual interests, they are members of this great society and, as citizens, must function in groups —political and private. It is by the conduct of and coordination of such activities that they can keep alive the capacity for self-government and preserve those social decencies and liberties which are to be regarded as the prime values of American civilization.

To success in self-governing activities great bodies of workable knowledge and continuous readjustments in the light of "stubborn and irreducible facts" are indispensable. If this be true, and I believe it is, then the National Municipal League, as it enters upon a new stage in its long course, will face still greater challenges to the civic talents that it can muster.

Rising Tide of Civic Progress

The American people were led by the early "reformers" to a realization that bettering city government was perhaps the most important problem at the close of the 19th century.

By **CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF**
First Secretary, National Municipal League

IN 1893 there was a civic stirring in the tree tops. There was a recently-formed City Club in New York, a Municipal League in Philadelphia, one in Boston and a considerable interest in other cities; yet the number of these civic groups throughout the entire country did not exceed 50.

A municipal problem of large proportions confronted these early civic leaders. From every hand came the same story—wastefulness, inefficiency, all too frequent scandals and the rule of the least estimable and the least trustworthy.

Why was this so? It was not due solely to the rapid growth of American cities during the last 30 years of the nineteenth century, nor to the increase in number and extent of municipal functions, nor to universal suffrage which gave the large numbers of foreign-born the vote.

A municipal problem existed because a sense of right in favor of municipal efficiency and honesty did not exist. During much of the nineteenth century opportunities in mercantile and manufacturing pursuits were sufficiently broad and undeveloped to absorb the time and attention of all the capable men willing to work in them. Public offices under the spoils system were filled inefficiently by politicians, and the expensiveness and extravagance of municipal corruption and mismanagement were widespread. Yet for many decades this was not great enough to arouse citizens. Municipal government was secondary to the state and national branches of government, and its policies were likewise.

Some of the most forward-looking of these early civic leaders began to discuss the possibility of holding a national conference of local civic organizations to find ways of furthering local reform. After much correspondence and discussion the Municipal League of Philadelphia, on December 29, 1893, sent out a call for a national conference. It said in part:

"The Municipal League of Phila-

delphia, with the cooperation of the City Club of New York, has decided to issue a call for a National Conference for Good City Government, to be held in Philadelphia on the 25th and 26th of January, 1894.

"The principal objects of the Conference will be to determine, so far as possible by inquiry and debate, the best means for stimulating and increasing the rapidly growing demand for honest and intelligent government in American cities, and to discuss the best methods for combining and organizing the friends of reform so that their united strength may be made effective."

The call was signed by more than one hundred leaders of municipal and civic affairs, principally from Philadelphia and New York, but also from a wide range of other cities.

The League Is Born

Of the Philadelphia Conference the presiding officer, James C. Carter, president of the City Club of New York and at the time the leader of the American Bar, said in his opening remarks:

"No higher distinction could be conferred upon me than to call upon me to preside over an assemblage such as this, composed of delegates from the principal cities, who have assembled together to take counsel concerning the great problems of municipal government and concerning the methods by which that government can be made the best.

"I hail the impulse which has brought us together as the sure evidence of a renewal in our minds of the sense and consciousness of our public duties as citizens.

"It means to me a conviction on our part that while our patriotism should extend to and embrace the remotest parts of our land, yet it should begin and find its principal source of action at home. It means, I think, a conviction that our city governments and the great interests which are confided to them are everywhere subjected to the mismanagement of ignorance, and surrendered to the rapacity of spoil seekers, and this is in large part the consequence of our own apathy. It means, I think, a conviction that if we would have our cities well governed, we must give to them something of the same attention we devote to our homes. It means a conviction that a large part of the evils which beset us in national politics are engendered and aggravated by the corruption of municipal politics, and the time has arrived when we should rescue our city governments and the trusts reposed in them from the domination of those interests which control national politics.

"I hail this movement as indicative of a rising tide of civic patriotism. Let us hope it may swell to a flood which may reach all the cities of our government, and carry with it a beneficent influence."

Out of the Philadelphia meeting grew the National Municipal League, formally organized in New York City in May 1894. It at once entered upon its work, and proceeded to bring together through its affiliated membership the leading municipal reform organizations of the country, through its associate membership the leading students of municipal government, and through its annual conferences both these elements for a mutual exchange of views and a detailed study of the situation.

One of the immediate results was a multiplication of civic organizations. In the North Atlantic group in 1894 there were 27 organizations; in 1895, 79; and in 1896, 121—an increase of 451 per cent in two years. In the South Atlantic states there were two organizations in 1894, both to be found in one city; in 1895 there were thirteen, distributed among three states; and in 1896, seventeen in five states. The Northern Central states in 1894 had fourteen to their credit; in 1895, 54; in 1896, 78. In the Southern Central states in 1894 there was not a single reform body or any organization devoting much time or attention to any phase of the municipal problem. In 1895, however, there were seven, and in 1896, fifteen associations working strenuously for a betterment of civic affairs. In the Western group the one of 1894 grew to the 23 of 1895, and the 36 of 1896.

At the Philadelphia Conference the feeling on the part of students of municipal government and those interested in its improvement was largely one of hopelessness. The papers read at the Philadelphia meeting set forth a condition of affairs sufficient to fill the most stouthearted with a feeling of dismay.

Nevertheless, the thought was present in the minds of many that a careful study of municipal conditions and a frequent exchange of views would not only clear the atmosphere but also might lead eventually to the adoption of a program of action upon which union for definite work might be possible. Several of the speeches looked toward this end. Indeed, the proposition was advanced that there should be formed an organization having for its object the study of American municipal conditions as a precedent to the formulation of a "municipal program."

There was a conviction, however, shared quite as much by those who held this view as by those who were doubtful of its wisdom or expediency, that the time was not ripe for the formulation of a municipal program. Sentiment had not crystallized.

A New Era

Four conferences — those held in Minneapolis (1894), Cleveland (1895), Baltimore (1896) and Louisville (1897)—were devoted to a consideration of actual municipal conditions. The papers presented formed an important contribution to the study of municipal government as it actually existed in the United States, and furnished a substantial basis for municipal publicists in their efforts to better American municipal conditions.

In some respects the Louisville conference, the fifth of the series, may be considered the most important held up to that time. In the first place the meeting marked the beginning of a new era in the work of the National Municipal League. Theretofore the meetings had been devoted to a statement of municipal conditions and to a discussion of the lessons which they taught. There had been no attempt to formulate a program for adoption or to construct a platform upon which municipal campaigns should be waged. No such

(Continued on page 572)

The League's Second Stretch

At the end of its first half century the League remains principal custodian of the problems which concern the practical relationships of citizens to their governments.

By **RICHARD S. CHILDS**

IN 1910 a new pot began to boil—Progressivism! Where the militant reformers of 1894 had campaigned against the alliance of officeholders with crime, red lights, etc., the Progressives went out against the alliance of politics and special privilege, having as their earliest target in California, for instance, the Southern Pacific Railroad and its political activities. Elsewhere their villains included public utilities in alliance with political machines and the general ascendency of big business in national and local political affairs.

Progressivism blossomed out with programs. In Oregon, under the leadership of William S. U'ren, it put its faith in the initiative, referendum and recall. Dr. C. F. Taylor, editor of the *Medical World* (still remembered in the Taylor Trust with its subventions to the League) also published *Equity* to support the adoption of these devices which he hoped would cure democracy's ailments. Another effort, sponsored by Lewis Jerome Johnson, professor of engineering at Harvard, extolled the advantages of the preferential ballot. C. G. Hoag, a University of Pennsylvania professor, crusaded for proportional representation and, through the accident of having a few hours spare time in Ashtabula, Ohio, walked into the local Chamber of Commerce, charged their batteries on the subject and secured its first American adoption there.

The commission form of municipal government was speeding swiftly. It had begun wholly by accident. Galveston, Texas, was wrecked by a tidal wave in 1900. Because of the inability of the mayor and council to cope with the crisis, a deep water committee, already in existence, assumed control. The success of this committee's work by reason of the efficiency of its members led the legislature to create a board of five commissioners for the government of Galveston, two appointed by the governor and three elected. Eventually a court declared the emergency had passed and that, if this type of government were to be continued, all the commissioners must be made locally elective. A good commission was elected and good government continued. Des Moines developed the setup by adding a nonpartisan ballot, the initiative, referendum and recall and a merit system. In this form the commission plan spread ultimately to more than 300 cities without any organized sponsorship and in obvious contradiction of some of the principles of the League's *Model City Charter*.

The effort for woman's suffrage was nearing its pinnacle and many of its promoters assured the world that when the women voted there would be no more political bossism or political corruption.

In New York City R. Fulton Cutting and others started a new adventure, the Bureau of Municipal Research (now the Institute of Public Administration) devoted to problems of administration which were too technical for volunteer citizens' committees or the typical civic organization. It developed techniques with particular emphasis on good budgetary and accounting procedures and ran a school, and its graduates went off to found bureaus in other cities.

Still another wave of revolt devised direct primaries, secured their adoption in place of party conventions in many states and learned in time that Utopia was still afar and that they had only provided to the party members an opportunity to express an opinion when they had no opinion to express.

And, as a New York advertising man five years out of college, unhampered by any practical knowledge of government, I came along with the short ballot idea, and later, the commission-manager plan, with enough of an organization to provide a letterhead and enough money from a generous father to crusade for my notions with press releases and pamphlets.

The Progressive party embraced all of these doctrines and organized in all the states. In New York State its convention was stampeded by "Suspender Jack" Magee to nominate Oscar Straus, a leading Jewish philanthropist, for governor to the tune of "Onward Christian Soldiers"!

Altogether a confusing time—the outstanding fact of the period being the avidity with which the public welcomed proposals for revising our institutions of government! It gagged only on recall of judicial decisions!

Caution and Study

In the middle of all this the National Municipal League kept its head and moved cautiously. It studied the commission plan but did not join the endorsers, a forebearance for which it remained everlastingly thankful as the many weaknesses of this form of government became apparent. It welcomed to its conferences the sponsors of the various panaceas but was not stampeded. It waited for evidence, and the *Model City Charter* with its provision for a simple structure, with a strong mayor, remained the embodiment of the League's constructive objectives.

In considering how to press for attention to the short ballot principle, a group headed by Woodrow Wilson which took me in hand in New York considered whether to work through the National Municipal League but was too impatient for unencumbered progress to feel like filtering its efforts through the older organization and decided to go it alone. Although the National Short Ballot Organization invited members and subscriptions and accumulated a considerable list of annual contributors, it never held conventions or undertook to build an organization competitive with the League. Most of its active spirits, indeed, were League members. It concentrated on pamphlets and press releases and set up local organizations which worked out and sponsored short ballot programs in New York State, Illinois, Ohio and elsewhere.

These efforts to cut off the tail of the state tickets became merged, in constitutional conventions and legislatures, with efforts originating with bureaus of municipal research looking toward better departmental organization of state governments. Governor Lowden's reorganization of Illinois was the first outstanding example. A number of states did shorten their ballots, without calling it that, in the course of administrative reorganizations and the object was achieved by that route with diminished antagonism.

In the municipal field the Short Ballot Organization made itself a lively center of information for charter commissions and citizens' organizations on the commission form of government, since, despite its faults, that form did provide a short ballot. My private pipe-dream for the correction of the major weakness of the commission plan by the addition of a city manager under the commission was written into the draft of a bill permissive to the second or third class cities of New York State, but the draft, when finished by H. S. Gilbertson, was rejected by the New York Short Ballot Organization directors, leaving me to look elsewhere for a sponsor, which I found presently in the Lockport Board of Trade. A little publicity put this variation of the commission plan[1] on the map very speedily. Sumter, South Carolina, adopted the plan in 1912, and a dozen cities, including Dayton, followed the next year.

In those days the League had only recently dropped its annual publication constituting the proceedings of its conferences in favor of a periodical, the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, which began in 1912 as a quarterly. It was converted in 1917 to a bi-monthly and in 1919 to a monthly publication, with greater opportunity for providing fresh news.

General to Specific

Clinton Rogers Woodruff, the original secretary of the League who had served since 1894, was a master of the art of keeping in personal touch with members by his diligent interest in everything that they were doing in the field, and his immense correspondence was a lively and important factor in the League's vitality. His annual reports of field events were faithful and complete. He rarely advanced opinions or original leadership but was expert in making the members feel they controlled the policy. That proprietary sense over the League and its affairs by great numbers of members from coast to coast has been important ever since in the League's life.

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[1] We called it the commission-manager plan at first to take advantage of the vogue for the commission plan and swerve the latter—a tactic which succeeded. The term "council - manager plan" came in later years and is now the accepted name.

To increase the acceptance of the League's program involved adopting publicity methods such as press releases, pamphleteering and helping local organizations to take up the new ideas with the League as the arsenal of information and enthusiasm—a role not altogether congenial to those who wanted the League to be simply a scholarly, dignified, scientific society.

There came a time when the council-manager plan had demonstrated its efficiency in practice—Dayton, especially, having had a remarkable success under its first city manager, Henry M. Waite, one of the most enlightened personalities who have worn the title—and the National Municipal League in 1916 re-wrote its *Model City Charter* to incorporate the city manager principle. This took away one reason for the separate existence of the Short Ballot Organization, and in 1920 it turned over its program to the League.

The same year, when Mr. Woodruff retired, Dr. Harold W. Dodds was made secretary, and the office was transferred to New York City. Charles Evans Hughes became president of the League.

Encouraged by the effectiveness of the *Model City Charter,* the League embarked upon the preparation of additional models. The useful and provocative word "model" was applied to the *Model Election Law, Model State Constitution, Model Municipal Bond Law, Model Budget Law* and others. The efforts of the office to extend acceptance of the concerted wisdom of the League's eminent committees were thereby fortified with concrete expressions of their findings in pamphlet form that were readily circulated and used. The League's pamphlet library developed rapidly and has continued to be a most useful and flexible feature of the League's work.

An example of this positive method was the array of practical help made available in printed form to local groups undertaking to bring about the adoption of the council-manager plan. The ammunition ranged from a digest of city charters and the services of draftsmen such as A. R. Hatton and Thomas H. Reed for the benefit of official charter revision commissions to newspaper articles, educational pamphlets, lists of speakers throughout the country qualified to discuss local government and advice on methods of campaigning.

Manager Plan Progress

The progress of the council-manager plan is one of the most apt yardsticks of the League's effectiveness—and the one customarily used—for the manager plan embraces in a single bundle virtually all those devices which not only the League but others who know their way about in local affairs recognize as essential to "good government." Thus, instead of having to campaign for a responsible but controlled executive, unification of powers, short ballot, annual budgets, merit system of appointments, the nonpartisan ballot, etc., the voters had but to say, "We want the council-manager plan," and all these things were added unto them. It was. in fact, much easier to secure good local government in one stroke than seriatim, for the very name of this streamlined form of government had a selling appeal.

Idealists who, like Lincoln, put their faith completely in the ultimate wisdom of the people, could not fail to be impressed also by the fact that campaigns for the adoption of the manager plan almost invariably were accompanied by great revivals of civic spirit and a more general understanding of local government, win or lose. It has been by no means rare for people to say, as the secretary of the Beatrice, Nebraska, Chamber of Commerce did last year after an unsuccessful campaign: "Although the election failed it did stimulate civic thinking more than anything that has happened in a good many years. As a matter of fact, it has improved the government."

The council-manager plan has marched steadily forward with new accessions up to the current 611 cities and counties in the world. The 585 in the United States cover 20 per cent of the country's urban population. There are twenty in Canada, five in Ireland,[2] and one in Puerto Rico. The reach of the League's program as expressed in the *Model City Charter* is by no means limited to those places which have the manager plan, however, for the principles and even the verbatim language are found everywhere in the basic laws of communities and states, taken directly or from one another.

The best *ex parte* inquiry into the manager plan's operation was made in 1937-39 when the Social Science Research Council financed a team of three field investigators who visited eighteen cities to acquire the detailed story of their experiences on the ground and arranged for similar studies by other qualified persons in 30 additional places. The evidence and findings fill three bound volumes of highly satisfactory testimony and leave on any objector a crushing burden of proof. Nowhere is there articulate doctrinal opposition to this or most other League remedies.

League's Field Today

The League today has no competitors and faces no opposing doctrines. Its programs, in fact, have been unchallenged for at least 25 years in so far as structure of government is concerned. The field of the League is usually construed to cover any problems of state and local government and civic affairs not handled by special societies. It looked in on housing to some extent but special societies take care of that now. "Administration" has become increasingly technical, a matter for health officers, engineers, city planners and other experts with their own societies and programs. The League formed the Municipal Administration Service dedicated to collecting and re-issuing the findings of the bureaus of municipal research and others on administrative questions. It was cheerfully turned over to the Public Administration Clearing House when that group of societies of public officials was organized with Spelman Fund money in Chicago. As Public Administration Service, it has become a publisher of manuals and studies in administration, serving all the administrative societies, and conducting in addition local surveys and installations of municipal departments. The specialists in problems of administration have formed the American Society for Public Administration and are publishing their own *Public Administration Review.*

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[2] The 26 counties in Eire (Ireland) are also now administered by county managers in accordance with a 1940 act of the Dail.

Subsequent recognitions show that the League did well in its selection of secretaries.

Dr. Dodds, a young postgraduate in 1920, worked with President Hughes and when Hughes became Secretary of State was sent on special missions by the State Department to install our model election law with appropriate adaptations in Nicaragua and to help General Pershing adjudicate the Tacna-Arica boundary dispute. Later he joined the Princeton faculty, continuing to edit the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW on a part-time basis and then, one pleasant afternoon, a trustee looked in with the unexpected news that he was president of the university. In his term as secretary he fortified the committees that were creating "models" by his own scholarship and thoroughness and enriched our programs.

His successor, Russell Forbes, carried on with successful energy and a good sense of organization and graduated from our service to a task of fabulous difficulty—that of organizing the new office of commissioner of purchase for the City of New York under Mayor LaGuardia, with results that still save the city millions per year.

Howard P. Jones, in the depression years, developed our friendships with bankers who were interested in our *Model Bond Law,* and set up the Consultant Service which made numerous financial and administrative surveys of cities which needed diagnosis and remedy. Jones became a civil service commissioner of New York State and later a deputy state comptroller until he was called into the Army in 1943 to serve as a major in Allied Military Government. At present he is in Europe enjoying important recognition.

At the close of the first half century, during which many other organizations have come and gone, the League remains principal custodian of the problems which concern practical relationships of citizens to their governments, forms of government, election procedures, protection of citizens in their voting rights, procedures of government to facilitate comprehension and control by the citizens and, last but not least, technically-armed idealism for citizens.

Citizenship and Mechanisms

That the League's programs tend to be mechanistic may be admitted. Certainly they are based on scientifically sound action, not on preaching. Correcting the faulty mechanisms of self-government just happens to be our business, for, in seeking more workable forms of democratic government in states, counties and cities and in furnishing fact-ammunition to those in the local front line trenches, the League has demonstrated hundreds of times that this is the high road to effective good citizenship. The difficulties of popular government in America are frequently mechanistic and responsive to mechanistic solutions; our field is the practical application of political

(Continued on page 530)

James C. Carter
Founder
President, 1894-1903

Theodore Roosevelt
Founder

Louis D. Brandeis
Member, First Executive Committee

Milestones of the First 50 Years

By **FRANK M. STEWART**
University of California at Los Angeles

THE post Civil War era witnessed a tremendous physical growth of cities and expansion of municipal activities. From the standpoint of administration it was a period of disintegration, waste and inefficiency. Political machines and bosses plundered many communities. The period has been justly described as the "Dark Ages" of American municipal history.

With beginnings in the seventies and increased strength in the eighties, the early nineties saw the full flowering of municipal reform groups. The Municipal League of Philadelphia was created in 1891 and the City Club of New York in 1892. These two organizations joined on December 29, 1893, in issuing a call for a conference on city government.

1894-1897. The first National Conference for Good City Government was held in Philadelphia January 25-26, 1894. This Conference authorized appointment of a committee to prepare a plan for the organization of a National Municipal League.

Meeting at the City Club of New York on May 28-29, 1894, delegates from fifteen reform associations completed the organization of the League by the adoption of a constitution and by-laws and the election of officers. James C. Carter of New York was elected president; Clinton Rogers Woodruff of Philadelphia, secretary; R. Fulton Cutting, New York, treasurer; and Charles J. Bonaparte, Baltimore, chairman of the Executive Committee. Before the end of the year George Burnham, Jr., succeeded Mr. Cutting as treasurer.

Headquarters of the League were established in Philadelphia. National conferences for good city

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Editor's Note.—This article is condensed from the author's study, *A Half Century of Municipal Progress—The History of the National Municipal League,* in manuscript form awaiting publication.

government were held at Minneapolis, Cleveland, Baltimore and Louisville within the next three years. Proceedings of these meetings and of the first conference at Philadelphia were edited by Secretary Woodruff and published. Several small pamphlets were also prepared. The League assumed the role of a coordinator of municipal reform efforts.

Most significant outcome of these League conferences was adoption by the Louisville meeting in 1897 of a resolution for the appointment of a committee to prepare a municipal program.

1898-1899. The Committee on Municipal Program, under the chairmanship of Horace E. Deming, New York, made a preliminary report to the League Conference at Indianapolis in 1898 and its final report in 1899 at the Columbus conference.

1900-1903. Proposals of the committee and eleven explanatory and supplementary papers were published by the League in 1900 under the title, *A Municipal Program.*

Committees were appointed to study problems of instruction in municipal government in colleges and in the public schools, uniform municipal accounting and statistics, and nomination reform.

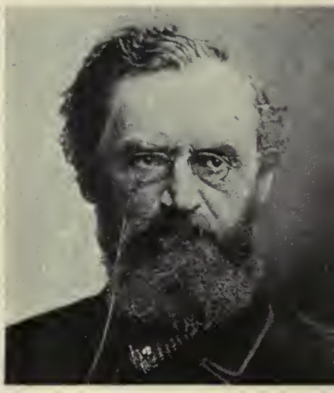
Annual conferences were held in Milwaukee, Rochester, Boston and Detroit.

James C. Carter was elected honorary president in 1903. He was succeeded as president by Charles J. Bonaparte. Horace E. Deming became chairman of the Executive Committee.

1904-1910. A *Handbook of the National Municipal League 1894-1904* was published in 1904. *Proceedings* of the annual conferences held at Chicago, New York, Atlantic City, Providence, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and Buffalo continued to be issued through the 1910 meeting, when they were discontinued. A "clipping sheet" service for newspapers was inaugurated in 1906. The William H. Baldwin Prize was established in 1905 and the High School Prize in 1910.

New fields of League activity were opened by the appointment of committees to study municipal taxation, taxation of benefits caused by growth of cities and excess condemnation, city finances and

Charles J. Bonaparte
Founder
President, 1903-1910



Carl Schurz
Founder

R. Fulton Cutting
Founder
Treasurer, 1894

Charles Francis Adams
Founder

William Dudley Foulke
Founder
President, 1910-1915

Charles W. Eliot
Founder

budgets, work among college men, municipal reference libraries, improvement of methods of municipal administration, relations of public service corporations to the municipality, franchises, police, municipal health and sanitation, liquor problem, school extension, civic secretaries' work and operation of commission government.

William Dudley Foulke, of Richmond, Indiana, became the third president in 1910, and Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard University, chairman of the Executive Committee.

1911-1916. The constitution was amended in 1911 to change the name of the Executive Committee to Council and Business Committee to Executive Committee. The president became ex-officio chairman of the Council. Another amendment created individual as well as association memberships. Lawson Purdy of New York was elected fourth president in 1915.

Publication of the National Municipal Review began in January 1912, with Secretary Woodruff as editor. It was issued as a quarterly through 1916. The first volume in the National Municipal League series of books, edited by Secretary Woodruff, was published in 1911—*City Government by Commission*. A second *Handbook* appeared in 1914.

A committee to revise the Municipal Program was appointed in 1913 with President Foulke as chairman. Preliminary reports were made to the annual meetings in 1914 and 1915. The Committee's final report was issued in 1916, *A Model City Charter and Municipal Home Rule*. Most significant change from the first program was incorporation of the council-manager plan.

Other committees were organized to study municipal courts, city managership as a profession, city and county consolidation, selection and retention of experts, training for municipal service, political methods, sources of municipal revenue, budgets and accounting, immigration, and relation of the city to its food supply. Notes on city planning first appeared in the Review in 1913.

Additional prizes were established—Cincinnati Prize, 1911; Portland Prize, 1914; Morton Denison Hull Prize, 1914. An intercollegiate division was created in 1916.

Annual National Conferences on Government were held in Richmond, Los Angeles, Toronto, Baltimore, Dayton and Springfield, Massachusetts.

1917-1919. In 1917 it was voted to expand the scope of the League's activities to include state and county government. Committees on county government and on state government were formed. The annual meeting in December 1919 was organized as a "Moot State Constitutional Convention" to discuss provisions of a model state constitution.

The REVIEW was published bi-monthly from January 1917 through March 1919; monthly beginning May 1919. First supplement to the REVIEW was issued in September 1919—*The Assessment of Real Estate,* by Lawson Purdy. It became also the first of a new technical pamphlet series. *Equity* magazine was merged with the REVIEW in 1919. *A New Municipal Program,* containing provisions for municipal home rule, a Model City Charter, and comments by members of the committee, was published in book form in 1919.

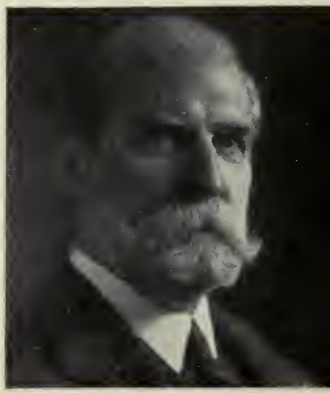
A Survey Committee, appointed in 1917 to inquire into the League's organization, activities and program, reported a number of important recommendations in 1918, and several were adopted. Other committees were at work on civic education, civil service and efficiency, municipal pensions, uniform city reports, federal relations to cities. A new constitution was adopted at the 25th annual meeting in December 1919.

Representatives of nineteen governmental research agencies in the United States and Canada, present at the annual League meeting at Detroit in 1917, organized the Governmental Research Conference. Also at this meeting the name of the Civic Secretaries Committee of the League was changed to Civic Secretaries Association. The 1918 League meeting at New York was held in conjunction with the National Conference on War Economy.

George Burnham, Jr., resigned as treasurer in the spring of 1919. Raymond V. Ingersoll of Brooklyn served as treasurer from April to December 1919. At the 25th annual meeting at Cleveland in December 1919 Secretary Woodruff announced his retirement and was elected honorary secretary. The same meeting elected Charles E. Hughes,

LAWSON PURDY
President, 1915-1919

RICHARD H. DANA
Founder



CHARLES EVANS HUGHES
President, 1919-1921

Raymond V. Ingersoll
Treasurer, 1919

Henry M. Waite
President, 1921-1923

Frank L. Polk
President, 1923-1927

New York, fifth president, and Frank A. Vanderlip, New York, treasurer.

1920-1924. Headquarters were moved from Philadelphia to New York in July 1920. The National Short Ballot Organization was merged with the League in 1920 and the *Short Ballot Bulletin* with the Review. An experimental merger with the American Civic Association was effective for one year, 1921.

The Review became the official organ for the American Civic Association, Governmental Research Conference, Short Ballot Organization, City Managers Association, Civic Secretaries Association, and National Conference on City Planning. Supplements to the Review were issued on zoning, employment standardization, city planning, presidential primary, state administrative reorganization, street railway problem, and state parks. A policy of devoting the entire issue of the Review for one month to a single topic was adopted, and some of the subjects discussed were: election administration, special assessments, pensions, city planning, political integration of metropolitan communities, and civil service. Attempt was made to popularize the magazine in accordance with the recommendations of the Survey Committee.

A program of education and active promotion of governmental improvements was inaugurated. Special emphasis was placed upon the city manager plan, county government reform, the short ballot, the reorganization of state government, and proportional representation. Service to local civic groups was expanded by the employment in 1920 of Professor A. R. Hatton of Western Reserve University as field director. Professor Hatton had been field representative of the National Short Ballot Organization since 1917. In 1921 Walter J. Millard, field secretary of the American Proportional Representation League, was added to the staff on a part-time basis.

Wide distribution was given to a number of new publications. In the field of state government these included: *Administrative Consolidation in State Governments,* by A. E. Buck, 1919; *Administrative Reorganization in Illinois,* by J. M. Mathews, 1920; and *A Model State Constitution,* prepared by the Committee on State Government, 1921. A new pocket civic series (later called campaign pamphlets) was created to give concise and authoritative accounts of reform principles, in non-technical language. Most popular of these were *The Story of the City-Manager Plan,* 1921; *The Short Ballot,* by Richard S. Childs, 1921; and *Ramshackle County Government,* by Richard S. Childs, 1921. A *Loose-Leaf Digest of City Manager Charters,* prepared by Professor R. T. Crane of the University of Michigan, was published in 1923.

In November 1921 there was published in the REVIEW an article, "Drastic Proposals for a New National Municipal League." The anonymous author, calling himself "Some of our 'Best Minds,'" outlined a plan for expanded activities of the League.

Harold W. Dodds of Western Reserve University became the second secretary of the League on April 1, 1920. Following the resignation of Mr. Hughes in 1921, Henry M. Waite of New York was chosen as sixth president. Frank L. Polk of New York was elected seventh president at the annual meeting in 1923. Carl H. Pforzheimer of Harrison, New York, was elected treasurer at a meeting of the Council on December 12, 1921, and has served since that time.

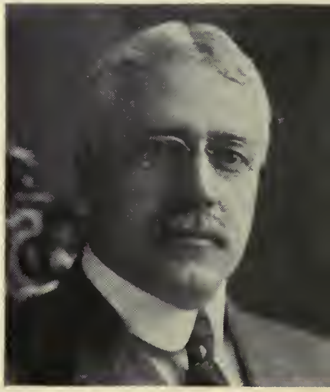
Secretary Dodds went to Nicaragua in 1922 on a mission for the United States Department of State for the purpose of working out a modern election law. He returned to Nicaragua in 1924 to direct the first registration under the law, and in 1927 to redraft the election law.

Annual conferences during this period were held at Indianapolis, Chicago, Philadelphia, Washington and Boston.

1925. A gift of $10,000 was received from the Russell Sage Foundation for a study of the government of metropolitan areas under the direction of the Committee on Metropolitan Government. Two new pamphlets in the pocket civic series were issued: *The County Manager Plan,* by Richard S. Childs, and *A New Kind of County Government,* by Herbert Quick. A National Municipal League monograph series was begun in 1925 with the publication of *Municipal Budgets and Budget Making,* by A. E. Buck.

Secretary Dodds was given leave of absence to

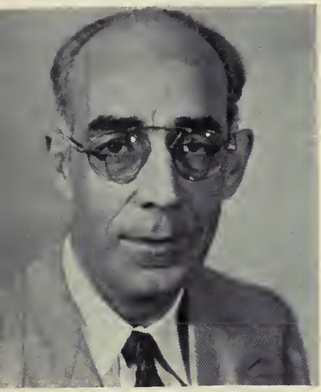
RICHARD T. ELY
Founder



FRANK A. VANDERLIP
Treasurer, 1919-1921

MURRAY SEASONGOOD
President, 1931-1934

Harold W. Dodds
Secretary, 1920-1928
President, 1934-1937



Russell Forbes
Secretary, 1928-1933

C. A. Dykstra
President, 1937-1940

act as technical adviser to General John J. Pershing, president of the Plebiscitary Commission in the Tacna-Arica arbitration between Chile and Peru.

The annual National Conference on Government met at Pittsburgh.

1926. A grant from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial made possible the establishment on October 1, 1926, of a new enterprise operated in connection with the League office, under the title of Municipal Administration Service. The League had representatives on the governing committee along with three other national organizations. First publication of the new service was *Government Research, Past, Present and Future,* by Charles A. Beard. *The Merit System in Government,* the report of the Conference Committee on the Merit System on which the League had representatives, was published by the League. St. Louis was host for the annual conference.

1927. Revised edition of *A Model City Charter* published; also *A Model Registration System* and *A Model Bond Law.* Richard S. Childs of New York was elected eighth president. George H. McCaffrey, Boston, the first director of the Municipal Administration Service, resigned on January 1, 1927, and was succeeded by Russell Forbes, New York. The conference was held in New York City.

1928. Harold W. Dodds resigned as secretary and was succeeded by Russell Forbes. Dr. Dodds continued as editor of the Review until 1933. From 1928 to 1933 secretarial and editorial duties were separated, the only period in League history in which this occurred. Second edition of *A Model State Constitution* was issued; also *A Model Municipal Budget Law.*

The League took the initiative in organizing a National Committee on Municipal Standards composed of representatives of three national organizations. The conference was at Cincinnati.

1929. A Public Relations Department was established and Howard P. Jones, editor-in-chief of Nellis Newspapers of Michigan, was appointed to direct its activities. Committees were appointed on county government and organized citizens' participation in city government. On the initiative of the

League a National Committee on Municipal Reporting was organized, with League representatives included. By agreement with the International City Managers' Association the League assumed entire work of promotion of the city manager plan on a national scale. "The League's Honor Roll," a list of individuals who had been members for 25 years or longer, was published in the REVIEW for April. The conference was held in Chicago.

1930. *The Government of Metropolitan Areas in the United States,* a committee report, was published; also *A Model County Manager Law, a Model Election Administration System,* and *The City Manager Plan at Work.* A Committee on Local Branches recommended unfavorably on the proposal that the League become a federation of local chapters and favored creation of local membership councils. The annual conference met at Cleveland.

1931. A two-day conference of vice-presidents and members of the Council was held at Chicago to discuss the work program and future policy of the League. At the annual meeting in Buffalo Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati, was elected ninth president. Richard S. Childs, New York, was elected Chairman of the Council, and he has held the position since that time.

1932. Merger of the Proportional Representation League with the National Municipal League, and the *Proportional Representation Review* with the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW was effected. George H. Hallett, Jr., executive secretary of the Proportional Representation League, became associate secretary of the League. A new constitution for the National Municipal League was adopted. The National Conference on Government met at Washington.

1933. Leadership of the citizens' council movement designed to combat destructive economy and the National Pay-Your-Taxes Campaign was assumed by the League. The "You and Your Government" radio broadcasts were inaugurated, under the sponsorship of the League and in cooperation with the Committee on Civic Education by Radio of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education and the American Political Science Association. Series five of the broadcasts on the topic, "Constructive Economy in Government," were delivered June 20-September 26, 1933, and the sixth series on "The Crisis in Municipal Finance" was delivered October 3, 1933-February 6, 1934. Printed copies of the individual broadcasts were distributed and also bound volumes of each series.

The Municipal Administration Service was moved to Chicago and the name was changed to Public Administration Service. A Consultant Service was established by the League with Dr. Thomas H. Reed as director. Its first survey was of Yonkers, New York.

A third revision of the *Model State Constitution* and a fourth revision of the *Model City Charter* were issued; also *Principles of a Model County Government,* by R. C. Atkinson.

Russell Forbes resigned as secretary and Harold W. Dodds as editor of the REVIEW. Howard P. Jones was elected secretary and became also editor of the REVIEW.

The League's annual meeting was at Atlantic City.

1934. Harold W. Dodds, president of Princeton University, was elected tenth president. Important publications were: *The Cincinnati Plan of Citizen Organization for Political Activity* and *Liquor Control: Principles, Model Law.* Series seven, eight, and nine of the radio broadcasts were delivered between February 1934 and January 1935 under the general titles of "Reviving Local Government," "A New Deal in Local Government," and "Trends in Government."

Surveys were made by the Consultant Service in Coral Gables and Winter Park, Florida; Kearny and North Bergen, New Jersey; Cortlandt, Greenburg, Harrison, Mt. Pleasant, Mt. Vernon, Nassau County and Yonkers, New York; and Lehigh County, Pennsylvania. A refunding plan was prepared for Jersey City; a new charter written for Norwalk, Connecticut. The League's annual conference met at Pittsburgh.

1935. Another publication was added to the group of Model Laws—*A Model Real Property Tax Collection Law.* The tenth, eleventh, and twelfth of the series of radio broadcasts were given on the topics of "The 44 State Legislatures of 1935," "Taxation for Prosperity," and "Planning," between February 1935 and January 1936.

Surveys were made at Asbury Park, Dumont, Lyndhurst and Teaneck, New Jersey. The annual conference was held at Providence.

1936. A New York State Committee of the League was organized. The radio programs were discontinued after February. A survey was made of St. Petersburg, Florida, and refunding proposals prepared for Inverness and Polk County, Florida, and Woodbridge, New Jersey.

The annual National Conference on Government met at Toledo.

1937. The New York State Committee of the League appointed a Special Committee on the New York State Constitution. Results of the new technique developed by the special committee for informing voters on the constitutional issues were highly successful.

Proportional Representation—The Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., was published under the joint sponsorship of the League and the Citizens Union of the City of New York.

Clarence A. Dykstra of the University of Wisconsin was elected eleventh president at the League's annual conference in Rochester.

Brookline, Massachusetts, Essex County, New Jersey (a history of twenty years of government in the county), and Savannah, Georgia, were surveyed.

1938. Publication of a new series of pamphlets under the title "Democracy in the Modern World" was begun. *The Reorganization of State Governments in the United States,* by A. E. Buck, was published for the League by Columbia University Press. A gift of $25,000 a year for three years was made by Mrs. Nellie S. Childs to aid the expanded program of the League.

Surveys were made in Atlanta,

Georgia, and New Bedford, Massachusetts. The conference was held in Baltimore. Dr. Thomas H. Reed resigned as director of the Consultant Service and was succeeded by Secretary Jones.

1939. Arrangements were made for Dr. P. P. Womer, president emeritus of Washburn College and chairman of the Citizens' Council Committee of the League, to spend full time in the field promoting the organization of local citizen groups.

Dr. Roy V. Peel secured a leave of absence from New York University and was appointed director of research for the League. He was placed in charge of a research program on the relation of the citizen to his government, undertaken jointly by the League and Indiana University.

The Payne Fund released part of the time of S. Howard Evans to direct a new project on education for democracy.

Secretary Jones was appointed a member of the New York State Civil Service Commission and arrangements were made for him to give half of his time to the League.

A survey was made in Bar Harbor, Maine, with a plan of reorganization for the town. The League's conference was held in Indianapolis.

Draft of a State Civil Service Law was issued jointly by the League and the National Civil Service Reform League.

1940. Three regional conferences on citizenship and government were held this year. The Joint Conference on Improvement of Local Government in the South was held at Atlanta, February 6, 7 and 8, in cooperation with the Institute of Citizenship of Emory University, Agnes Scott College and the Georgia School of Technology; a five-state conference was held at Minneapolis, February 19, 20 and 21, in cooperation with the Minneapolis Civic Council and other local civic groups; the Dallas conference, in cooperation with the Dallas Citizens Council, met March 20, 21 and 22.

Two hundred and eight colleges and universities and thirty national citizens' organizations accepted the League's invitation to a Conference on American Self-Government at Indiana University, May 13-14, 1940.

John G. Winant, of Concord, New Hampshire, was elected twelfth president at the League's annual conference in Springfield. The title of Alfred Willoughby, who joined the staff in 1937, was changed from assistant secretary to executive secretary.

The League published *Town Management in New England; Proportional Representation—the Key to Democracy*, by George H. Hallett, Jr., and *Manager Plan Abandonments*, by Arthur W. Bromage, were revised and republished.

The Consultant Service made a financial and administrative survey of White Plains, New York.

1941. Important publications included a fourth edition of the *Model State Constitution*, a fifth edition of the *Model City Charter*, *City Growing Pains*, *Local Progress in Labor Peace*, and a revision of *Citizen Organization for Political Activity—The Cincinnati Plan*. The Consultant Service completed a survey of the City of Passaic, New Jersey.

With the aid of the Columbia Foundation of San Francisco, the League cooperated in inaugurating an experimental Municipal Reporting Consultant Service.

The League's annual conference was held in St. Louis.

President Winant was appointed United States Ambassador to Great Britain.

1942. At the League's call, the nucleus of a Committee on Postwar Problems of Urban Peoples was formed. A nation-wide study was planned in cooperation with local civic and research agencies.

The League's pamphlet, *Best Practice under the Manager Plan,* was revised and republished.

A survey of Rome, New York, was made by the Consultant Service.

It was decided not to hold the 48th annual National Conference on Government. Instead a meeting of the Council and officers of the League was held in New York City in December.

1943. Secretary Jones resigned from the New York State Civil Service Commission to accept appointment as deputy state comptroller of New York in charge of the Division of Municipal Affairs. In August Mr. Jones was called to active duty as a major in Allied Military Government, and was granted a leave of absence as secretary for the duration of the war. Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary, was authorized to act in his stead during such absence.

The Consultant Service made a financial survey of Wallingford, Connecticut.

As in 1942 no National Conference on Government was held because of war-time travel conditions. All League officers and members of the Council were requested to continue to serve until a meeting of the membership could be held after the war.

1944. The Consultant Service made an evaluation of the government of Cincinnati during the past twenty years and an administrative survey of Augusta, Georgia.

The Story of the Council Manager Plan, Answers to Your Questions About the Manager Plan, and *Forms of Municipal Government — How Have They Worked?* were revised and republished.

Plans for the observance of the fiftieth anniversary of the League's founding included: (1) A fiftieth anniversary issue of the REVIEW, and (2) a fiftieth anniversary National Conference on Government to be held as soon as the war situation permits.

THE LEAGUE'S SECOND STRETCH

(Continued from page 519)

science which I take to be "law confused by popular participation."

That time-worn couplet of Pope's is not even a half truth! He was the hired publicity man of the reigning monarch of his day and his job was to ridicule and thwart the popular movement against privilege.

The League will go on with its better mechanisms, through them continuing to encourage and advise local civic and research groups, and through these doing what it can to make a strong reality of our ideal of self-government by informed, participating, active citizens.

Model Laws as Aid to Progress

It would be difficult to measure the full extent of the influence of the model laws on governmental efficiency, economy and integrity. Their impact has been great.

By **HAROLD W. DODDS**
President, Princeton University

TIME was when the orthodox method of curing a bad local situation was to "turn the rascals out." Over and over again this process was repeated in cities, but almost as often the progress gained was fleeting and temporary. The public sometimes grew cynical about "reformers" and discouraged by the unending task of having to kick out one set of rascals after another.

"Why," people began to ask, "can't there be a way to cement these gains into something permanent? Why must we retreat after every victory and have the fight to wage all over again?"

Early in the renaissance of municipal affairs at about the turn of the century, some of the better minds began to realize that there was something basically faulty in a system which not only tended to defeat popular control of public affairs but also, what was much worse, to prevent a clear understanding of the issues and an appreciation of standards of right and wrong.

Before there was a general awareness of this weakness, the National Municipal League took its first bold step toward the development of model laws and administrative systems which were to contribute substantially to the improvement of local, county and state government.

The League's 1897 meeting, the "Fourth Annual Conference on Good City Government," adopted a resolution calling for the appointment of a committee "to report on the feasibility of a municipal program." At the 1898 meeting the preliminary report of the committee was discussed. The final report was approved at the 1899 meeting and the program was published in 1900.

A Municipal Program, as it was called, included five constitutional amendments and a municipal corporations act designed to promote better municipal government. The municipal corporations act, proposed for adoption by state legislatures, provided the strong mayor form of

government, a unicameral council elected at large for six-year overlapping terms to exercise the powers conferred on the city, a civil service commission of three or more appointed by the mayor, a comptroller appointed by the council, and the outline of municipal powers in broad terms. The amendments provided, in part, for limitation of special legislation and for home rule for cities over 25,000 population.

It was not a radical change in the form of city government, even in those day of municipal confusion and corruption. Rather, the program epitomized the best in the most progressive city governments of the time.

The League's subsequent model laws have been developed in much the same manner and always with the same purpose in mind: to set patterns clearly and specifically, delineating the best practice and the best thought on a problem, to correct existing defects, to set high standards which would provide something to fight *for* instead of *against*.

Above all, the model laws brought stability, dignity and scientific fact to "reform." They made readily available to officials and citizens the product of able thinkers on governmental problems.

Municipal Program Committee

The committee which, with the cooperation of other distinguished advisers, developed *A Municipal Program,* consisted of Horace E. Deming, chairman, a prominent New York lawyer and civic leader and founder in 1880 of the Brooklyn Young Republican Club; Frank J. Goodnow, then professor of administrative law at Columbia University, later president of Johns Hopkins University, and revered as dean of American political scientists; George W. Guthrie, Pittsburgh lawyer, a leader in the Democratic party who served later as an ambassador; Charles Richardson, Philadelphia businessman and civic leader; Leo S. Rowe, professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania; and Clinton Rogers Woodruff, secretary of the League. Along the path they blazed nearly half a century ago have moved hundreds of other authorities, as members of League committees, preparing remedies to cure the ills of self-government.

The process of drawing up the model laws has been aptly described as a meeting of the experts' minds. At an annual meeting of members or at a meeting of the Council it is decided to create a committee to deal authoritatively with a specific problem. The committee is instructed to prepare a model law. After a series of meetings and discussions of the committee, and perhaps subcommittees to establish agreement on basic principles, one or more of the members are assigned to prepare a tentative draft. This is distributed not only among the members of the committee but also among other authorities for detailed comment and criticism. The tentative draft is then redrawn by an expert or committee of experts. Frequently there are additional critical analyses and redrafts before the model law is approved.

A Municipal Program was the precursor of the *Model City Charter* which is widely credited with having had more influence than any other single document on the improvement of local government. This model has been revised four times. By far the most thorough of these revisions occurred after several years of study and deliberation in 1916. Again the committee presented its proposals in two parts, a series of constitutional amendments and a model home rule city charter. The most important change was the substitution of the council-manager form of government for the strong mayor type. The initiative, referendum and recall were added, and six administrative departments established. Other changes were made and have been made in the three subsequent revisions of 1927, 1933, and 1941. Basically, however, the *Model City Charter* today is the 1899 *Municipal Program* as modified and extended in 1916.

New Model Laws

In the twenties the model law program was greatly extended. During this period the *Model State Constitution, Model Election Law* and a group of model fiscal laws were published and the *Model City Charter* was revised. In more recent years a *Model Civil Service Law,* a *Model Liquor Control Law,* and revisions and extensions of earlier proposals have been published.

Of all the League's models, the *Model State Constitution* is the most forward-looking in the sense that it is farthest ahead of actual practice and experience. This is due largely to the habit-bound stagnation evident in the constitutions of most states. So great has been the resistance to change that political idealists and authorities on public administration have inevitably found themselves far ahead of the procession when setting modern standards for states. The *Model State Constitution* has profoundly affected the thinking on state problems even though states have not found it politically practical to follow its standards as closely as cities have followed *The Model City Charter.*

In 1919, shortly after it had been decided to expand the League's activities to include state and county government, the annual meeting featured a Moot State Constitutional Convention. It was decided that the proceedings of the moot convention were to be an advisory opinion to the Committee on State Government. The committee was charged with the responsibility of drafting a model state constitution for presentation to the next annual meeting. After discussion and criticism of the preliminary report at the 1920 convention, the report was adopted with one minor exception at the 1921 meeting.

The *Model State Constitution* provided for a unicameral legislature elected by proportional representation, centralization of administration in the governor—he being the only elected administrative official, a legislative council, close relations between the legislature and the governor, initiative and referendum and a reorganized judiciary.

Although there have been three revisions of the original document in 1928, 1933 and 1941, changes made have been minor. It is still the best thought on the subject.

To complete the state-county-city picture there remained to be formulated a model county law. In 1929 a Committee on County Government was appointed which reported a *Model County Manager Law* a year later. The law was in the form of a statute which would permit the adoption of a county manager form of government by any county. The long ballot was eliminated and administration centralized in a manager appointed by the county board.

The Committee on County Government was reorganized and enlarged in 1931 and over a period of three years studied various phases of county problems. One result of the committee's deliberations was the publication in 1933 of the booklet *Principles of a Model County Government* by R. C. Atkinson. Although not in the form of a model charter, the booklet outlines the principles of a model county government, with supporting reasons. A county board of five to nine members elected at large by proportional representation and a county manager and administrative departments are provided.

Fiscal Program

Model laws on specific subjects are natural extensions of the League's basic state, county and city model laws. The largest single group comprise the fiscal laws. After several years of meetings and discussions the first of these, the *Model Bond Law,* was published in 1927. A year later a *Model Municipal Budget Law* was published, while in 1935 a *Model Real Property Tax Collection Law* was issued. At present three revisions of model fiscal laws are in an advanced state of preparation, these being a *Model Accrual Basis Budget Law, Model Cash Basis Budget Law* and *Model Bond Law.*

A Committee on Election Administration was appointed in 1926. It issued two model laws, in 1927 *Model Registration System* and in 1930 a companion booklet, *Model Election Administration System.*

The best example of the League arising to a sudden emergency and drafting a model law to meet it is found in the case of the *Model Liquor Control Law.* After repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, the annual meeting of 1933 passed a resolution calling for appointment of a Committee on Liquor Control Legislation. The following January, only three months later, the pamphlet, *Liquor Control: Principles, Model Law,* was published. The chief recommendation was for a state liquor authority plan with state-owned retail stores having a monopoly.

Results were almost immediate. By May 1934 eleven states had adopted the state ownership plan. At present there are sixteen states.

The most recent model law was the joint effort of the National Municipal League and the National Civil Service Reform League. *Draft of a State Civil Service Law* was issued in 1939. It provides for a state director of personnel heading a department of civil service with a nonpartisan commission of three advisory to him and the governor.

It would be difficult to measure accurately the full extent of the influence of the model laws in favor of governmental efficiency, economy and integrity. Their impact has been great. If we were to use the popular device of dollars, it could be said conservatively that the millions saved for the taxpayers of cities which have followed the guides of the *Mod-*

(Continued on page 544)

Officers of the League — 1944

John G. Winant, President

George H. Gallup
Vice President

J. W. Clise
Vice President

Richard S. Childs
Chairman of the Council
President, 1927-1931

Ioward P. Jones, Secretary
(*on Military Leave*)
Major, A. U. S.

Alfred Willoughby
Executive Secretary

Carl H. Pforzheimer
Treasurer

George Arents, President
Intermetal Corporation

Carter W. Atkins, Director
Connecticut Public Expenditure Council

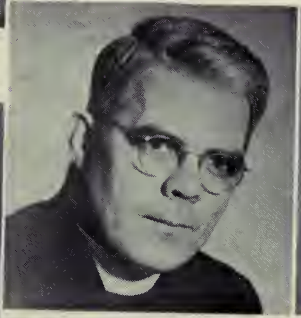
James L. Beebe
Attorney

Frederick L. Bird, Director
of Municipal Research
Dun and Bradstreet

Henry Bruere, President
Bowery Savings Bank

John Cowles, Publisher
Minneapolis Star Journal and Tribune

Karl Detzer
Colonel, A. U. S.

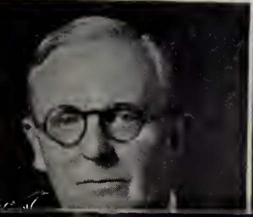

Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J.
The Queen's Work

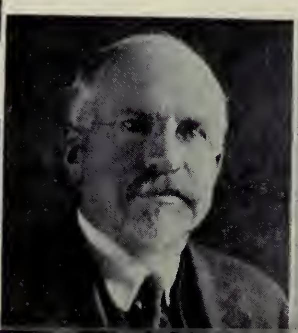
Charles Edison
Former Governor, New Jersey

Berry Fleming
Author

Clarence Francis, President
General Foods, Inc.

Arnold Frye
Attorney





Albert W. Hawkes
United States Senator

alph B. Maltby, President
St. Regis Paper Company

Mark S. Matthews
Captain, A. U. S.

Mrs. Eugene Meyer
Washington, D. C.

Stratford Lee Morton
Insurance Company Executive

John Nuveen, Jr.
Broker

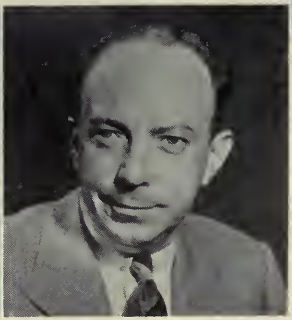
John S. Linen
Second Vice-President
Chase National Bank

Fred N. Oliver, General Couns
National Association of Mutual
Savings Banks

Thomas I. Parkinson, President
Equitable Life Assurance Company

Henry L. Shattuck
Lawyer

Harold E. Stassen
Lieutenant Commander, U.S.N.R.F.



Wilson Wyatt, Mayor
Louisville, Kentucky

Council of the League — 1944

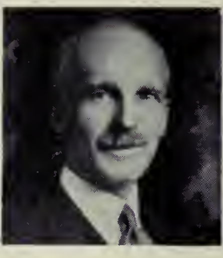
The Council is the governing body of the National Municipal League. Former presidents — Lawson Purdy, Richard S. Childs, Murray Seasongood, Harold W. Dodds and C. A. Dykstra — are also members of the Council ex officio.

Honorary Vice Presidents — 1944

Charles A. Beard
Historian

H. L. Brittain, Director
Citizens Research Institute
of Canada

Charles C. Burlingham
Former President
New York City Board of
Education



Harold S. Buttenheim
Editor, *The American City*

Harry Woodburn
Chancellor
New York Univ

rry Drackett, President
ncinnati City Charter
Committee

John N. Edy, City Manager
Houston, Texas

Samuel S. Fels, President
Fels and Company

Mayo Fesler, Director
Cleveland Citizens League

Russell Forb
Vice President and
Manager, Air Carg

R. Hatton, Formerly
orthwestern University

Robert C. Hendrickson
Major, A. U. S.

Seabury C. Mastick
Former
New York State Senator

Charles E. Merriam
University of Chicago

Frank H. Mor
Lehman Brothe

William E. Mosher
Syracuse University

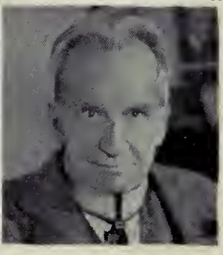
William B. Munro
California Institute of
Technology

Chester H. Rowell
San Francisco Chronicle

Belle Sherwin
Former President
National League of Women
Voters

Charles P. Taft
U. S. State Department

Lent D. Upson, Director
National Training School for
Public Service



Richard Welling, Secretary
National Self Government
Committee

What of the Next 50 Years?

There will be continuing need of an unselfish, intelligent and impartial organization such as the League if local government and American democracy are to function well.

By **MURRAY SEASONGOOD**
Former Mayor of Cincinnati

THE National Municipal League, in 50 years of existence, has steadfastly adhered to the motto of Seneca's pilot:

> Oh, Neptune, you may sink me if you will, you may save me if you will, but I shall hold my rudder true.

No doubt the League will continue to determine wisely what, in the next 50 years, ought to be its best role or roles as a good government agency.

Enterprises and callings, public and private, have learned they must be adaptable in these changing times. They can no longer proceed in a fixed and unchanging pattern based on the past. Thus one finds medicine encouraging, where it formerly opposed, insurance for hospital and surgical care; the law grudgingly abandoning old techniques for the more flexible procedures of administrative agencies; peacetime factories converted in an incredibly short interval to the production of war materials. Mutations may therefore be expected in the conduct of government and the objectives of the League.

Lowell's shrewd Yankee, Hosea Bigelow, observed, "You must never prophesy unless you know." But there is a certain pleasure connected with divination: few will remember what was prophesied unless reminded of it by the soothsayer when and if his forecasts eventuate. So, to review some changes in government that have occurred since the inception of the League, to forecast others that may come about and to present for consideration by the League subjects of study and effort will not be over-temerarious.

First has been the tremendous growth, especially in the last fifteen years, of federal power and its impact on local autonomy. Part of the expansion has been due to the war and may subside when it ceases. But much antedates or is wholly independent of the great conflict. The federal government has not only assumed functions which in the past were considered distinctively local, but has, by preempting much of the tax field and over-all ability to bear imposts, constricted needed revenues of local subdivisions.

The United States Supreme Court has confided to federal authority much that a dozen years ago would have been declared, in the same court, beyond the national reach. For instance, federal taxation of state and municipal salaries has been sanctioned and the battle to assess income derived from municipal bonds still rages. A settled purpose to tax this yield under existing law is manifest in the dissenting opinions of the Tax Court and of the Second Circuit Court of Appeals with respect to the Tri-Borough Bridge and Port Authority of New York obligations.

So, too, decisions of the highest court have found constitutional guarantees of civil liberties existent to a degree interfering with regulations and controls by local authorities. Federal agencies such as housing authorities have been accorded tax exemption. Contribution to local authorities in lieu of taxes by the administrator is only a matter of grace and in an amount that takes into account benefits from the improvement. Yet inhabitants of such housing projects receive all the local services enjoyed by those who pay local taxes directly or in their rent. The private entrepreneur is taxed on the full value of the improvement without diminution by the public benefit which may accrue from it; and so he is placed at a disadvantage in competition with the federal government —competition that could, if pushed, usurp the whole public housing field.

The national government has encouraged public ownership of utilities: its tax-exempt properties have, in some instances, forced privately owned utilities to give up and sell out, with resulting loss of taxable property in the localities served. Rate regulation of public utilities has been largely wrested from state commissions by the Federal Power Commission and the imprimatur on securities transferred from state "blue sky" boards to the Securities and Exchange Commission.

A few years ago the federal government passed a municipal bankruptcy act, said to be temporary, to relieve local governments from the consequences of their folly. After the act was sustained as constitutional the Congress extended its life. It may be made permanent. Ten years ago one would have stated categorically, bankruptcy was for traders, private corporations and individuals and that the federal power over bankruptcies could not interfere with and force compromise of obligations of an arm of the state.

It has been ruled recently that an authority, building temporary war housing units in a city as agent for the federal government, is not subject to requirements of the municipal building code.

Impartial Study Needed

The foregoing are examples of oscillation between federal and local authority intended to show that federal-state-local relations and intergovernmental immunity from taxation must receive complete and impartial study as a prelude to wise adjustment.

Second, municipal corporations in the broad sense, including counties and districts, have been called on to render services and have assumed functions which in the League's infancy would have been termed socialistic (now no longer a term of reproach) and either not for a public purpose or wholly outside of proper municipal functioning. Today we see cities owning and operating utilities, such as street railways, buses and telephones; but beyond those, municipal radio stations, milk and ice plants and abattoirs. Some municipalities engage in governmental advertising and promotion. Some have labor relations boards. Motor vehicles brought traffic problems, led to adapting old streets to new loads and to municipal parking lots, garages, parking meters, trailer camps and experiments with excess condemnation, setbacks, freeways, subways.

The rather recent—in the life of an old institution like the League—development of aviation has imposed increasingly heavy burdens on the cities. First there was the need, so as to remain on the communications map, of furnishing an airport. Then cities had to double and treble the number and size of their airfields. Ground and air motor transportation have likewise changed the whole complexion of the cities. Dwellings and industries, especially such for which railroad connection was not indispensable, have been projected beyond city peripheries with resultant diminishing intramural population and resources, blighted areas and decrement of land and building values, less tax yield from them and quest for new sources of revenue to meet increasing demands.

Third, the beginning of home rule for cities antedates the birth of the League, but the spread and development of a less state-controlled autonomy mark the last 30 years. Likewise in that time there have been severe rebuffs in the struggle to escape from the strait-jackets forced on cities by rurally dominated or hostile state legislatures having no understanding of or sympathy with municipal problems and strivings. The Ohio Supreme Court has all but wiped out effective county home rule by strained interpretation of the constitutional amendment of the early thirties; and, in a series of recent decisions, has whittled down the 1912 constitutional grant of municipal home rule so as to make much of it completely ineffective or non-existent.

Civil Service

Fourth, civil service is older in this country than the League. It is no longer openly scoffed at as "snivel service" and is constantly receiving more theoretical support. But attempts to hobble it are no less: political machines recognize that the merit system, properly applied and enforced, is destructive of their chief sustenance, political patronage. The outcry over the federal Hatch Act, especially when shown to be usable to prevent pernicious political activity in the states, has made the conflict of ideologies patent. Critics of the merit system have queried, sometimes in good faith, whether, assuming it will deploy and continue militant, should there not be restudy with a view to eradicating weaknesses which, they insist, have marred its workings.

Thus, it is commonly asserted, security of tenure breeds inefficiency, lack of initiative and indifference to the public served. Some of these criticisms could be obviated by better opportunities for advancement, transfers to desirable positions even though not in the same branch, and conscientious, not merely perfunctory, grading by appointing officials.

It may be assumed there will be, for this war's veterans, preference credits and priorities and that laws bestowing them will continue to be sustained as constitutional. However, there is danger that these favors may be so extreme as to inflict almost mortal wounds to the merit system by making truly competitive conditions impossible. Other legislative paring of the efficiency of the merit system has resulted and is likely to increase in response to efforts of pressure groups and public employees unions.

How are the canons of the merit system to be reconciled with the principles of collective bargaining, the closed shop and the right of non-public employees to strike? If ordinary activities of unions are not applicable to public employees under the merit system, what should be an effective means of bargaining and presenting grievances?

The Manager Plan

Fifth, the council-manager form of government, unknown in this country a generation ago, has been for the League a special subject of interest and support. Much credit for the infiltration of that form to over 600 cities and counties and to one of every five cities with 10,000 population or more in this country is due to the unfailing devotion of the League. Here, too, political machines have been in opposition. They have not always realized that this or any form is not conclusive for good government and can be distorted to accomplish their purposes. But numerous objections have been trumped up and passed along for use by opponents of the plan. For example, there is always much vehement iteration that the chief executive should be elected, and, adds the chauvinists' chorus, only from among citizens domiciled in the community.

Not all questioning, however, is merely captious. Even a conscientious adherent of the system may ask, in the light of experience, is it entirely reasonable that the mayor and council keep hands off administrative appointments by the manager, especially if the manager comes as a stranger and no matter how uninformed and unfortunate some such appointments may be? A mayor under this system, who should be the political leader and spokesman for the party in power, is sometimes placed in an untenable position if expected to justify publicly manager actions and appointments of which he really disapproves. More general recognition that the position of mayor in the council-manager scheme is of the essence and that persons of the highest type must be attracted to it will meet some of the pedestrian snipings at the plan.

Also, proper inquiry includes how much of the excellence of the council-manager setup is dependent on choice of the council by the method of proportional representation; and if it be conceded P. R. is essential, which form of P. R. is best and are there desirable modifications to be made in the Hare or any of the utilized systems of P. R.

Sixth, before acceptance there

must be more proof of validity than inheres in the mere iteration of the shibboleth, "A two-party system is essential for the proper workings of a democracy." Of course, in large segments of our country, the two-party system in any real sense does not exist. Where existent, it not infrequently constitutes, as conducted, a grievous injury to independent and honest local self-government.

Political Gangs

Conversely, the predatory city and county gangs which flourish under the aegis of the two-party system—here terming themselves Republican and there Democratic, depending upon the predominant national climate in the community—amount to a baleful influence on the national parties. In the current presidential campaign the Republicans are sounding off mightily against the Democratic city machines of Jersey City, Kansas City, Chicago, New York City, St. Louis and Memphis. Some of these, they asseverate, have no state patronage because the state governments are of the opposite party: they are maintained by federal patronage which, in turn, supports the benefactor. This ululation (trumpeting would, I suppose, be more exact) is a somewhat amusing emanation from those who counted as most valiant hoplites similar machines, when they had them, in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Minneapolis and Cincinnati, for example. There is a great deal of nonsense talked about the necessity of the two-party system as now in force, and the menace to it of proportional representation. A more real menace is control of election machinery by the professionals so as to prevent an honest casting and count of the ballot and to make incursions of the independent foredoomed.

Citizenship

Last, and more important and by far more difficult to achieve than anything which has been indicated or can be envisaged, the League should essay as its greatest task to infuse into citizens and especially into the more favorably circumstanced a burning consciousness that what has been countenanced in the machinations of wicked political gangs is vile; that the evil spirits of corruption and cynicism must be exorcized if the workings of the American democracy are to approximate the ideals of the founders. The struggle to bring this about is unequal, with almost overwhelming strength under existing conditions in the camp of the wrongdoers. For the reformer David to bring down the machine politician Goliath, the pebble and sling must be sentiment which will ostracize from decent society anyone, no matter how prominent financially or socially, who lends himself to the debasement of his community.

So, if no other problems were existent or apt to arise—and, of course, there are many—can it be doubted there will be continuing need of an unselfish, intelligent and impartial organization, such as the League has always shown itself to be, if local government and the American democracy are to function fittingly? The fight for their preservation is not only in the time of obvious peril on the battlefield, but every day for those loyal civic patriots who, undaunted by apparent failures, continue to strive. As is recorded in the Book of Proverbs: ". . . A righteous man falleth seven times and riseth up again."

There is a difficult road ahead for the League to ascend. But, plodding along, the summit will be discerned, just as it was in England where similar obstacles were surmounted by the passage of the reform bills. Who shall gainsay that the League, with long life and with even more sturdy determination than in its first 50 years, may bring to the benighted in governmental affairs the blessing of clearer vision; as to the young Tobias the angel brought healing for the scales on the eyes of Tobit.

MODEL LAWS AS AID TO PROGRESS

(Continued from page 534)

el City Charter and the *Model Budget Law* alone would add up to an impressive total even in these days of astronomical governmental costs.

As early as 1908 Professor John A. Fairlie said, "In the main, then, the principles of the *Municipal Program* have been steadily gaining ground. Its influence can be seen in the work of state constitutional conventions, in state laws and in charters for particular cities." In 1910 Dr. W. F. Willoughby commented, "The publication of its *Municipal Program* marks an epoch in the history of municipal reform and has exerted a profound influence in bringing about improved conditions."

These observations were made long before the League's program of "models" was fairly under way. Their influence has steadily increased and multiplied. Although little attempt has been made to gauge this influence, by 1932 the secretary's report noted that six states had passed laws based on the *Model Registration System* while eight states had passed laws based on the *Model Election Administration System*. A few months after publication of the *Draft of a State Civil Service Law* it was noted that several state legislatures had adopted its principles.

Practically all of the hundreds of cities which have adopted the council-manager form of government have used the *Model City Charter* as a direct guide; many others, particularly those with the strong mayor form, have also followed it. It is almost invariably a basic tool of local charter revision commissions.

The *Model State Constitution* has been very much in evidence at all recent state constitutional conventions and has been cited repeatedly. At the recent Missouri convention each of the delegates had a copy and, although many of its more advanced provisions failed to get over political hurdles, it is credited with giving substantial support to delegates and civic organizations which fought for an ideal constitution and with winning distinct progress.

Any reviewer of the history of governmental improvement and civic progress during the last 50 years in the United States must assign an important place to the League's models which give every promise of continuing their function of implementing the ideals of the people with specific and sound guides.

Contributors in Review

DEAN of American historians, **Charles A. Beard** (*The League and the Future*) taught politics at Columbia University from 1907 to 1917, then became director of the Training School for Public Service in New York City. In 1922 he went to Tokyo as adviser to the Institute of Municipal Research. Dr. Beard is former president of the American Historical Association, American Political Science Association, and the National Association of Adult Education. He is author of many well known books on American government.

AN ADVOCATE of local good government since undergraduate days, **Richard S. Childs** (*The League's Second Stretch*) is widely known as the "Father" of the council-manager plan. While achieving success in a business career, Mr. Childs also had time to found the National Short Ballot Organization which merged with the National Municipal League in 1920; he was president of the National Municipal League from 1927 to 1931; is now chairman of its Council. He is a member of the advisory council of the Proportional Representation League and chairman of the Citizens Union of the City of New York.

SECRETARY of the National Municipal League from 1920 to 1928, editor of its NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW from 1920 to 1933 and president from 1934 to 1937, **Harold W. Dodds** (*Model Laws as Aid to Progress*) has played an important part in the League's destinies. Dr. Dodds, in 1922-24, was electoral adviser to the government of Nicaragua and in 1928 he was chief adviser to the president of the Nicaragua National Board of Elections. In 1927 he became professor of politics and in 1933 president of Princeton University.

ONE of the leading spirits in the 1924 civic renaissance of Cincinnati, and that city's mayor from 1926 to 1930, **Murray Seasongood** (*What of the Next 50 Years?*) has watched the progress of the council-manager plan and proportional representation in his city with a keen eye. Mr. Seasongood, a distinguished lawyer, has also been part-time professor at the College of Law of the University of Cincinnati since 1925 and was Godkin Lecturer at Harvard in 1933. He was formerly president of the National Municipal League, the Harvard Club and the Cincinnati Legal Aid Society, and a former chairman of the Municipal Law Section of the American Bar Association. He is now president of the Hamilton County Good Government League. Mr. Seasongood is author of several volumes and has written frequently for periodicals.

AUTHOR of a still to be published history of the National Municipal League, **Frank M. Stewart** (*Milestones of the First 50 Years*) spent a number of years in research among League records and publications. Professor Stewart was executive secretary of the League of Texas Municipalities and editor of its publication from 1919 to 1924. He has been a professor in government at the University of California at Los Angeles since 1932 and chairman of the department from 1935 to 1939. He is now director of the University's Bureau of Governmental Research, which post he has held since 1937. Professor Stewart is author of *The Reorganization of State Administration in Texas, The National Civil Service Reform League* and other volumes.

ACTIVE in the founding of the National Municipal League, its first secretary **Clinton Rogers Woodruff** (*Rising Tide of Civic Progress*) served in that capacity from 1894 to 1919. He was editor of the Proceedings of the National Conference on Good Government from 1894 to 1911, editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW from 1912 to 1919, and author of several volumes on city government. Mr. Woodruff has been prominent in civic, governmental and religious affairs in his city and state. He served two terms in the Pennsylvania legislature. In 1919 he became president of the Civil Service Commission of Philadelphia and in 1932 was appointed director of public welfare in that city.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Constitutions Submitted: New Jersey this Month, Missouri in February

Unicameral Issue Causes Conflict in Latter State

THE officers and delegates to the Missouri Constitutional Convention[1] signed the completed draft of a new constitution on September 28. The document, which had previously been approved section by section, was accepted as a whole earlier in the day, with only four dissenting votes from among the 82 delegates.

The convention set February 27, 1945, as the date for a special election at which the new constitution is to be submitted to the voters of the state.

The new constitution includes many sections of the 1875 constitution but is about 11,000 words shorter. The bill of rights is much the same, but assures equal civil rights for women and men, extends freedom of speech to radio and recognizes collective bargaining. Absentee voting is provided for.

The executive department has been extensively reorganized. The governor is authorized to assign some 70 existing boards and bureaus to appropriate executive departments. The merit system is prescribed for employees of state hospitals and penal institutions. Revenues are to be collected by one agency instead of twelve. A state comptroller will supervise all expenditures and examine all claims before certifying them to the state auditor for payment. The fiscal year will begin July 1, simplifying appropriation, accounting and reporting. All revenues derived from highway use are to be devoted to highways and extension of state and county highways is provided for. A new department of public health and welfare is to unify state activities in those fields.

Classification of property for tax purposes is provided. Local tax limitation is retained at changed ratios to valuations, which may be increased by a two-thirds majority vote, subject to legislative restrictions.

Four classes of county governments are authorized instead of only one; counties of more than 85,000 population may draft their own charters. Voluntary consolidation and partitioning of counties, cooperation of two to ten counties in performing governmental functions, and consolidation of city and county functions, are permitted. The relation of St. Louis city and county are specially covered. Local government budgets are required. Cities may issue revenue bonds for municipal utilities by a four-sevenths majority vote.

The present court structure is retained but is unified under the state supreme court. Magistrates replace justices of the peace. The fee system is abolished.

A bipartisan state board of education which will select and advise the commissioner of education is established.

On the final day of the convention's deliberations a dispute developed concerning the handling of the legislative section. Early in its sessions the convention had rejected a proposal for a unicameral legislature for Missouri and the present system of a two-chamber legislature was followed. The one-chamber idea has had active support outside the convention from business interests on the score of efficiency, economy and dissatisfaction with the present legislature; from the Crusaders, a nonpartisan organization for political reform,[2] from the League of Women Voters, some newspapers and other sources. As a result of their efforts an initiative proposal for a unicameral legislature will be voted on at the general election on November 7.

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[1] See the REVIEW, April 1943, p. 198; May 1943, pp. 260, 263, on election of delegates; November 1943, p. 549, on organization of convention; December 1943, p. 608; on proposals made and use of the National Municipal League's *Model State Constitution;* March 1944, p. 143, on work of committees; and September 1944, p. 410, on civil service provisions.

As the new constitution would conflict with the unicameral proposal if the latter is adopted in November, a committee of the convention presented a provision that if the unicameral plan is approved by the voters it should supersede the bicameral provision. The convention, however, defeated this plan and also a proposal that the convention recess until November 14 in order to take appropriate action if the unicameral provision is successful at the polls.

If the latter is not approved on November 7 no problem will be presented; but if the voters decide in favor of this important reform the many good features of the new constitution will be endangered by the refusal of the convention to provide for the contingency that the people wish to do away with the traditional two-house legislature in favor of a single chamber.

New Jersey Document

The voters of New Jersey have the opportunity at the general election on November 7 to replace their century-old constitution by a revised and modernized successor which was adopted by the state legislature, acting as a constitutional convention,[3] last March.

Among important new provisions are those for consolidation of a hundred state departments and agencies into twenty principal administrative departments under the governor, establishment of a unified and simplified court system reducing the state courts from ten to two, consolidation of state funds and strengthening of control, increase in the terms of governor and senators to four years and of assemblymen to two years with higher legislative salaries, requirement of three-fifths instead of majority vote of the legislature to override the governor's veto and simplification of the process of amendment.

The new constitution is strongly advocated by Governor Edge and Ex-governor Edison, but is opposed by Mayor Hague of Jersey City and his allies, and is a subject of strong political controversy. Among organizations favoring it are the Consumers League of New Jersey, State League of Women Voters, State Chamber of Commerce, State Federation of Women's Clubs, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, New Jersey Association of Real Estate Boards, and Independent Clubs of New Jersey.

Redistricting in Prospect for Texas Legislature

The legislature of Texas is directed by the state constitution to reapportion the legislative districts according to population after each decennial federal census, but it has failed since 1930 to do so. In 1941 the lower house passed a redistricting bill for representatives but it died in the Senate. Governor Stevenson has now promised to give representative redistricting emergency right-of-way at next January's regular legislative session, which would permit speedy action—if the Governor pushes the plan.

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[2] See REVIEW, February 1943, p. 102.

[3] See the REVIEW, December 1943, p. 608; February 1944, p. 88; and April 1944, p. 200.

According to the *Houston Post*, 110 districts now have excessive representation because of a decline in population and 120 have increased in population and are under-represented.

Interstate Meetings Consider Reconversion and Employment

The first of five regional meetings of the Council of State Governments was held in Atlantic City September 15 and 16, the others being scheduled for Salt Lake City, Birmingham, San Francisco and Chicago, ending in mid-November. Reconversion of industry, re-employment and unemployment compensation were important topics considered.

Besides urging prompt Congressional action in these matters, the states were called upon by unanimous resolutions at the Atlantic City meeting to make every effort to ascertain the number of jobs to be needed in the demobilization period, to meet transitional unemployment with adequate unemployment insurance and useful public works, to assure jobs and educational advantages for veterans, to eliminate taxes that may discourage legitimate enterprise and to free interstate commerce from statutory provisions that impede the flow of goods or services between states.

Uniform unemployment benefits were not recommended; it was specified that they should be based on wages, living conditions and nature of employment in the various regions. Thus interregional competition would be facilitated.

As to public works it was charged that the planning of programs by states and municipalities has been retarded by uncertainty as to federal aid, and the Council of State Governments was asked to request Congress to take early and definite action either for or against federal aid to states and municipalities for postwar public works.

Retirement System Planned for Alabama Employees

The Alabama Retirement System Commission, created by the legislature of that state in 1943, has prepared a plan for a state retirement system to provide for annuities and pensions on an actuarial basis, and has recently submitted a tentative legislative act to department heads for criticism. Participation of counties and municipalities is provided for where desired. Contributions of employees on a percentage of salary up to $3,000 per annum are called for as the basis of retirement annuities, the state to contribute pensions of a comparable amount.

Joint Committee to Study Congressional Organization

Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 23, introduced by Senator Maloney of Connecticut for the purpose of establishing a joint committee on the organization of Congress, has been approved by the Senate and referred to the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives.

The resolution provides that the committee "shall make a full and complete study of the organization and operation of the Congress of the United States and shall recommend improvements in such organization and operation with a view toward strengthening the Congress, simplifying its operations, improving its relationships with other branches of the United States Government and enabling it better to meet its responsibilities under the constitution."

The study is also to cover the relationship between the two houses of Congress, the employment and remuneration of personnel by the members and committees of Congress, and the structure of and relationships between the various standing, special and select committees; but no change in parliamentary rules is to be recommended.

The committee is to consist of six senators and six representatives, to be chosen by the presiding officers of each house, not more than three of each group to be from the same party. Reports are to be rendered every six months until the study is finished

Reconversion, Federal Surplus Acts Leave Many Problems

President Roosevelt when signing the reconversion and surplus war property disposal bills called upon Congress to supplement both measures with additional legislation. As to the reconversion bill, although commending it as far as it went, he urged that federalized minimum standards of the amount and duration of unemployment insurance benefits be established and that they be extended to federal employees in war work. He also called the bill inadequate as to unified programs for demobilization of civilian war workers and their re-employment in peacetime activities.

The surplus property bill was criticized as likely to delay reconversion by confused methods of disposition and elaborate restrictions; but it was hoped that Congress would consider recommendation of the three-man disposal board based on its actual operation.

The latter bill gives priority to states and their subdivisions after federal agencies in the disposal of surplus war property. The amount of the surplus has been increasing, especially from army sources, although a considerable amount has already been disposed of by various federal agencies.

Council-Manager Plan News

Hope that the voters of **Little Rock, Arkansas,** may regain the right to vote on the adoption of a council-manager plan has been revived by the passage of a favorable resolution by the Arkansas Municipal Police Association. Under a 1931 enabling act two votes on the manager plan were held in Little Rock. Although the plan was not adopted, local politicians tried to make another vote impossible and persuaded the legislature to repeal the enabling act in 1939. The Little Rock police opposed the manager plan at the elections, but are reported to have been displeased by actions of the eighteen-man board of aldermen regarding civil service and other matters, and now to favor a change. The police association at its annual meeting in Little Rock on September 20 adopted a resolution urging the legislature to re-enact a law giving Arkansas cities the right to vote on a city manager form of government.

In **Chattanooga, Tennessee,** the board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce has unanimously voted to institute a study of the council-manager plan by a special committee. Chattanooga has had a commission government since 1911, and President E. E. Brown of the Chamber declared that postwar problems will require a modernized, efficient governmental plan. It is not intended that the manager plan be installed prior to the expiration of the terms of the present five commissioners in 1947; and there could still be five commissioners or councilmen (one of them being mayor), who would select a manager. One of three prospective members of the State House of Representatives has spoken favorably of the plan, which will require legislative action.

Johnson City, Tennessee, one of seven manager cities in that state, reports that in five years under a manager it has reduced tax rates and accumulated a surplus of $288,368, whereas the former government in ten years had annual deficits aggregating $1,134,359; that bonded debt has been reduced over 10 per cent, or $324,070, and annual interest by nearly 30 per cent, or $49,021.

The annual meeting of the Maine Town and City Managers' Association was held in Houlton on September 8 and 9, with 24 managers in attendance. Maine now leads all other states in the number of managers, having 55 city and town managers on the official list of the International City Managers' Association.

In **Burlington, North Carolina,** the civic committee of the Chamber of Commerce has prepared for submission to popular vote a proposal for replacing the present mayor-aldermanic form of government by the manager form with a council of five, one from each of four wards and one at large. The proposal was to be placed before a general civic committee composed of leaders in the community. A widespread poll of citizens by questionnaire was conducted by the Chamber committee and resulted in only two replies in favor of the present governmental plan.

Manager charters are on the November 7 ballot in **Berkley, Midland** and **River Rouge, Michigan.** In the same state **Vassar** and **Rogers City,** formerly villages, are contemplating adoption of manager charters in the near future.

A city manager proposal in **Hayward, California,** was defeated, 864 to 551, at a special election on September 26.

City Managers' Conference Stresses Postwar Needs

The International City Managers' Association held its 31st annual conference in Chicago on October 12 to 17 with 133 managers from 29 states and the province of Quebec, Canada, and 127 others in attendance.

Conference speakers gave the managers a vision of what their cities might become through planning and management, and the managers themselves through their own discussion developed some of the tools and techniques of management needed to build the city of the future.

The managers who have met the problems of the war period were warned by Herbert Emmerich, associate director of the Public Administration Clearing House, Chicago, and former commissioner of the Federal Public Housing Authority, that they face in the postwar period even greater problems that can be solved most effectively by giving more attention to over-all management; they were told that the greatest strides in the techniques of management have been made by the cities, yet those cities are losing prestige as the federal and state governments enter the field of local government. An important postwar task of the manager will be the development of intergovernment relations that will assure the city of its place in the determination of policy.

Louis Wirth, professor of sociology, University of Chicago, and former director of the Illinois Postwar Planning Commission, pointed out that, if present population trends continue, postwar cities with few exceptions will be mature cities and that it will take comprehensive plans based on studies of the economic and social basis of cities to prevent their decay.

Floyd W. Reeves, professor of administration, University of Chicago, and former chairman of the conference on postwar readjustment of civilian and military personnel, presented the facts on postwar employment, stressing the need for cities to complete their plans for postwar public works. The banquet speaker, Dr. Charles E. Merriam, professor emeritus of political science, University of Chicago, called the manager plan the greatest contribution of the United States to the field of governmental administration; he cited the manager plan to show that democracy need not be inefficient.

The managers divided by population groups to discuss current day-to-day problems. Another day was devoted to the techniques of over-all management organized around two panel discussions, one on the development of department heads and other administrative personnel and the second on how the manager exercises control over activities.

The conference guest of honor, Louis Brownlow, director of the Public Administration Clearing House, reviewed the history of the association and its over-all influence on management through the last three decades. Other speakers included Walter H. Blucher, executive director, American Society of Planning Officials; Carl H. Chatters, executive director, Municipal Finance Officers Association; J. J. Donovan, acting director, Civil Service Assembly; and Earl D. Mallery, executive director, American Municipal Association.

Four managers were awarded 25-year service certificates: H. J. Graeser, Marshall, Texas; V. J. Hultquist, Aloca, Tennessee; Fred E. Johnston, Sallisaw, Oklahoma; and Theodore H. Townsend, St. Johns, Michigan.

At the annual business meeting the following new officers were elected: J. R. French, Verdun, Quebec, president, and Bill N. Taylor, Port Arthur, Texas, H. A. Yancey, Greensboro, North Carolina, and E. M. Shafter, Royal Oak, Michigan, vice-presidents.

Toronto Institutes Study of Departmental Consolidation

The Board of Control of the city of Toronto, Ontario, has established an advisory committee of six members to study and report on the question of amalgamation of the city's departments and services. The committee has been asked to study the entire governmental service of the city and to make recommendations for more efficient and economical functioning thereof, including the possibilities of consolidation. The committee is headed by William J. Stewart, former mayor and present speaker of the Assembly, three other former city officials, the president of the Toronto District Labor Council and the managing director of the Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research.

Civil Service Progress in Louisiana Cities

The Louisiana legislature has adopted laws to establish the merit system in Alexandria and Bogalusa, including city employees other than police and firemen, who are already covered. A five-man civil service commission in each city will be in control of the system. Alexandria will have a director of personnel as administrator. In Bogalusa one of the elected commissioners will act as secretary.

The legislature also provided for the appointment by the State Civil Service Commission from an eligible list of a state examiner for the existing police and fire civil service commissions in eight Louisiana cities, this examiner to be independent of the Department of State Civil Service.

The New Orleans Department of Civil Service has initiated an in-service training program to prepare city employees for higher jobs.

American Bar Association Examines Merit System

The special committee on civil service of the American Bar Association has reported plans for a comprehensive survey of the operation of the merit system, according to the Civil Service Assembly. It is expected to result in recommendations for strengthening the system in national, state and local government.

Researcher's Digest

Cost of Living Salary Plans Analyzed

Study Outlines Provisions for Adoption in Detroit

COST-of-Living Salary Adjustment Plans for Municipal Employees, by J. M. Leonard and Rosina Mohaupt, issued by the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research,** is a comprehensive and authoritative reference on cost-of-living salary plans. The present report —a revision and enlargement of an earlier one—contains a review and analysis of typical plans in operation, and puts forth a recommended plan.

St. Paul was the pioneer in the field, adopting the system in 1922. Its plan has therefore withstood the prosperous twenties and the depression of the thirties. Recently many other cities have adopted the plan of adjusting salaries of employees to a cost-of-living index. In addition to St. Paul, the report reviews the plans of Milwaukee, Columbus, Portland (Oregon) and Duluth. The plans of five smaller cities are also examined as well as industrial and the Canadian Dominion Plans.

The features deemed most reasonable and practical of the several systems are gathered together and presented as a recommended plan. Its basic features and its details are explained, and reasons given for supporting the proposal.

Maryland State and Local Government Relations Studied

A new booklet, *Certain Aspects of State and Local Government Relationships in Maryland,* by the staff of the **Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy of Baltimore,** contains a striking analysis of representation in the state legislature, the relation of assessed to real value of real estate, state revenues and state aid. Although some of these subjects seem far apart, all influence the relation of urban and rural elements in the state.

The booklet makes the not uncommon finding that the urban population is grossly under-represented in both houses of the state legislature. In Maryland an amendment of the constitution is necessary to correct this situation.

Average assessed value of real estate in Maryland ranges from 67 per cent of real value in two counties to 100 per cent in Baltimore City. This results in considerable inequity since the state obtains part of its revenue from a tax on real estate.

Finally, an analysis of the ratio of state aid received to state revenue contributed results in the finding that the more populous counties and Baltimore City contribute much more than they receive, while the less populous counties receive much more than they contribute.

Cooperation on Personnel Problems

Intergovernmental cooperation is coming to be recognized more and more as an effective method of increasing governmental efficiency and bettering standards. One of the counties most alive to its possibilities is Los Angeles County, California.

In Judith N. Jamison's *Intergovernmental Cooperation in Public Personnel Administration in the Los Angeles Area,* the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of California at Los Angeles** has published a timely and challenging study. It illustrates well what voluntary cooperation can accomplish, given a chance.

Through the Los Angeles County Contract Services, the cooperative personnel services of the state of California, and the State Employees' Retirement System, the local governments in the Los Angeles County area have progressed rapidly toward universal acceptance of the merit system, even by the smaller municipalities. It is well recognized that smaller units of government cannot afford their own competent personnel agency. By the methods in use in Los Angeles County smaller municipalities can by contract secure the services of qualified personnel officers at nominal expense and many larger municipalities have found the new devices helpful too.

Indiana Bureau Investigates Water and Sewerage Problems

A study by John E. Stoner and Pressly S. Sikes, of the **Bureau of Government Research, Indiana University,** and the Division of Environmental Sanitation of the Indiana State Board of Health, of *Water and Sewerage Systems in Indiana*, discusses the planning of future construction now.

The authors cover a wide range of subjects, including reasons for water works and sewerage improvements, water supply problems, the need for sewers and sewage treatment plants, the financial capacity of municipalities, legal methods of raising funds, how to start a project, legal background, constitutional limitation on debts, and restrictions on the power to tax.

A long appendix is included, giving statistical data on municipal water and sewerage systems in Indiana.

Potpourri

County Government

Six consecutive issues of *Just A Moment*, published by the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau,** have been devoted to a description of the governmental structure of Erie County. Included is a listing of the methods by which the county may reorganize and modernize its government, with comment on attempts which have already been made but failed. "Three cities, 25 towns, 16 incorporated villages, 200-odd school districts, and a general county government to serve a community of less than a million souls," comments the Bureau, "suggests the need of simplification which one day may be demanded."

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Police

The **Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee** has issued two bulletins on police: "Crime Statistics and Police Forces in the 25 Largest U. S. Cities," demonstrates that Milwaukee "has consistently had one of the very best records as to freedom from crime and few traffic accident deaths"; "Support the Police Chief's Request for One-Man Patrol Cars" discusses the degree of motorization of police departments in the 25 leading cities, showing that Milwaukee's police are among the "least motorized."

Rochester's police pension fund is discussed by the **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research** in several issues of its monthly bulletin.

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Assessments

"Assessed Valuation of Real Estate Compared to Sale Price in St. Louis City" and "The Failure to Equalize Property Valuations Among Missouri Counties" are the subjects of two numbers of *Mind Your Business,* issued by the **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute.**

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Finance

A 24-page pamphlet on the *Finances of the City of New Haven 1920-1943* has been published by the **New Haven Taxpayers Research Council.** In stating the need for such a comparative study the Council says: "For the citizens to appraise intelligently they must have an understanding of the present situation in relation to past financial transactions. If such information is presented in simple terms its usefulness is multiplied."

"Providence Needs a Postwar Financial Program," says the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau.** "The city has achieved a financial stability that presents the first real opportunity in several years to develop a sound long-range fiscal program" but "it is a demonstrable fact that barring unforeseen developments Providence in the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1945, will again be faced with the necessity of bridging a considerable gap between revenues and expenditures." The Bureau discusses past financial problems leading to present conditions. It lists various sources of revenue which might be used by the city to supplement the general property tax—income tax, service charges, parking meters. With due allowance for reasonable economies, the Bureau finds, the balancing of the 1945-46 and subsequent budgets will require additional revenues of approximately a million dollars.

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Budgets

"A personally conducted tour through the 1944 budget" is what the **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research** terms its "Functional Analysis of the Current Document—What the Taxpayer Gets for the Taxes He Pays."

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Salaries

The **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations** has published a 32-page statistical booklet entitled *Municipal Salaries in Massachusetts.* It contains not only detailed figures by municipalities, but also figures on average salaries and recent salary adjustments.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Assessment

Assessed Valuation of Real Estate Compared to Sale Price in St. Louis City. To Equalize Property Valuations Among Missouri Counties. St. Louis, Governmental Research Institute, *Mind Your Business,* July 11 and September 19, 1944. 8 and 4 pp. respectively.

Personnel

Intergovernmental Cooperation in Public Personnel Administration in the Los Angeles Area. By Judith Norvell Jamison. Los Angeles, Bureau of Governmental Research, University of California, 1944. x, 107 pp.

Police

Crime Statistics and Police Forces in the 25 Largest U. S. Cities. Support the Police Chief's Request for One-man Patrol Cars! Milwaukee, Citizens Bureau, *Bulletin,* September 9 and 23, 1944. 3 and 2 pp. respectively.

Police and Firemen's Pensions. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, Inc., *Just a Moment,* October 5, 1944. 4 pp.

Rochester's Police Pension Fund, Its Beginning. Rochester's Police Pension Fund, Its Development. Rochester, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Monthly Bulletin,* July and August, 1944. 1 page each.

Salaries

Cost-of-Living Salary Adjustment Plans for Municipal Employees. By J. M. Leonard and Rosina Mohaupt. Detroit 26, Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, 1944. iii, 42 pp. 50 cents.

The Ever Present Salary and Wage Problem. Salaries and Wages Should be Fixed at Budget Making Time. Cleveland, Citizens League, *Greater Cleveland,* October 5, 1944. 3 pp.

Municipal Salaries in Massachusetts 1943. Boston, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, 1944. 32 pp.

State-Local Relations

Certain Aspects of State and Local Government Relations in Maryland. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc., 1944. 24 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Finances of the City of New Haven 1920-1943. New Haven 10, New Haven Taxpayers Research Council, Inc., 1944. 24 pp.

Postwar Improvement Program Financing. Postwar Financing in Other Cities. San Francisco 4, San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research, *News Bulletin,* October 3 and 10, 1944. 2 and 3 pp. respectively.

Providence Needs A Postwar Financial Program. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, 1944. 8 pp.

What the Taxpayer Gets for the Taxes He Pays. A Personally Conducted Tour Through the 1944 Budget. Functional Analysis of the Current Document. Rochester, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1944. 4 pp.

Voting

From ½ to 2/3 of Maryland Citizens Do Not Vote. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc., *Your Tax Dollar,* August 25, 1944. 6 pp.

Water and Sewerage

Water and Sewerage Systems in Indiana. The Planning of Future Construction Now. By John E. Stoner and Pressly S. Sikes. Bloomington, Bureau of Government Research, Department of Government, Indiana University, and Indianapolis 7, Division of Environmental Sanitation, Indiana State Board of Health, 1944. 97 pp.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Toledo Voters Inspect Their City

County, City, Schools Surveyed by Committee

RECOMMENDATIONS of the **Municipal League of Toledo**, based on a 1941 survey, that the Lucas County Hospital be reorganized on a more business-like basis are bearing fruit. At the end of the year 1943, when the hospital had been operating under a reorganization plan for only seven months, the hospital books showed a cash surplus—after payment of bills for previous purchases and for materials purchased and stored for use beyond the instant fiscal period—of $11,838.

Not only has the financial picture improved greatly, but also the efficiency of the hospital. "The care and treatment of the indigent sick is no longer a source of conflict between the officials of Lucas County and the city of Toledo," reports the Municipal League. "Salaries of hospital employees have been revised upward to conform with present-day levels; food standards have been raised; quicker, more modern, more efficient, and therefore better care and treatment have been afforded patients—yet costs per day per patient have been held to $4; and for the first time the Lucas County General Hospital is self-supporting."

Under the reorganization plan state money has been made available for hospitalization with a resultant decrease in the hospital's demand on county and municipal tax revenues. The amount of the savings to these local units has not been tallied as yet but officials of both the county and the city inform the League that savings will be appreciable.

The newly organized **Committee of Forty,** with which the Municipal League is closely affiliated, has undertaken an over-all survey of the current and postwar financial problems of Lucas County, the city of Toledo and the Toledo School District. Frank H. Adams is chairman.

The Committee represents a good cross-section of the various interests actively supporting good government in the Toledo area. It has been subdivided into various subcommittees: operations, debt service, capital outlay, methods of financing and research. The general chairman and subcommittee chairmen make up the executive committee.

All subcommittees are now functioning and already several preliminary reports have been prepared. It is hoped that these reports, after coordination by the executive committee, will be released through a publicity chairman about the first of the year.

Here and There

County Home Rule

About 550 members of the **Detroit Citizens League** circulated petitions to put the county home rule amendment for Wayne County on the November 7 ballot. All told, they secured over 11,000 signatures of registered voters. The League asks all voters to read the county home rule measure as published in Detroit newspapers in order to counteract the campaign of misrepresentation conducted by its political opponents.

The *Oregon Voter* urges its readers to support the constitutional amendment in that state to authorize counties to adopt the manager form of government by popular vote. The **Oregon League of Women Voters,** one of the prime movers in placing the amendment on the ballot, is campaigning vigorously for its adoption.

* * *

War Veterans' Return

The **Portland (Oregon) City Club** has devoted several luncheon meetings to problems of service men and women after the war and legislation to benefit the returning war veteran. One meeting presented a panel discussion with representatives of Disabled American Veterans, Veterans of Foreign Wars, the American Legion, American Red Cross, and the Oregon War Veterans Service Committee taking part. Two state veteran measures on the November 7 ballot in Oregon are being studied by City Club committees.

* * *

With the Women Voters

Action, a new monthly publication of the **National League of Women Voters,** made its bow to members of the 550 local leagues throughout the country, numbering about 50,000, in October. Contributors to the first issue include Anna Lord Strauss, national League president, and Malvina Lindsay, Washington columnist.

The National Board of the League has sent out to state groups a series of suggestions on how to bring the importance of voting home to the voters. Among the suggestions are: a speakers' bureau; public forums; neighborhood discussions; flyers for distribution in factories, business houses, organizations, etc.; seeking the cooperation of newspapers, street car companies, radio stations, advertisers, stores with display windows, movie houses; setting up of pre-election information booths, asking schools to have teachers remind their pupils of the importance of their parents' voting. Last but not least, walking up and down the busy streets at the lunch hour on November 7 wearing a sign: "I have voted, have you?"

In urging its members to "ring doorbells" in its pre-election work this year, Elizabeth Nay, writing in the *Illinois Voter* (published by the **Illinois League of Women Voters**) comments on the campaign work of other groups. "As League members," says Miss Nay, "we will be watching with interest to see the effectiveness of their methods. In the meantime we are glad our concern with government and the citizens' role in it is shared by so many diverse groups.

"Surely Mr. and Mrs. Citizen are going to be reached as never before, and if traffic policemen are needed to regulate the door-bell ringing hordes, so much the better. It might be good practice for League workers to get there 'fustest' and with the 'mostest.'"

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Annual Legislative Sessions

Taxtalk, organ of the **Massachusetts Taxpayers Association**, asks a "big no vote" on a proposed constitutional amendment to return to annual legislative sessions in that state. First move for biennial sessions was made in December 1933 when initiative petitions failed of acceptance by the legislature. Several additional attempts also failed to meet the legislative hurdle, until the 1935 and 1936 General Courts (legislatures) passed the amendment and placed it on the 1938 state election ballot. It was adopted by a 748,000 to 417,000 popular vote.

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The Schools Surveyed

More than 6,500 questionnaires have been mailed by the **Seattle Municipal League** to Seattle parents seeking to measure their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their children's education. Opinions are also being secured from persons who now employ recent graduates of Seattle schools. Both groups have been asked whether they are satisfied with the results of training now being given by the schools in writing, spelling, grammar, reading, mathematics and United States history. The League's Committee on Public Schools will study the questionnaires in order to measure public opinion on the service Seattle schools are rendering.

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City Planning

Citizen groups of **Highland Park, Michigan**, are asking immediate improvement in parked street entrances and playgrounds. The committees are recommending acquisition and improvement of a number of residential areas.

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"Symbols and Shrines"

"Symbols and Shrines" is the slogan of the **Vermont State Chamber of Commerce** in its campaign for war memorials which actually record for future generations the story of the war and the heroism of those playing a part in it. "A community convenience labeled 'War Memorial' cannot be a genuine war memorial," says James P. Taylor, secretary of the Chamber, in a letter to the *New York Herald Tribune*, "unless associated with it is a symbol or a shrine that tells a story, dramatizes an idea, rouses an emotion, immortalizes a personal influence."

* * *

City Manager

The four **Kiwanis Clubs of San Diego, California**, have adopted resolutions opposing "any charter changes that would take away any authority or eliminate any function of the city manager." The four clubs represent San Diego, East San Diego, Ocean Beach and La Jolla.

* * *

Local Finance

Visualizing Debts and Taxes is the title of a bulletin of the **Chicago Civic**

Federation. Covered are the six Chicago governments—Cook County, city of Chicago, Board of Education and the Sanitary, Park and Forest Preserve Districts. The bulletin outlines graphically much of the data contained in the Federation's *Debts—Taxes—Assessments.* Charts cover for a varying period of years the general property tax, gross bonded debt, assessments and bonded debt of Chicago, comparative margins of borrowing power, trend of unpaid tax bills, anticipation tax warrants, uncollected taxes, comparative tax rates, etc. A pie chart shows how the 1943 property tax dollar within the city of Chicago was spent.

The Utah Taxpayers Association has published a comparison of property tax levies for 1943 and 1944 for the state, counties, schools, cities and towns.

* * *

Strictly Personal

Charles Edison, until recently Governor of New Jersey, is campaigning actively for adoption of the proposed New Jersey state constitution, speaking almost daily in its behalf. During his term in office constitutional revision was one of Governor Edison's chief objectives.

The Chicago City Club has elected **William H. Haight,** well known Chicago attorney and a member of the club since 1919, as its president. Mr. Haight succeeds Herman L. Ellsworth, president for the past four years. Mr. Haight has served on various committees of the Club and since 1936 has been a member of the Board of Governors.

The Detroit Citizens League has announced the election of **Christian H. Hecker** as its president for the forthcoming year. Mr. Hecker, succeeding David H. Barnett who served as president four years, was previously a member of the Executive Board and has served on the League's Committee on Candidates and Questions.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Should P. R. Be Used for Elections in Italy?

Advantages Cited for New Democratic Governments

Editor's Note.—The following letter appeared in the *New York Times* of September 1 and was reprinted in full by the *Ottawa Citizen,* whose editor, William M. Southam, sent it with a *Citizen* editorial favoring P. R. for Canada to every member of the Canadian Parliament.

To the Editor of the *New York Times*:

Your editorial of August 20 "To Make Democracy Strong" appears to accept the totally unproved theory, which has gained some credence in this country, that proportional representation was at least partly responsible for Mussolini and Hitler and tends in general to a multiplication of parties and a parliamentary ineptitude which paves the way for popular disgust and dictatorship.

That no such general charge can be fairly leveled at P. R. is demonstrated by the fact that Switzerland, Eire, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium and Czechoslovakia have all used forms of P. R. for their national parliaments for periods ranging from eighteen to forty years and still have it except for the temporary interruption of Nazi occupation in some of them. These are all among the most successful democracies in the world.

France, which is usually cited as a prize example of bloc government, never had P. R. and was in the process of adopting it when the Nazis walked in. The Chamber of Deputies had accepted it but the Senate had not yet acted.

Democracy Not Weakened

If you compare the success and stability of government in Ireland and Sweden, for example, both of which now have one party in an absolute majority under P. R. and get along very well even when there is no such majority, with the difficulties of government in France and Spain without P. R., it is clear that P. R. cannot be charged with any general tendency to make democracy weak.

But let us not avoid the worst examples. Italy and Germany did have forms of P. R. before their dictators took over. You say that P. R. in Italy and Germany "shattered the electorate and the legislature into a multitude of parties and factions of bitter extremists who would have had no real chance of getting into power under the majority-voting system and the two-party system." Is this charge justified by the facts?

Neither Italy nor Germany ever had the two-party system, though both had the majority-voting system for a considerable period before P. R. came in. Both had a multiplicity of parties before P. R. and P. R. did not materially affect the number of parties with substantial representation. To the extent that the many-party situation was responsible for their difficulties, it was not chargeable to P. R. P. R. merely gave the many parties equitable instead of distorted representation.

But other countries with many parties—Switzerland, the Netherlands and Denmark, for example—have fared very well in their democratic governments. It was not even the many-party system which caused the failure in Italy and Germany.

Absolved in Italy

Italy had P. R. in effect for only two years, and most of the damage had been done before its arrival. The Italian Socialist party, disgusted with the political intrigues long experienced under the majority system, voted in 1919 against the advice of its own leaders to turn its back on parliamentary institutions and prepare for a proletarian revolution. The Socialist party was an important party in Italy, not created by P. R. This decision on its part prevented its elected representatives from taking their natural share of responsibility for providing Italy with a government and at the same time gave ammunition to Mussolini in arousing the people against the expected Socialist revolt.

In 1922, the year of the march on Rome, a majority of the Socialist deputies declared themselves ready, despite their instructions, to support a new cabinet to restore public peace, but it was then too late. Professor Salvemini, in his history of the Fascist dictatorship, says: "Had the Socialists taken their decision in July 1921 (one year earlier) they would probably have saved their country from the evils of military Fascist anarchy and free institutions from destruction."

In Germany there is evidence that even the defective form of P. R. there used saved the republic from overthrow by monarchist parties on more than one occasion before the rise of the Nazis and probably delayed the advent of Hitler by two elections by giving full representation to the smaller moderate parties of the center. No one who has noticed the Communist representation in France or the recent Socialist victory in Saskatchewan, for instance, can logically contend that the majority system would have kept the Nazi party from developing. Once it became the largest party, there is every reason to believe that the majority system would have exaggerated its representation.

Hitler's Strong-Arm Methods

Hitler never did win a majority under P. R. and got control of the Reichstag only by throwing out the Communist deputies with the aid of the more moderate Nationalists. Having thus achieved a fictitious majority, he proceeded to throw out everybody else, including the Nationalists. This is a striking illustration of the little-understood truth that the representation of all substantial minorities, even the most unpopular, is essential to majority rule. The Communists could not hope to impose communism by their minority votes, but they were an essential part of the majority against Nazi dictatorship.

Returning to Italy, the main subject of your editorial: just think what trouble there will be if the new Italy does not use some form of proportional representation. There are several large parties there, and no electoral system or other device can bring them down to two. Under the plurality system, with several parties contesting, the normal result will be for a majority in each district to fail to elect the persons they wanted. Furthermore, the total result will be an obvious distortion of electoral justice, with some one or two parties getting far more than their share and others being unfairly shut out. It was just such a situation which led to the civil war in Spain.

Switzerland's Case

When the Italian-speaking Canton of Ticino in Switzerland was torn by civil strife after an unfair election result in 1889, proportional representation was introduced as the remedy at the suggestion of the federal government. The Canton was pacified and P. R. gradually spread to the other cantons and then to the federal government itself. Would it not be better to give the new Italian democracy the benefit of a fair system to start with, rather than subject it to the quite unnecessary strains of electoral injustice?

A democratic government is as strong as its popular support. A government in which a majority of the people are not represented by deputies of their own choosing, a government which is regarded as a caricature of real popular desires, is bound to be weak, no matter how controlling a majority it may have in the legislature. On the other hand, a government based on a legislature in which nearly everyone feels he is fairly represented is essentially strong, even if no one party is in a position to lay down the law to the rest.

The Reverend Canon Luce, professor of moral philosophy at Trinity College, Dublin, summed up the effect of P. R. in Ireland in these words:

"P. R. has been a healing force in our midst. Old political feuds are dying; public spirit is replacing faction. Our elections are well conducted. The voice of reason is heard, and the gun is silent. P. R. deserves much of the credit; for P. R. produces contented and loyal minorities, whereas the other system breeds muzzled, sullen, discontented minorities, predisposed to doctrines of violence. P. R. has been a unifying force, and unity is strength."

George H. Hallett, Jr., *Secretary*
Citizens Union of the City of New York.

From a Canadian Editorial

"It would be wiser . . . so [to] adjust our electoral system that all substantial shades of political thinking will be registered fully and justly in the House of Commons. The system in satisfactory operation in Winnipeg, Calgary and Edmonton for the last twenty years for provincial elections should be adopted for the coming federal elections—P. R. with the single transferable vote in multi-member constituencies." *Ottawa Evening Citizen*, September 4, 1944.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Warwick County Adopts Manager Plan

Popular Vote on Virginia Optional Form Successful

ON SEPTEMBER 19, 1944, by a vote of 1389 to 902, Warwick County, Virginia, became the ninth manager county in the United States and the fourth in Virginia. The voters approved the "county manager" optional form of county organization as provided by the legislature in a 1932 statute; previously Henrico County had been the only one in Virginia to organize under this provision.

Four principal changes were made by adoption of the new form of government:

(1) The three members of the Board of Supervisors will be elected on a county-wide basis but one must reside in each of the three districts. Under the old system the voters of each district elected one supervisor and, as the two upper districts, which contain less than 20 per cent of the voters of the county, elected two of the three supervisors, they controlled the county government.

(2) A county manager is to be appointed by the Board of Supervisors to serve at its will. He will devote his entire time to managing the affairs of the county and will be responsible for the efficient operation of county departments. Departments—finance, welfare, law enforcement, public works, records, and health—may be combined or eliminated as required to suit the needs of the county; the manager may also serve as head of one or more departments. The manager is to appoint department heads and subordinate officers.

(3) The former elective offices of treasurer and commissioner of revenue will be combined into one finance department under the manager; its head will be appointive.

(4) The school board will be appointed by and serve at the will of the supervisors.

Formerly the departments of law enforcement, welfare, and education were controlled through direct or indirect appointments by the circuit judge. Three officers in addition to the supervisors will continue to be elected: sheriff, clerk of courts, and commonwealth attorney.

Savings Anticipated

It is expected that the new plan will cost less than the old. Savings of about $23,000 resulting from elimination of the offices of treasurer and commissioner of revenue will more than cover the cost of the manager and the new department of finance. Other savings are anticipated from centralized purchasing for all departments, taking advantage of discounts, efficient and economical management, etc.

Warwick County has had a tremendous increase in population in the last few years as a result of wartime industry in and around Newport News. For many decades it has been boss-ridden, the political dynasty going back to the nineteenth century.

E. W. W.

Beaver County, Pa., Plans for Tomorrow

Beaver County, Pennsylvania, commissioners recently received a comprehensive postwar planning report as a result of an exhaustive physical, sociological and economic survey of the county authorized by the county commissioners approximately six months ago. The program that is recommended calls for public and private expenditure of more than $50,000,000 providing 3,000,000 man-days of employment over a five-year period.

Beaver County is the third largest industrial producer in Pennsylvania and has an assessed valuation of $100,000,000. It is proposed that the $52,000,000 be secured from the following sources: Private housing and industrial expansion, $18,600,000; state of Pennsylvania, $15,500,000; federal government, $7,800,000; local units in the county, $5,000,000; the county, $2,800,000; miscellaneous sources account for the remainder.

It is estimated that there will be 13,000 persons seeking employment in the county at the end of the war. The county will be in a position to offer many acres of available land not being used at present and tremendous industrial equipment much of which is now idle. The public works proposed by the report include construction of nine airports, reforestation and soil erosion control of 49,000 acres, erection of miles of flood control dikes, levees and walls, establishment of three parks, the building of seven swimming pools, highway and bridge improvement, housing, water supply, and sanitation including sewage disposal and elimination of stream pollution.

Colorado City and County Establish Joint Health Unit

Las Animas County and Trinidad, Colorado, have agreed to establish a complete county-city health unit to be financed by city, county and state funds. Its staff will include a public health physician, a sanitarian, seven nurses, and the necessary clerical staff. A modern health center building will be constructed as soon as possible.

Pennsylvania Township Commissioners Meet

The Pennsylvania State Association of Township Commissioners has held its 1944 annual convention at which were discussed problems of municipal surcharges, postwar planning, and other phases of the progress of township government in Pennsylvania. Several members of the Association were presented meritorious awards for their contributions in the field of local government.

Addresses delivered at the convention have been published by the Pennsylvania Government Administration Service in a pamphlet entitled *Pennsylvania Township Government—Problems and Progress.* Also included in the pamphlet is an official roster of the 1944 township officials.

County Employees Decrease but Payrolls Rise

The number of county government employees,[1] estimated at 323,000 in July 1944, suggests that the downward trend in the number of county nonschool employees since 1940 has been arrested. A decrease was apparent in the last prewar year of 1941, but the important diminution was in the first war year of 1942. The lower level of county employment in 1943 is being repeated in 1944.

In contrast county payrolls are continuing to rise. The estimated payroll of $38,900,000 for the month of July 1944 was 16 per cent higher than the payroll for the corresponding months of 1940 and 1941. During the past year the rate of county pay increase has accelerated, the rise in the last year exceeding that during the entire four previous years.

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[1] Excludes school employees in Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee—the only states in which the counties directly administer schools. Data are from the Bureau of the Census, "Public Employment in July 1944," *Government Employment,* vol. 5, no. 5, (preliminary).

County governments in July 1944 employed one-sixth of the estimated total of 1,935,000 state and local government nonschool personnel and paid one-sixth of the total payroll of $250,000,000 for such employees.[2]

Over one-third of county nonschool employees in January 1944 were engaged in the county function designated "general control." Compensation of such employees constituted a slightly higher ratio to the total January payroll. As was to be expected, the proportion of both employees and payroll required by the general-control function was higher in the counties of smaller population than in the larger counties.

Despite the reduction in the number of highway employees because of wartime shortages of labor and materials, the highway function still required almost one-fourth of the total employees and total payrolls, making it the second most prominent county function. Third largest functional group was hospital personnel and payrolls.

Nearly two-fifths of all county employees were in the following six states, arranged in descending order of numbers of employees: California, Ohio, Texas, New York, Michigan, and Pennsylvania. California easily led the list of states having the largest county employment in April 1944. Its county employment was nearly twice that of the next highest state, Ohio.

Ranking all states, the New England group was at the bottom of the list, as would be expected in view of the limited role played by the county in those states.

The foregoing data are derived mainly from the Census Bureau's report on *County Employment: 1944*, which states that this report is "one of a series of quarterly public employment reports and the first of an annual series relating to county employment. Two important changes in the separate reports on public employment of states, of cities, and of counties are being made, effective with the 1944 series: (1) Each of these reports will be issued annually—instead of quarterly as has been the practice in the past four years—but unpublished quarterly data will be available upon request; (2) the city and the county reports will present estimates of total city and total county employment, respectively, in addition to employment data of individual cities having populations over 10,000 and of individual counties having populations over 50,000. The county report will be for January, the state report for July, and the city report for October."

New Jersey Taxpayers Request Expenditure Reduction

The New Jersey Taxpayers Association has announced that the state's taxpayers must raise nearly a million dollars more for their county governments this year than they did in 1942. It points out that the over-all operating cost has increased 9.62 per cent in the two-year period, and it recommends that county officials take steps immediately to decrease these costs. "By controlled and economical spending for operating expenses, county governments will be enabled to decrease the amounts to be raised by taxation," says the Association bulletin.

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[2] Loc. cit. table 1.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Market for Municipal Bonds Softening

Important New Issues Have Been Marked Down in Price

As more and more local units work out their plans to finance their postwar improvement programs, and an increasing number actually come on the market to sell bond issues in advance of the need for cash, it is timely for local officials and citizens interested in local finance to take note of the recent "softening" tendency in the municipal bond market. It may well be that the recent period when local units could sell their obligations at peak prices is just about over, at least until actual postwar readjustments are under way and the overall needs and capacities of the postwar money market are clarified.

The trend is shown in the index of municipal bond yields compiled by *The Bond Buyer*. The lower the yield, of course, the higher the bond price and, conversely, the higher the yield, the lower the price. The index for twenty representative issues moved steadily down, from 1.77 per cent on January 1, 1944, to 1.59 per cent on August 1, indicating a more or less steady upward movement of prices. The index for September 1, however, was unchanged from August 1, at 1.59 per cent, and for October 1 it rose to 1.66 per cent, bringing prices back to the March level. The index for eleven high grade bonds has shown more fluctuations, falling from 1.44 per cent on January 1 to 1.31 per cent on both March 1 and April 1, and rising to 1.35 per cent May 1. June and July saw respectively a downward and upward movement, but the year's low was reached August 1 at 1.30 per cent and the September 1 index was also 1.30 per cent. For October 1, however, the yield index moved up to 1.36 per cent, or approximately to the price level prevailing at the beginning of February.

It may be noted that the trend upward in interest cost has not yet greatly affected sale of new obligations by the local units, but it is becoming more of a factor. Dealers are encountering slowness in disposing of the bonds they have purchased from municipalities at recent high prices, and several important new issues have been marked down in price in recent weeks, injecting an element of uncertainty which it will take only time to have reflected in the prices paid to local units directly.

The chief factor in the change now occurring is, of course, the federal government's wartime requirements for funds. The municipal market was for a considerable period greatly stimulated by federal necessities, since rising personal income and corporate tax rates made municipals exceedingly valuable to higher-bracket taxpayers who were willing to pay high prices for tax-exempt securities.

At the same time, institutional holders, especially insurance companies to whom the tax exemption feature means little or nothing, found it advantageous to dispose of the municipals in their portfolios. Thus, for a time, the market was active, despite a dearth of new issues by the local units, and such new issues as were put out by the cities, counties, etc., benefited greatly by the high price structure.

More recently, however, the market has begun to feel the effects of withdrawal of the insurance companies from the field as large-scale purchasers of municipals, and at the same time commercial banks have had to take mostly short-term municipals while the savings banks are restricting their purchases almost entirely to U. S. obligations. As the takings of the higher-bracket taxpayers able to pay extremely high prices for the tax-exemption feature grow smaller and smaller, the price structure for municipals will decline closer and closer to the level at which the institutional purchasers can afford to take municipal obligations, and consequently it is felt that the peak of local bond prices is probably past, at least as far as the war boom is concerned.

Classify Four Billions for Postwar Programs

Over $850,000,000 of plans for postwar engineering construction were initiated or carried to completion in the two months ending September 8, 1944, bringing the total tabulated to just short of $4,000,000,000, according to the recent report of the Committee on Postwar Construction of the American Society of Civil Engineers. To July 7, 1944, the total had been $3,147,640,000[1] and two months later it was $3,998,700,000, according to data reported to the Committee by *Engineering News-Record.*

The Committee has set a goal of $15,000,000,000 construction to be in the plan-completed stage by July 1, 1945, and in total the program is now about 30 per cent completed. The Committee's quota is divided $5,000,000,000 for public works and $10,000,000,000 for privately financed construction, but the privately financed portion is lagging badly, with plans for construction totaling only $281,836,000 reported as compared with $3,716,948,000 in the public works classification.

Actually, ten states account for slightly more than three-fourths of the total reported. Thirty-three states account for the remainder, and nothing is reported for five states. The table summarizes the reported figures (in millions of dollars) for the ten leaders.

It may be noted that the two leaders, New York and California, and two others among the first ten, Michigan and New Jersey, are states which have provided for state assistance to local units in preparing plans for postwar construction. New York in 1943 provided $3,000,000 to be used on a matching basis, while early this year

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[1] See the REVIEW for September 1944, p. 429.

POSTWAR CONSTRUCTION PLANS UNDER WAY OR COMPLETED[a]
(AMOUNTS IN MILLIONS)

	Public	*Private*	*Total*	
New York	$810.9	$80.8	$891.7	22.3%
California	502.3	6.6	508.9	12.8
Ohio	410.1	7.9	418.0	10.4
Texas	364.9	52.6	417.5	10.4
Michigan	231.5	7.0	238.5	6.0
Pennsylvania	160.3	21.8	182.1	4.5
Washington	108.6	4.0	112.6	2.8
Indiana	100.7	9.0	109.7	2.8
New Jersey	99.3	6.2	105.5	2.6
Maryland	88.1	8.8	96.9	2.4
Ten leaders	$2,876.7	$204.7	$3,081.4	77.0%
All other	840.2	77.1	917.3	23.0
	$3,716.9	$281.8	$3,998.7	100.0%

[a] Derived from data compiled by *Engineering News-Record* for the American Society of Civil Engineers as of September 18, 1944.

California appropriated $7,000,000 to be used for plans and $3,000,000 to be used to purchase sites. Michigan appropriated $5,000,000 to pay planning costs on a matching basis, and New Jersey provided $500,000, also for plans.

Debt Free Cities Celebrate

Publicity has recently been accorded two cities for reaching a "debt free" status. Oglesby, Illinois, attracted considerable attention early in September by holding a community picnic to celebrate retirement of the last of its city bonds; while Lansing, Michigan, has reached a stage where it has no net debt, outstanding obligations being covered by funds sufficient for their repayment without further accumulations.

The performance of these two cities is matched by the accomplishments of two counties which, so far as is known, made no particular fuss about their debt-free status. Salt Lake County, Utah, paid off earlier in the year the last of its bonds, a final $100,000 on an issue of 1919 highway obligations, while during the summer Pierce County, Washington, reached a point where interest and redemption funds sufficed to meet all remaining principal and interest payments on its bonds.

Tax on Utilities to Finance Public Works

Voters of West Palm Beach, Florida, have approved a 10 per cent tax on local utility services to help finance a seven-year $1,688,000 postwar improvement and maintenance program. The tax applies to sales of electric, gas, water and telephone service and will bring in $175,000 a year.

The tax will be added to monthly utility bills—10 per cent on each bill up to $25, 5 per cent on the next $50 and 1 per cent on any charge over $75. It is estimated each family will pay from 75 cents to $1.50 a month.

Utility companies are required to collect the tax with bills for service; any company failing to do so is liable for the amount due. Any consumer failing or refusing to pay the tax may be fined not more than $100 or jailed for a maximum of ten days or both. Utility companies must keep complete records for inspection by the city and turn tax revenues over to the city every month to be credited to the general municipal fund.

Included in a postwar plan, also approved by the voters, were a schedule of specific projects to be undertaken, estimated total seven-year cost of each, average cost per year, proposed expenditures for the first two years after the war and annual recurring additions to the budget as a result of extended service.

Improvements planned are prevention of lake pollution; reconstruction of some sewers and incinerators; repair and extension of streets, sidewalks and sea walls; replacement of equipment for the fire, police, health and public works departments; construction of a two-story fire station and codification of city ordinances.

Estimates show the city probably will spend $558,000 for postwar projects the first two years after the war, according to the International City Managers' Association. During this period the utility tax of $175,000 a year will be supplemented by $208,000 the city accumulated as a result of abnormal tax collections and curtailed operations in recent years.

The seven-year program will be financed from current revenues, and the city commission will review the program annually. The city manager, the city planning board and department heads will make studies and prepare a schedule of priorities for each succeeding year, the association said.

Local Affairs Abroad

Edited by Edward W. Weidner

Planning and Land Use Control in England

Proposed Act, White Paper Suggest Extensive Power for Local Authorities

PROPOSALS for important readjustments in land-use control are contained in the Government's Town and Country Planning Bill and its White Paper on Control of Land Use issued last June. All landowners must obtain consent from the local planning agency before they can change the use of their land; and the local agency may, through compulsory purchase if necessary, direct the development or redevelopment of the land.

The White Paper contains the bulk of proposals for negative control, i.e., control seeking to prevent undesirable changes in land use, rural or urban.[1] Although development rights remain vested in the landowner, he may not exercise them until approval of the proposed land-use change is obtained from the local planning agency. It is proposed that the local agency have the responsibility of passing on such changes and of issuing licenses therefor subject to direction and control by the ministers.

Such control over private land results in losses or gains to the landowners, depending upon individual circumstances and the decisions made. To make the matter as equitable as possible, "betterment charges" and "compensation" are provided. Under the plan betterment charges will be imposed upon all landowners in the future whenever permission is given to develop or redevelop the land. The charge will be 80 per cent of the increase, that is, 80 per cent of the difference between the value of the land with the benefit of permission and its value if permission had been refused.

Fair compensation for loss of development value existing on March 31, 1939, will be paid to owners of land which on that date had some development value if permission to develop the land is refused. Subject to arbitration in case of dispute, the assessment and payment of compensation and the assessment and collection of betterment charges will be centralized in a Land Commission responsible to ministers and through them to Parliament. It is believed that receipts of betterment charges will balance roughly the payments of fair compensation.

Both the Town and Country Planning Bill and the White Paper on Control of Land Use provide for positive land-use control, i.e., control which actually modifies or changes land use. The bill concerns itself primarily with two urban problems—blitzed and blighted areas.

For blitzed areas the bill provides that local planning authorities submit to the Minister of Town and Country Planning, within five years of the passage of the act, applications for the designation of war damaged areas needing replanning as a whole, indicating in broad terms their plans for redevelopment. If the minister approves, he is to issue an order making the land in question subject to compulsory purchase; a public local inquiry is to be held first if objections are lodged. In certain cases where the need for land is especially urgent, compulsory acquisition may be authorized although no area for redevelopment has been designated and no local inquiry need be held.

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[1] A change from one form of agriculture to another is not considered a change in land use.

The long-term provisions for blighted areas provide a similar land acquisition procedure except that there is no provision for an order by the Minister defining such an area as a whole. As a local authority desires to redevelop any particular area, it must apply to the Minister for his approval of an order for its compulsory purchase, and in every case there must be a public inquiry before approval is given.

Purchase of the land is expedited by a clause which provides that local authorities will no longer have to serve personal notices on every individual owner that powers of purchase are to be sought. Instead they will advertise in newspapers.

The bill stipulates that the value of all land acquired during the next five years, with the exception of smaller owner-occupier houses and farm land and buildings, is to be ascertained by reference to prices current on March 31, 1939. The cost of land acquisition —estimated to about £575,000,000 for war-damaged areas—will normally be met by local borrowing, and for blitzed area redevelopment national government grants equal to the loan charges for the first two years will be given, further grants depending upon local situations.

In most cases it is contemplated that the local planning authority will lease, not sell, the land in suitable plots for private development, subject to the consent of the Minister of Town and Country Planning.

Additional powers of positive land use planning are contained in the bill Provision is made for compulsory acquisition of land by local authorities to enable them to secure industrial development, to provide clinics or social centers, or to provide accommodation for people or businesses driven by the war into unsatisfactory locations and likely to return to thei former area to the detriment of its replanning. The White Paper would provide a reserve power of compulsor purchase for use in exceptional case where a landowner is unwilling t make available for development lan which is required in the interests c good planning and could not other wise be secured.

The local authority associations hav issued a joint statement setting fort their objections to the bill. The bill i defective, it is claimed, because i does not give specific power to loca planning authorities to buy land compulsorily for all public purposes. Th associations claim the bill unduly complicates the procedure for compulsory acquisition of land because it does no provide for a uniform procedure i all cases. Finally, the statement criticises the proposed national grants as inadequate, and states that the method of determining the value of the land is faulty.

If these measures are passed by Parliament in substantially their present form, it will mean that local authorities in England have been given the most extensive powers over planning and land use that they have ever had.

Change in British Parliamentary Procedure

A change proposed by the government to alter the procedure of parliamentary review of ministerial orders affects local governments in England by altering one of their legal sources of powers.

Up to now two of the main legal sources of local powers besides general acts have been local acts and provisional orders. Local governments can, with the consent of the Minister of Health and proper notices to citizens and hearings, promote the passage of a local bill by Parliament giving the locality certain special powers. In Parliament these bills are subject to "private bill procedure" characterized by an essentially judicial procedure at the committee stage, with counsels, witnesses, and testimony. On the other hand, local authorities can make application to the appropriate minister for a provisional order granting special power to the locality. Inquiries are held and the minister decides upon the application. Power to issue such orders is granted by several acts of Parliament, but the orders must eventually be approved by Parliament to become valid. However, provisional order confirmation bills are usually passed without opposition. Nevertheless, if challenged, the bills were never treated as government bills even though introduced by the respective ministers; and persons affected by the order had opportunity to petition against it.

The water and planning policies of the Government for the postwar period brought up the question of modifying this procedure, since numerous cases in which the rights of individuals were concerned would arise. Especially of concern are the utilities which have been authorized to supply certain public services by statute—e.g., railways, canal, dock and harbor authorities, electric, gas and water utilities. Under the proposed plans for postwar land-use planning and reorganization of many of these activities, individual rights of these statutory utilities would be involved in almost every reconstruction step taken.

It is felt by the government that neither the provisional order or local bill procedure is adequate because of the urgency for and comprehensiveness of action needed in the postwar period. Therefore it is proposed that the provisional order bill procedure be modified so that if the bill were challenged in Parliament, the bill would be regarded as a government measure and it would have the protection of the government whips. Furthermore, persons affected by an order would have the right to petition against it and to be heard upon their petition. They would not be able to petition against the "main purpose" of the order, however, but only against specific details. Up to now, the majority of petitions have been against the main purpose of the order.

By this new method of parliamentary review of ministerial orders the government hopes to prevent development and redevelopment plans both national and local from being stalled in Parliament because of a slow and cumbersome procedure. Parliament will consider the "main purpose" of such orders while the individuals concerned are protected by the right to petition against its details. Some idea of the importance the government attaches to the proposal is gained by the Prime Minister's closing statement on the matter: "The government contemplate that the new system should in due course replace the present system of provisional order confirmation bills."

Units of Government in England

It was disclosed in the House of Commons recently that many revisions of the areas and boundaries of local authorities have been carried out under the Local Government Acts of 1929 and 1933 which provide for county review of such matters. As a result of review by county councils of the several districts within the counties 206 urban districts and 236 rural districts have been abolished, while 49 urban districts and 67 rural districts were created—a net decrease of 157 urban and 169 rural districts. Adjustments of the majority of county districts were also made.

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKE

TVA—Democracy on the March. By David E. Lilienthal. New York City, Harper & Brothers, 1944. xvi, 248 pp. $2.50.

The chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority has written a stimulating nontechnical account of the many aspects of the TVA. The book appropriately might have been entitled "Region-Building at the Grass Roots." It is a phrase that the author uses over and over again and that aptly describes the philosophy, purpose and technique of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Region-building at the grass roots requires conservation and democracy. True conservation means resource development governed by the unity of nature herself, while true democracy means "the people must participate actively in that development." A centralized regional authority is the *sine qua non* of the former, "a federal autonomous agency, with authority to make its decisions in the region" and with "responsibility to deal with resources, as a unified whole, clearly fixed in the regional agency, not divided among several centralized federal agencies."

In order to insure democracy the decentralization of this centralized authority is necessary, a policy "that the federal regional agency work cooperatively with and through local and state agencies." To carry out this policy, "whenever there is a state or local institution which can perform part of the task that has been assigned by law to the TVA, we have sought to have that non-federal agency do it." As a result, state and local governments in the Tennessee Valley are performing more functions and are stronger and more vigorous than they were ten years ago.

By such a unified approach to co servation, a healthy regionalism— opposed to sectionalism—is being d veloped. The growth of state and loc government in the area is an effecti answer to those who put forth th hypothesis that the increased use technicians is resulting in a "manag rial revolution."

In describing the purposes, technique and accomplishments of the TVA, M Lilienthal has given us much that i new. And his presentation of its unde lying philosophy is unequalled.

E.W.W.

Veterans' Preference—A Challenge an an Opportunity. By Leonard D. White Chicago 37, Civil Service Assembly o the United States and Canada, 194 20 pp. 25 cents.

This is a timely discussion of a subject which is already looming as a postwar civil service problem. Professo White sees no great need for apprehension. "That difficult and perplexing problems are before us," he says, "cannot be doubted. It is, however, by n means certain that the public service needs to suffer. The greatest guarantee that it will *not* suffer lies in the ingenuity of personnel officers in making the most out of the rich human resources which the veterans collectively possess."

Planning for the Small American City. An Outline of Principles and Procedure Especially Applicable to the City of Fifty Thousand or Less. By Russell Van Nest Black. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1944. 86 pp. $1.

When the first edition of this publication appeared in 1933 the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW said: "One of the best dollar's worth ever made available in city planning literature." The statement holds true for the new and revised edition of 1944 which comes at a time when citizens and officials are seeking aid in formulating postwar plans for their cities. The monograph is written in simple, nontechnical language and emphasizes the need for citizen participation in planning. An adequate bibliography covering the numerous fields involved in planning completes the picture.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Aviation

Aviation and the States. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, 1944. 15 pp. 50 cents.

A Short Selected Bibliography on Airways and Airport Planning and Protection of Approaches, with Annotations. Chicago 37, American Society of Planning Officials, 1944. 25 cents.

Wichita's Airpark Plan. Wichita, Kansas, Chamber of Commerce, 1944. 8 pp. illus.

City Planning

Our Big Cities Today and Tomorrow. New York 4, *The Wall Street Journal*, 1944. 32 pp.

A Pattern for Charlotte. By Coleman W. Roberts. Charlotte, N. C., The Charlotte Planning Committee, 1944. iv, 63 pp.

Planning Cleveland in 1943. Annual Report of the Cleveland City Planning Commission. Cleveland, The Commission, 1944. 16 pp.

Planning Progress 1943. Report of Planning Activities in Kansas City in 1943 by the City Manager. Kansas City, Missouri, City Plan Commission, 1944. 14 pp.

A Post-War Public Works Program for the City of Homewood, Alabama. By Polk, Powell and Hendon. Birmingham 3, Alabama, 1944. 36 pp. maps. (Apply to authors.)

Civil Liberties

In Defense of Our Liberties. New York 10, American Civil Liberties Union, 1944. 79 pp.

Civil Service

Efficiency Rating Manual. By United States Civil Service Commission, Personnel Classification Division. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1944. 18 pp. 10 cents.

How to Plan an Employes' Suggestion System. By Ezra S. Taylor. Chicago, The Pullman Company, 1944. 14 pp.

Demobilization

Demobilization and Jobs. By Charles W. Eliot. Los Angeles, California, The Haynes Foundation, 1944. 12 pp.

Doing Right by the Serviceman. By Mabel L. Walker. New York 10, Tax Institute, 1944. 8 pp. 25 cents.

The Economics of Demobilization. By E. Jay Howenstine, Jr., with an introduction by Alvin H. Hansen. Washington 8, D. C., American Council on Public Affairs, 1944. 336 pp. Cloth $3.75, paper $3.25.

Education

National Go-to-School Drive 1944-45. A Handbook for Communities Prepared by the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor and the U. S. Office of Education, Federal Security Agency. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1944. 19 pp. 5 cents.

Problems Confronting Boards of Education. A Manual for Community Participation in Educational Planning. Albany, University of the State of New York, State Education Department, 1944. 27 pp.

Together We Build a Community School. Glencoe, Illinois, Public Schools, 1944. 20 pp. illus.

Libraries

The Scholar and the Future of the Research Library. A Problem and Its Solution. By Fremont Rider. New York City, Hadham Press, 1944. xiii, 236 pp. $4.

Postwar Planning

Full Employment—Its Politics and Economics. By Emerson P. Schmidt. Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1944. 23 pp.

A New Jersey Program for the Post-War Period. First Report of the State Commission on Postwar Economic Welfare. Trenton, The Commission, 1944. viii, 141 pp.

A New Jersey Program for the Post-War Period, Legislative Supplement. Report of the State Commission on Post-War Economic Welfare. Trenton, The Commission, 1944. 31 pp.

Postwar Planning in the United States. An organization Directory (third edition). New York, The Twentieth Century Fund, 1944. xvii, 134 pp. $1.

RISING TIDE OF PROGRESS

(Continued from page 513)

effort had been made because in the minds of those actively identified with the League's management the time had not arrived when such a step was deemed either wise or feasible. Publicists and students were not in a position to agree upon a statement of belief, mainly because they had not given to the general plans of the problem the necessary attention and study. Their particular experiences had been purely local.

The American people had been led by the educational work of the League, its conferences, and its published proceedings to a realization that there was an American municipal problem; that the question of good city government was something more than a merely local issue; that it was, perhaps, the most important single problem confronting the American people at that time.

Great activity along municipal reform lines has been manifested since the formation of the League. While it can scarcely be claimed that this has been entirely due to the League, nevertheless, in that the League has brought the whole question of good city government prominently before the people of the country through its annual conferences and its widely-distributed literature, it must be conceded to have exercised a potent, if at times indirect, influence in the civic renaissance.

When I retired from the secretaryship 25 years ago, I planned to write a history of the League, but I became so engrossed in my practice and public work that the opportunity never came. Now that I have the time I have not the strength, and so it goes. I wish it were physically possible for me to go through the volumes of *Proceedings* of which I was the editor and the early numbers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW of which I was the first editor, to point out the highlights. They will have to speak for themselves, as they do.

To have been associated from its conception with this nation-wide effort to place American cities on a firmer and more honorable basis, to have been present at its birth, to have shared in its growth, was an opportunity such as can come to few men and for which I have always been deeply grateful.

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as City, Mo.

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Editorial

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Danger Signs from Jersey City

FOR many years, as everyone knows, Jersey City has provided a laboratory of political bossism that in many ways is unique. The city itself has been relatively content with its dubious distinction but the rest of the state has been restive and alternately outraged and discouraged as, election after election, it would see its vote nullified when the returns came in, invariably late, from Hudson County.

When Charles Edison became governor in 1941, and promptly declared his independence of the man who made and unmade governors, the struggle was titanic. Governor Edison was succeeded by Governor Walter E. Edge this year and the struggle continued.

The contest culminated November 7 in the defeat of a revision of New Jersey's century-old constitution. The manner in which political bossism triumphed provides much food for thought for students of government and, it is to be hoped, some desire on the part of those who helped defeat the proposed constitution to re-examine the facts. The surprising and disturbing story was well told in the *New York Times* of the following day, November 8. What follows is not an editorial, it should be noted, but part of the news account published by the *Times*:

> The rejection of the document was a sweet victory for Mayor Hague, the State Democratic leader. He had never fought anything, issue or personality, harder than he fought a document that threatened to imperil his political dynasty. By the same token, it also was a crushing defeat for Gov. Walter E Edge and former Gov. Charles Edison who led the fight for a "yes" vote.
>
> The debate over the movement to modernize the State's fundamental law provoked unprecedented bitterness and many extraneous issues were introduced even the religious issue.
>
> Governor Edge openly charged on Monday that pastors of Roman Catholic churches had urged their parishioners on Sunday to vote against the proposed charter.
>
> In Newark a priest told his congregation that the proposed document was "not a people's Constitution" and added: "Remember the bus bill." This was a reference to a law passed in 1941 to provide free transportation for parochial school pupils. Two months ago the law was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court and it is now before the Court of Errors and Appeals. The argument has been made to Catholics that the Legislature, drafter of the new Constitution, should be made amenable to a new bus bill by rebuking it on the charter.
>
> The Republican Governor, a Protestant, denied there was anything in the document inimical to the interests of Catholics and blamed the injection of the religious angle on Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City, State Democratic leader and himself a Catholic. In an appeal to individual Catholics on the eve of the election, Mr. Edge urged them not "to permit Hague to exploit their church for his own personal greed." He said a "no" vote on the Constitution question was a "yes" vote to perpetuate Mayor Hague's "ruthless control."
>
> The Governor said he had personally made every effort, even to the extent of visiting Archbishop Thomas J. Walsh of Newark, to demonstrate that there was no section of the charter that Catholics had reason to fear, and no "officer" of the church had ever disputed that in his presence. . . .
>
> Mayor Hague fought the proposed charter as if his political life depended upon defeating it—and his opponents said it did. Under it he would lose much

of his patronage and would be less able to avoid investigation by the Legislature.

The Mayor took the stump for the first time in many years, making speeches against revision throughout the State; he spent thousands of dollars of Jersey City's funds for newspaper advertising and sent letters to Mayors and other public officials urging defeat of the proposal. He picked up some strange allies, including Carl Holderman of the State Congress of Industrial Organizations and David H. Agans, Master of the State Grange.

He relegated the Presidential and State candidates to the background, with the result that the debate became a "Hague-anti-Hague" battle, as former Gov. Charles Edison, who was the original mainspring in the movement to give New Jersey an up-to-date instrument of government, described the pre-election situation. . . .

The referendum was preceded by a campaign that started out as an academic debate among students of government and civic leaders and ended in a verbal Donnybrook among practical politicians, the like of which the State had never seen before. . . .

Revisionists, Democrat and Republican and Independent, had hoped to keep party politics out of the debate, but Mayor Hague and his lieutenants did their best—and it was pretty good—to line up the Democratic party against the proposed change-over—Democrats and, of course, Republicans and any other voting bloc that could be enlisted by threats or persuasion.

Appealing to special interests wherever a seed of skepticism could be planted, the Mayor's forces succeeded in one way or another in creating enough confusion to split the ranks of war veterans, police and firemen, civil service employes, farmers and Roman Catholics. Each group was given a reason to fear that its interests were to be impaired under the new charter.

Misrepresentation and worse was attributed to the Hague opposition by Governor Edge, Mr. Edison and other stalwarts of the movement to get a majority "yes" vote. To his critics, the Hague tactic was simple, yet vexingly difficult to combat. Its design, they charged, was to frighten one group and then another with sensational falsehoods—falsehoods that Hitler and Goebbels would admire because they were so hard to nail down. Governor Edge was so busy in the closing weeks countering Hague propaganda that he had little time to aid the cause of his party's national and State candidates.

The Governor insisted throughout that the Mayor's real concern was over his own political future, not over the interests of taxpayers in general or the special groups he professed to champion.

Governor Edge, for one, could see why the Jersey City Mayor had real reasons, selfish reasons, for objecting to the draft. Most important, he reasoned, was the provision requiring a public official to testify before a legislative investigating committee on matters relating to public business on penalty of forfeiting office if he refused, or refused to waive immunity to prosecution. The Mayor, he charged, did not like that because the Mayor did not like investigations of his administration. Under New Jersey court rulings the Mayor is virtually immune to investigation.

Revision proponents also knew, they said, why the Mayor saw the "railroad lobby," the Mayor's favorite bogey, getting tax gifts and preferences for the carriers under revision. The tax article, they observed, would strip the Mayor's Hudson County machine of the power to use taxation for political blackmail.

But leaving personalities and partisanships aside, the document was conceded generally to be a vast improvement over the present instrument of government, though not the best that the hand of man could devise.

The most disquieting aspect of this contest was the strained injection of religious considerations. The orgy of unreasoning religious and racial intolerance which tortured this country in the 1920's should be sufficiently fresh in our minds, even if the earlier spasms of a similar nature are not, to bring pause to efforts the major effects of which were to reject a forward-looking document and to save the political skin of a notorious spoilsman.

Michigan Attacks 'Red Tape'

Officials and Bureau of Business Administration develop plans to streamline and simplify government to eliminate evils of bureaucracy; see antedote for centralization.

By **ROBERT S. FORD,** *Director*
Michigan Department of Business Administration

GOVERNMENT in Michigan has grown like Topsy. There has been little thought of an over-all pattern of unified organization that would promote interdepartmental coordination and greater efficiency in governmental services. As a result there are now 97 separate departments, boards and commissions headed by almost 700 appointed or elected officials. Some of the existing agencies are too small for efficient operation and many are dealing with the same problems but with separate sets of officials. As new problems have arisen, new agencies have often been created to deal with them instead of placing responsibility for the new activity in an existing agency. Such a condition is not peculiar to Michigan but exists in many other states as well.

It is a curious fact that in an industrial country like the United States and a highly industrialized state such as Michigan, which are outstanding in the development of efficient industrial organization and management and ingenious production methods, so little attention has been paid to the application of business principles and techniques to governmental organization and management.

Realizing that something should be done to correct this situation, an attempt is being made in Michigan to get at the root of the trouble. Upon the recommendation of Governor Harry F. Kelly in his inaugural message in January 1943, the state legislature passed an act providing for the creation of a Department of Business Administration in the Executive Office. This department is "charged with the duty of making investigations and recommendations concerning the economic coordination of state activities," and is authorized, when directed by the Governor, to make investigations of any executive or administrative departments or agencies in the state government "to determine whether the activities thereof are essential to good government and are being carried on in an economical and efficient manner and without duplication."

On the basis of this legislative mandate, the essence of the program being followed in the department is the promotion of better governmental administration and operation. It should be pointed out, however, that many of our state agencies are operating efficiently and use modern equipment and procedures. Some of these changes have been made by the agencies themselves; several departments have engaged outside consultants in the past few years to make surveys and recommendations as to methods of improving operations.

Relation to Other Agencies

From the legislation it is clear that

the Department of Business Administration is a staff or advisory agency along with the service and control departments of budget and civil service. It has been the desire of the Governor that the activities of these three agencies be coordinated, and the State Budget Office and the Civil Service Department have given assistance in several surveys carried out by the Department of Business Administration.

This department has close contact with other staff and study agencies. When the State Planning Commission was reorganized at the 1943 legislative session the director of the Department of Business Administration was made an ex-officio member of that Commission, which has been active in the formulation of a postwar building program.

The Governor directed the state business administrator to work with the Capitol Building Commission in formulating plans for a new state office building in Lansing. It has therefore been possible to coordinate our activities with those of the architects engaged by this commission, and to incorporate into the blueprints for the new building some of the plans for consolidation and reorganization which are not now feasible because of poor arrangements in state-owned buildings. Much of the $125,000 rent which the state is paying annually for quarters in privately-owned buildings in Lansing could be saved by consolidating these agencies with others in state-owned buildings, but present space restrictions make it impossible.

The Governor has also assigned the director of the Department of Business Administration to work with the Tax Study Advisory Committee, which is making a study of the tax structure, particularly state-local fiscal relationships, as well as the possibility of consolidating some of the tax administration agencies.

The state business administrator has also kept in contact with the Public Education Study Commission, which is investigating various educational problems in Michigan, including the reorganization of the 6,600 school districts.

In dealing with the line agencies, the approach has been one of service and assistance in working out improved procedures within various departments. One of the first steps taken was to have each department head designate a departmental business manager where the agency was without one. Department heads are busy with many different problems, and it is essential that there be some one person in each department who has continuous and direct responsibility for its efficient and economical operation. It is not hard to "sell" new ideas to department heads and business managers if it can be demonstrated that the change will result in a saving of money, time or effort.

General Program and Activities

The legislation creating this department states that investigations made of the various state agencies shall be "for the purpose of determining the feasibility of improving the administration of state government by the elimination of all unnecessary activities, the avoidance of duplication, and increasing efficiency and economical operation by consolidation or rearrangement of any such state departments, boards, institutions, commissions and agencies." This work is implemented by section 4 of the act which states that "the department shall have power, subject to the approval of the governor, to conduct hearings and to compel the attendance of witnesses, the giving of testimony under oath and the production of all books, records and papers. Subpoenas for such purposes may be issued by the director or his authorized agents."

Our program has been formulated with this legislative intent in mind and may be classified into four main divisions or types of projects: (1) consolidation and reorganization plan, (2) procedures analysis, (3) central office services and (4) miscellaneous projects.

Consolidation and Reorganization

It is elementary as well as fundamental that the organizational framework of government promote smooth operation and functioning. Obviously this is impossible with the wide decentralization of authority that exists when there are 97 separate and independent agencies, many of which have overlapping functions and responsibilities. The primary object, therefore, has been a study of the feasibility of consolidating, reorganizing and rearranging state agencies, some immediately and others over a longer period of time.

The possibilities for immediate consolidation are somewhat restricted because of insufficient floor space in state-owned buildings. Despite this situation, however, there are some consolidations that could be accomplished, and they would result in substantial money savings to taxpayers.

One plan worked out, as a first step in the consolidation program, would bring about the elimination or consolidation of a number of agencies with a measurable money savings of $200,000 a year. Chief among these would be the consolidation of the strictly office services and license-issuing functions of fifteen regulatory boards—doctors, dentists, nurses, pharmacists, architects, engineers, cosmetologists, barbers, etc., at an estimated saving of $100,000 a year. The various boards as constituted at present would continue to be responsible for professional standards, qualifications for entrance to the profession, and the regulation of unprofessional conduct.

Another important merger, which would cut costs by $50,000 a year without impairing services, would be to abolish the State Tax Commission and transfer its duties to the Department of Revenue.

Some of our reorganization proposals would not reduce the number of agencies, but would simply provide for a more logical arrangement by placing similar functions in one department. This would make possible more efficient operation, through relocation of personnel, equipment and records, while at the same time it would make the structure of government more understandable to the people of the state.

By way of illustration, regulation of the building and loan companies should be transferred from the Secretary of State to the State Banking Department, and the regulation of the finance companies should be shifted from the State Treasurer to the same department. This would place the regulation of all financial companies under the Banking Department and would eliminate a clear-cut case of unnecessary duplication. Other types of consolidation could be mentioned, but these will suffice to illustrate the manner in which the problem is being attacked.

Accomplishment of this first step would be relatively easy, but the next would be more difficult for, in addition to other consolidations, it would require certain constitutional amendments for the elimination of some of the ex-officio boards, and authorization of a four-year term for the governor and certain other elective officials.

Procedures Analysis

One of the most important examples of the manner in which the administration of state government is less efficient than that in most large industries is the absence of a continuous search for shorter, quicker and better methods for the performance of daily operations. The Department of Business Administration, therefore, has placed considerable emphasis upon analyzing departmental procedures and has made certain recommendations that simplify and accelerate operations. In developing this type of service the department is in a position to provide any agency whose procedures are in need of reorganization with information and advice based on proven experience elsewhere. Although there are a number of state departments that are organized and operated efficiently, the field of methods development is literally virgin territory. No other phase of the work of the department offers greater possibilities in promoting efficiency, economy and better service to the public.

In addition to the immediate need for procedural reorganization in agencies where there have been few changes in many years, this type of work is also basic to the consolidation program. Careful analysis of operating procedures must, of course, precede recommendations for consolidation, and those procedures play an important part in consummating a merger if the reorganized agencies are to be integrated in fact as well as in law.

Although methods development constitutes a major part of the program of this department, it should be pointed out that with a budget of $20,000 and only three staff members the department has not been able to do more in the year and a half of its existence than "scratch the surface" in this important phase of its work. Nevertheless, the two procedures analysts on the staff have made surveys at the request of several agencies, and have conducted other investigations of departments or boards typifying certain problems in reorganization. For example, a detailed analysis was made of the Board of Cosmetology because it presented many problems that would arise in consolidating the administrative activities of the regulatory boards. Certain divisions in the Department of Agriculture were surveyed because they illustrated the problems involved in the central issuance of licenses. Surveys have also been made of the Corporation and Securities Commission, Conservation Department, Insurance Department and one of the large state hospitals.

Central Office Services

Another phase of the program that has great potentialities in the field of governmental improvement is the development of central office services. We are attempting to develop central service units, such as a central license-issuing unit, central mail and messenger service, central duplicating machines, central filming service, central tabulating and addressing machines and central stenographic pools. Some of these will be briefly described.

Duplicating machines. Several thousand dollars were saved for the state within the first two months after the Department of Business Administration arranged for the Departments of Social Welfare and Highways to perform multilith and varitype jobs for other state departments on a cost basis. This was accomplished through Budget Office cooperation in first referring all requisitions for the purchase of multilith, varitype, and mimeograph equipment to the Department of Business Administration. The department requiring the equipment was then requested to take advantage of the services provided by the Highway and Welfare Departments rather than purchase new equipment.

Mail-messenger service. Another type of central office service is the central mail and messenger service which was initiated on a voluntary partial basis in July of this year, with a small appropriation. At that time approximately 50 persons were employed as full- or part-time messengers and about 35 of these employees made several calls at the substation daily. Needless to say, there was much criss-crossing of departmental messengers between the various buildings in Lansing, involving duplication of effort and needless waste of time and personnel. Additional waste arose because a great deal of interdepartmental mail between the State Capitol and the State Office Building two blocks away passed through the U. S. mails. This situation is now being corrected, although there are still a few departments which are not cooperating to the fullest extent. The system has now been established, however, and with adequate enabling legislation Michigan could have a modern and efficient centralized mail and messenger service.

License-issuing. One of the most important programs now in the process of development is the plan for centralized issuance of licenses. State agencies issue about 450,000 licenses a year, most of which are of a type that must be renewed annually and therefore lend themselves to mechanical methods. In the sixteen regulatory boards alone there are 53 different types of licenses of varying kinds and sizes. At present each department must issue its own licenses, and this is usually done by time-consuming and costly hand methods.

Recognizing that the whole process of license-issuing should be simplified, standardized and mechanized, the Department of Business Administration undertook a survey looking to the possibilities along this line. As a result it was apparent that many economies could be realized, and already the procedures and methods of issuing licenses have been reorganized and mechanized in three agencies.

As license-issuing is reorganized in other departments it may become possible to transfer the mechanical process of license-issuing to a central service unit with the regulatory aspects of licensing remaining under the jurisdiction of the various departments concerned. At least it is possible to centralize all license-issuing in three or four departments, which would result in large money savings as well as better service to licensees.

Microphotography. Finally, a central filming service for photographing state records has been initiated. The problem of filing inactive or dead materials in space badly needed for office quarters has reached the point where it can no longer be ignored. Because of the war and the difficulty of obtaining equipment priorities the project is necessarily on a small scale, but it will be expanded with an easing in the priorities situation. The money savings will be very large from this project, inasmuch as the placing of records on film involves a reduction of 95 to 98 per cent in filing space requirements and also reduces the need for much of the expensive filing equipment now in use.

Miscellaneous Projects

Employee Suggestion Plan. More than a year ago all department heads were asked to develop an employee suggestion plan, similar to those now used in many war industries, for improvement of work in their departments. Employee suggestion boxes have been placed in most departments, a system of awards has been worked out and reports received from department heads indicate that the plan has been successful, especially in several of the large departments.

"J Programs." In June of this year the Department of Business Administration initiated, in cooperation with the Department of Vocational Education, the so-called "J Programs" for training supervisors—job instruction training, job relations training, and job methods training. For some time the Department of Vocational Education has been providing instructors for the training within industry division of the War Manpower Commission in carrying out this program for Michigan industry. With a group of experienced instructors immediately available, the state was well situated to carry out such a program. Starting on an experimental basis JIT—job instruction training—was initiated in five departments and is now being extended to others. Results thus far indicate that the same simple training methods which have been used so effectively by war industries will prove just as successful in state government. It is anticipated that these programs will be made available during the next year to all supervisors in the state service.

Paper conservation. Finally, reference might be made to some of the activities in connection with the conservation of paper. It has been customary in the past to transmit all communications between departments in the regular envelopes which are used for mailing purposes. This department designed inexpensive multiple-use interdepartmental envelopes, which are now in general use.

A survey of all forms used by various state agencies was initiated with a view to reducing the number and size of forms and to achieving a greater degree of uniformity and simplification. The results of this survey indicate quite clearly the need for some kind of planning and central control in the selection as well as introduction of new forms.

Other types of paper economies could be mentioned but these will serve to illustrate the general approach that has been followed.

Conclusion

The present structure of state administration, which is virtually a federation of independent governments, has led to a great deal of duplication in performing services and activities and to much uneconomical use of money, space, equipment and personnel. This duplication is of a dual character—first, from a functional standpoint several different agencies are engaged in activities related to public health, perform services for the blind, administer the tax and labor laws, etc.; second, duplication arises out of the separate performance of office services by each department, such as mail and messenger, filing, stenographic work, multilith and mimeograph operations, tabulating, etc. With each department operating as a completely independent unit, there has been little interest in the past in coordinating complementary activities or in creating specialized units to perform certain office services common to all.

If the governmental structure is to be modernized and the fullest application made of well established principles of public administration and business management, it is necessary to regard the whole structure of state government as an integrated concern. An attack on "red tape" and bureaucracy is being made in Michigan by the state's own officials, who are aware that people want governmental simplification. Furthermore, it is realized that if the needed decentralization of government now concentrated in Washington is to be accomplished, the organizational structure of state government must be streamlined, with greater emphasis placed on efficiency in operating procedures. It is toward this end that the Department of Business Administration is working, in cooperation with many forward-looking state officials.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

Machine Beats County Charter

Vigorous efforts to secure streamlined council-manager plan for suburb of nation's capital loses to campaign of misrepresentation; Montgomery County citizens to try again.

By **JOHN F. WILLMOTT**, Research Chairman
Montgomery County Charter Committee

AT THE general election on November 7, Montgomery County, Maryland, defeated the proposed council-manager charter by a vote of 15,683 to 14,048 after a hot campaign.

Montgomery County adjoins the District of Columbia on the northwest. It is Maryland's third largest county. The 1940 census found 83,912 people living in the county but its present population is over 100,000 by reason of the influx of federal employees during the past four and a half years.

Roughly three-fourths of the registered voters are concentrated in the suburban communities of Bethesda, Chevy Chase, Silver Spring, and Takoma Park which lie just across the line from the District of Columbia. The remaining inhabitants are dispersed throughout the up-county towns and farming areas. Rockville is the county seat.

Even before the influx of war workers Montgomery County was experiencing "growing pains." It was the same old story of increased population, demands for more and better services, and an antiquated county government. The citizens are fairly well satisfied with such services as education, welfare and health over which county officials have only partial control; these services are governed largely by general laws prescribing statewide standards including a state administered merit system. But there has been widespread dissatisfaction with the activities which are controlled by county officials and governed by local laws passed by the county delegation to the legislature under the rule of legislative courtesy.

During recent years the county government has been in large measure controlled by a county boss and a tight little machine. The spoils system has operated brazenly. There is no effective budget system or other device for financial planning or coordination of activities. Debt refunding has become an annual practice; at no time during the past ten years has the county made full provision for retiring its maturing bonds.

Some local laws vitally affecting the county and its government have been quietly "cooked up" by the legislative delegation at Annapolis and put through in the closing days of the session without consulting or or even notifying the county's citizens. On at least one occasion interested citizens who sought to find out from a leading member of the legislative delegation what local bills were under consideration at Annapolis were told blandly: "I don't know."

Montgomery County has a great many civic associations and an unusually active Civic Federation which has been wrestling with the problem for more than a decade. In 1938 the Federation insisted that experts be employed to survey the county government and recommend needed changes. The Board of County Commissioners employed the famous Brookings Institution of Washington, D. C., which conducted one of the most comprehensive surveys of county government ever undertaken in the United States. Its report was submitted in 1941. The Brookings experts found so many things wrong they recommended adoption of a charter as the only practicable way of dealing with the situation.

Citizen Indignation Aroused

Then something happened which tore things wide open. As the General Assembly was nearing the close of its session, the Montgomery County legislative delegation slipped a local bill through both houses legalizing a j'ai alai gambling establishment in the county. It was all done, and the legislature had adjourned, before the folks back home knew what was up. Public patience had long been strained by the machine's dark and devious manipulations. Now citizen indignation welled up like a volcano in eruption. The frightened sponsors of the measure joined in beseeching Governor O'Conor to veto it, which he did. But Montgomery County citizens saw clearly that they had a housecleaning job to do, and they began to roll up their sleeves.

During the following months the Brookings report was discussed by small groups all over the county. People began to talk about a charter. The Montgomery County Charter Committee, a citizen group patterned after the Cincinnati Charter Committee, was organized in June 1942. It had little money but plenty of enthusiasm and determination and excellent leadership, much of which came from the Civic Federation and the League of Women Voters. Allen H. Gardner, Washington attorney, was elected president; Mrs. John H. Werner was chosen executive director.

During the summer and fall of 1942, 400 charter workers obtained 9,000 signatures to petitions which were sufficient, under the home rule amendment to the state constitution, to force a referendum on the proposition of creating a charter board. The county machine fought the charter movement savagely. It kept insisting that Montgomery County was one of the best governed counties in America. Evidently the voters thought otherwise for, in November 1942, they voted 8,044 to 6,245 to create a charter board to draft and submit a charter. The nonpartisan slate of candidates sponsored by the Montgomery County Charter Committee won over the machine's candidates. Also, the county boss, who was a candidate for congressman at the same election, was defeated.

The charter board consisted of five outstanding and highly respected citizens headed by Frederick P. Lee, a civic leader in the county and a former professor of constitutional law at George Washington University. The board did an excellent job. It examined charters of other cities and counties. It studied the state constitution and laws affecting the county government. It consulted experts on public administration and charter drafting. Letters were sent to every civic organization in the county requesting suggestions, and approximately a hundred suggestions were received. A similar letter to the county commissioners was ignored.

The board held hearings in all parts of the county and gave careful consideration to the views of the citizens. Before reaching a final decision it published a tentative draft of the charter and invited criticisms.

Charter Provisions

The salient features of the proposed charter were:

1. *The Council-Manager Plan.* A county council was provided as the local legislative body, to be elected on a nonpartisan ballot, five of the nine members from present county commissioner districts and four at large. Voters could vote for any nine candidates. The manager, appointed by the council and subject to removal by it, appointed and removed most department heads after consultation with the council and subject to merit system regulations. He also had power of appointment and removal over subordinate personnel after consultation with department heads, subject to merit system provisions.

2. *Home Rule.* The County Council was empowered to make local laws (i.e., applying to Montgomery County only) on a wide range of matters subject to the constitution and general laws of the state. It could repeal or amend local laws on such subjects hitherto enacted by the General Assembly, and the latter body was forbidden to pass any more local laws on matters covered by the county's home rule powers.

3. *The Merit System.* A personnel board of three citizens chosen by the County Council was made responsible for regulations governing the classification of positions, minimum qualifications for appointment, salary and wage scales, promotions and transfers, removals, and similar personnel matters in the administrative service, except for positions in the education, welfare and health departments which are governed by state merit systems. The county manager was made executive secretary of the board, and its regulations needed Council's approval before they could take effect.

4. *Improved Financial Practices.* The charter set up a modern budget system including a five-year capital budget for financing public improvements, strict budgetary control, effective centralized purchasing, a 7 per cent limitation upon indebtedness and other debt controls.

The Charter Board was required by law to complete its work in six months, i.e., by June 1943—but the charter could not be voted upon until the next general election, November 1944.

The Charter Committee reopened campaign headquarters last May. The following committees were appointed: legal, research, education and publicity, finance, organization and speakers. The Field Division was expanded to include an executive committee, 46 precinct captains, and 500 precinct workers.

Campaign strategy was planned. Both the charter and existing laws were analyzed in order to determine the effect of the charter upon the organization and administration of the county government. A campaign manual was prepared for field workers outlining the purpose of the campaign, campaign organization and methods, history of the charter movement, salient features of the charter and refutations of anticipated opposition arguments.

Many of the field workers made a preliminary canvass of the voters in their territories during June and July, distributing copies of the charter and a small folder, "What is the Charter?" During July, August and early September, the workers in each precinct met for "briefing." Charter provisions were explained, possible opposition arguments were exposed and procedure for canvassing voters was outlined.

Opposition Develops

For the most part county officials recalled the strength the charter movement had shown in 1942 and refrained from any public statements or open activity against it. Just before Labor Day, however, a Citizens' Committee to Defeat the Charter was organized. Its ringleaders were easily recognizable as machine men; one of them, in fact, was widely known as the personal attorney of the county boss.

Using this "Citizens' Committee" as a screen, the county machine conducted a vigorous campaign of misrepresentation. The charter, they said, was experimental; nothing like this form of government had ever been tried before. The charter provided for a tremendous increase in the number of county employees and would increase taxes. Once adopted it could never be repealed; besides, it was probably unconstitutional.

Nonpartisan elections would destroy the two-party system; in fact, something of the sort had been responsible for the fall of France. People would not serve on the council without a salary (this from a volunteer fireman!). The county manager would be an autocrat with almost dictatorial powers. The charter gave life tenure to department heads; they could never be removed. The charter would abolish special assessments and obliterate all local taxing areas. It provided for two competing education departments which would cause conflict and unnecessary expense, etc., etc.

The anti-charter forces sent letters to voters in the service containing many of these false charges and warning the boys that they would find it virtually impossible to obtain employment with the county if the charter was adopted.

Another letter sent out by a committee of Negroes—some of whom had been placed upon the county payroll or had been employed by officeholders—warned the Negro voters that the charter was a nefarious scheme to impair their vote.

Of course, all these charges were falsehoods, and many of them, such as the "life tenure" story, could be refuted by simply reading the charter. But they were turned out in such quantities and repeated so insistently that it was no easy task to catch up with them. It was necessary to send out two supplements to the field workers' manual to expose new waves of wild stories. Late in the campaign the Charter Committee published a leaflet called "The Lie Detector," listing twenty "whoppers" which had been told by the opposition, together with concise, three-sentence refutations.

The Charter Committee published other leaflets on home rule, the council-manager plan, the merit system and the financial provisions of the charter. A special letter with the merit system leaflet was sent to all county employees. Copies of the charter were sent to county school teachers with a letter. Another special letter was sent to all paid and volunteer firemen whom the machine had attempted to stampede into voting against the charter. The League of Women Voters ran a series of questions and answers in the *Bethesda Record* which was reprinted and circulated in pamphlet form. Two hundred copies of the National Municipal League's "Story of the Council-Manager Plan" were distributed.

Until the closing days of the campaign the pro-charter forces followed the policy of limiting press releases to two a week. The opposition, on the other hand, deluged the newspapers with material and inserted large advertisements in the Washington papers. With three exceptions, the county newspapers printed only anti-charter material in their news columns. The Washington newspapers devoted considerable space to the campaign. *The Washington Post*, *News* and *Star* as well as the *Bethesda Record* and the *Baltimore Sun* endorsed the charter.

During the campaign charter speakers participated in 73 debates and other meetings and 14 radio programs. The charter speakers were at a little disadvantage at first, but soon learned to tear into their opponents and puncture their arguments. Meanwhile, field workers were ringing doorbells, distributing literature and explaining the charter and its advantages. Most of the field work was carried on in the suburban portion of the county; some excellent field work was done up-county, but the charter organization there was small and in some rural areas almost no organized activity was carried on in behalf of the charter.

Just before the election, the Charter Committee mailed out 25,000 copies of a final appeal carrying quotations from newspaper editorials and a list of 200 prominent citizens who had endorsed the charter.

The votes on the charter question were distributed as follows:

	For	*Against*
Suburban area	11,128	9,027
Up-county	2,142	5,444
Soldier vote	778	1,212
Total	14,048	15,683

The Charter Committee waged a good campaign, but it was not quite strong enough to overcome the county machine which fought the charter with its full strength and with lavish expenditure of money. Under the Maryland law this charter may not be re-submitted. The whole process has to be gone through with again: circulation of petitions, a vote upon the proposition of creating a charter board, electing the charter board, drafting a new charter and campaigning for its adoption. All this would take four years, but the Charter Committee is a continuing organization and is determined to try again. And it has the support of a substantial group of citizens who know what they want and will not stop until they get it.

The GI's Cast Their Ballots

The mystery of the soldier vote is explained by a GI himself who lets in the light and chases the hobgoblin that has haunted the dreams of the political alarmists.

By **DAVID J. LIPPERT**
Corporal, A.U.S.

CURIOUSLY draped from the ceiling of Company B's dayroom were two white bed sheets. Hung end to end, they partitioned off a five-yard triangle in the room's corner. More curious to the uninitiated observer was the lonely presence of a solitary chair and a solitary table behind them.

The mystery of this scene was not so perplexing as the mystery of the soldier vote such sheets—white or weathered canvas—concealed in similar "voting booths" all over the country and in theaters of operation overseas. And, it was the mystery of the vote—its size and potential leaning—that carried an ominous foreboding for political alarmists who, only a short time before it seems, were vociferously complaining about the injustice of denying the ballot to the soldier.

This is not an article analyzing the GI attitudes and whims about the various candidates. After having repeatedly read complaints against the soldier voting "machine," I feel it is about time to publicize the facts of the case and what the War Department has really done to get out the soldier vote. It was no political machine—it was an opportunity.

To many average GI's the soldier vote campaign has meant mostly the personal delivery by his immediate voting officer of an application blank for a state absentee ballot. This he had the unqualified privilege to accept or reject. He did not have to accept it. He did not have to fill it out and mail it home. But his voting officer must forward to higher headquarters a certificate stating that every soldier in his organization had the opportunity of getting an application card—and, if not, why not.

Even the most unwary GI was conscious of the soldier voting posters on display in his dayroom—or some conspicuous place in his unit. Labelled "Official Election War Ballot Information," the first War Department voting poster was issued May 12, 1944. Distributed one to every company, unit or detachment, it announced the War Department's policy in simple concise statements.

Soldiers were told such things as:

1. They did not have to vote unless they wanted to—that they would not be told to vote or marched to a voting place.
2. Merely being in the army did not automatically entitle the soldier to vote; he must meet the requirements of both state and federal law.
3. The best time to apply for an absentee ballot was just before the state was scheduled to send out ballots.
4. The federal ballot, which could be obtained in October, was good only if authorized by his state.
5. The soldier's commander would see to it that his vote was cast in

secret, and that he would not be influenced for or against any particular candidate.

6. It was the soldier's duty to guard the secrecy and independence of both his and his comrades' votes.
7. Conducting or participating in straw votes was prohibited to members of the army.
8. The War Department's policy was one of complete and strict impartiality.

State Requirements

War Department voting poster No. 2 was a miniature textbook in itself, giving requirements for soldier voting by state absentee ballot. It re-emphasized the necessity for eligibility under the laws of the soldiers' home states—about their eligibility being determined by local officials on the basis of age by November 7, 1944 (21 years old, eighteen for Georgia citizens), citizenship, residence, war service status, and other factors.

Laid out in chart form was a list of states with the following information pertaining to each state:

1. Legality of the War Department post card application (USWBC Form No. 1) for state absentee ballot;
2. Earliest date each state would receive soldiers' applications for ballots;
3. Earliest date each state would mail absentee ballot to soldiers;
4. Date on or before which soldiers' executed state absentee ballots must be received back by state officials in order to be eligible for counting;
5. Time allowance between earliest date when state would mail absentee ballots to soldiers and date ballot was due back.
6. Reminder about registration of unregistered soldiers—an unregistered GI, in order to vote by state absentee ballot, must be registered according to the law of his home state unless such state does not require registration.

South Carolina was the only state in which the application card was invalid and from which a special application form must be obtained. Only in Alabama, Delaware, Florida, and Louisiana was it necessary to appear in person for registration in order to vote. In all other states the GI could get around this by various methods — completion of special forms, certificates, oaths, inclusion on list back home, or name submitted by family and friends. Or maybe no registration was required at all.

The third poster of the War Department series featured a map of U. S. congressional districts, including cities partitioned by congressional districts. Two more posters appeared outside the United States explaining the procedure for voting by federal ballot and giving the list of presidential, vice presidential, senatorial and congressional nominees from states whose laws authorized use of the federal ballot.

It might seem elementary to enumerate all this information on posters. Yet it contains a crude outline of the information available to the soldiers. If they still failed to assimilate the information or could not understand it, they could always get the help of their voting officer. Here, again, it is well to make another observation. The army conducted no classes for the soldier on the subject of how to vote. Voting information was *not* stuffed down his throat. But the information was there if he wanted it. This was the policy handed down by the War Department to its voting officers.

Preference Lists

Until recently a controversial feature of the soldier voting program was Title V of the federal voting law[1] concerning restriction on dissemination of political argument and propaganda. This necessitated the publication of "preference lists" for magazines and newspapers. Men in the army could read anything they wanted. Political literature could be freely mailed to them. But no publication absent from the approved lists could be permitted to lie around available for general reading in the company area.

The GI had to keep his hometown newspaper buried inside his foot locker. Technically, he was liable to court martial if his hometown newspaper found its way into the dayroom. Voting officers had the responsibility of inspecting dayrooms for literature not on the approved lists and removing such political dynamite as *Bugs Bunny* carelessly left on the couch by the radio. This actually happened in one organization at Camp Blanding, Florida. *Bugs Bunny* and some hometown newspapers, none on the preference list, were found in a dayroom and the regimental voting officer had no alternative but to request a reply by "indorsement" from the guilty company giving an explanation for such delinquency.

The amendment of Title V cleared up this paradoxical situation. *Bugs Bunny,* I am happy to relate, became safe to leave in the dayroom—along with all the other comic magazines. It is doubtful, however, if any kind of legislation will ever be able clearly to define the boundary line between free discussion of candidates and the prevention of officers and noncoms from influencing the vote.

Meanwhile, the War Department kept voting officers on their toes, supplying them with the latest information and holding frequent meetings at all echelons of command. Issued to all voting officers within the United States was a *Manual for Soldier Voting.*[2] This had the information contained in the posters and data concerning eligibility for the absentee ballot, responsibilities of the army and unit commanders, dissemination of political propaganda, and the big problem of records, reports and procedures for the federal ballot.

Voting officers within the United States did not have to worry about the federal ballot. The War Department used this only for overseas personnel. Applicable only to candidates for president, vice president, the Senate and the House of Representatives, the federal ballot was limited. But it was short and simple for the soldier and, like the state absentee ballots and the post card applications,

(Continued on page 645)

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[1] Public Law 277, 78th Congress.

[2] WD Pamphlet No. 21-12.

By Their Own Bootstraps, III

Eugene and Lane County citizens break a century-old habit and take the hard road to freedom from debt in schools, city and county; way cleared for sound postwar planning.

By WILLIAM M. TUGMAN, Managing Editor
Eugene (Ore.) Register-Guard

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the third of a series of articles which tell the story of the efforts of an Oregon city and its neighboring communities to solve their problems and prepare for the future without outside aid.

IT would be a mistake to suppose that Eugene and Lane County, Oregon, achieved freedom from debt and the cash basis for their postwar program without fighting. There were many bloody battles along the way—and heavy political casualties. Nor was this achievement the work of any one man or group of men. It grew from an initial skirmish in the Eugene schools in June 1927 through a long series of encounters in which county, city, schools and even the state were involved. And the action is not finished!

Students of public management everywhere will recognize the causes of war which flared in Eugene:

1. Rapid growth bringing unending demands for more and more public services;
2. Concentration of the burdens of local government in property tax;
3. Legislation designed to limit taxes which failed of that purpose because the door to borrowing was left wide open;
4. Efforts of officials to give the appearance of holding down taxes by more and more borrowing, for operations as well as for long-range capital improvements;
5. Haphazard methods of accounting and reporting which made it easy to keep voters confused.

In Oregon the fiscal year of schools began July 1, but budgets for that year were not made till fall and first taxes were not collected until April—which compelled nearly a year of "deficit financing" for routine operations.

Another very well intended but unwise Oregon law — which still stands—required all cash balances at June 30 to be applied to reduce tax rates for the ensuing year, and in 1927 there were those who went so far as to argue that even outstanding warrants and bills could not be paid out of the belated tax revenues which always gave the appearance of a fat cash balance at year's end.

In the Oregon constitution the voters have written the much disputed 6 per cent limitation which in 1927 prohibited more than 6 per cent increase in operating budgets over the preceding year's budget. (It is now permitted to take the highest of three previous years as tax base.)

In the roaring twenties all Oregon suffered from Ku Klux politics, and Eugene schools had been through a demoralizing recall in which every issue except sound educational policy figured. Teacher pay was at an all time low—$115 a month in high school—and when a disgruntled "athletic clique" whitewashed the high school principal, literally, at a public assembly, there was general opinion that "the schools are hopeless." Most responsible citizens hooted at the idea of running for school board or "getting into that mess."

On the average the Eugene schools were running behind $150,000 a year on operating deficits which were covered with 6 per cent warrants; whenever warrants piled too high they were converted into long term bond obligations. In the construction program of 1924-26, totaling $351,000, immediate tax increase had been covered up by issuing deferred payment bonds to fall due in the "rich thirties."

Voters Approve Extra Taxes

Nevertheless, in the summer of 1927, when it came time to make up the budget for 1927-28, the school board found it had to have some $353,000 for the coming year and this involved taxes some $56,000 beyond the 6 per cent limit. Fortunately a tough-minded citizen, the late Dr. Harry Titus, had braved sneers and been elected to the board in June, and on the board he found a helper–A. R. Gray, a merchant.

The board went to the voters on September 20 and gained approval. Then came counter-attack from the direction of the county assessor; the vote was thrown out on technicality. In October another vote was held and the budget defeated. Then a committee of leading citizens consented to "comb the budget," but they refused to cut more than $10,000 and the budget went back to the people in December and was adopted by a slim margin.

But in the meantime a lot of the gruesome facts about debt and taxes were getting an airing. Also it had become apparent that the real power in school affairs was not the superintendent but the school clerk and certain cliques.

In January 1928 Dr. Titus and Mr. Gray came to the press with this thought: "The only way we'll ever get this school mess straightened out is to clean house."

They were told: "If this school board will ever make up its own mind on anything, we'll back you till Hell freezes over."

House was cleaned forthwith! The school board brought in Superintendent H. R. Goold from Renton, Washington, at the unheard of (for Eugene) salary of $4,500 a year. In June School Director Gray found himself indicted by a Lane County grand jury for alleged corrupt practices, but the indictment was obviously spite work and the courts threw it out. The new superintendent found himself confronted—by one of his board—with fourteen points for school management, among them:

> Every teacher and employee must sign a pledge not to touch alcohol or tobacco in or out of school hours.
>
> Any teacher or employee known to have touched alcohol or tobacco would be automatically dismissed.
>
> Daily flag salutes and pledges etc.
>
> On the appearance of any school officer or elder person in any classroom, all children to be called instantly to stand at attention and remain in that posture till told to sit.

Goold went about a tough job with grim patience until more board changes could be effected. Without delay he demonstrated that better education can be had with less cost.

He closed two obsolete grade school units over violent protests, concentrated his grades in four modern buildings. With backing from his board and his public he began to meet bond payments when due and to whittle at warrant debt. The Supreme Court of Oregon backed him on a ruling that due bills and warrants of any year must be paid before "cash on hand" can be transferred to reduce tax rates.

This should be enough to give a picture of the method. By 1937, when Goold went to Tacoma, despite the depression big reductions had been made in bonded debt and warrant debt, and as debt costs were reduced, teacher pay and teaching standards were much improved. Not a single new building has been built, but Goold's successor, J. C. Cramer, carried on the same principle—education first, brick and stone later!

Schools Among Best

In 1937 the abandoned Geary School was converted into one of the most interesting vocational schools in the United States largely because of the dynamic leadership of one Lillian Van Loan. The first three students got mops, brooms and paint brushes; from that beginning a work and learn plan for anybody from 17 to 70 has developed an amazing plant, one that has trained thousands from all parts of Oregon for war service, looks now toward the much bigger problem of refitting them for postwar citizenship.

The Eugene High School which was notorious in 1927 (the whitewash episode) had become by 1939, under the leadership of Harry B. Johnson, "one of the 50 best secondary schools in the United States," by rating of an educational commission from leading universities.

Out of cash savings the Eugene school board quietly acquired the 70 acres for its new functional high school project and extensive acreage around every other school, which in the light of school census trends should be permanent.

The school board attracts the best men and women in the community, but conspicuous for many years has been the influence of tall, gaunt, modest Gil MacLaren, a hardware merchant who has thought far ahead of most "educators" on schools and community life.

In city and county government the change has not been so spectacular as in the Eugene schools, but there has been a tremendous change.

With fixed debt requirements calling for as much as $146,000 a year—as depression hit with its horrible tax delinquencies — county government would have been in a very tough spot but for the large payments from federal forest land refunds and splits of state gas taxes. Even so, the county government, after desperate efforts to retrench in operations, found its actual tax levies going steadily up as taxable valuations fell—because the debt requirements could not be escaped. In many years they were more than 25 per cent and in some more than 30 per cent of the county budget.

Lane county "went Democrat" with the 1932 landslide, but the county commissioners under Judge

Fred Fisk (except for one road-building venture with WPA) proved quite conservative, declined to be lured into new borrowing by federal grants.

Under the present administration of County Judge Clint Hurd, the "get out of debt and stay out" policy is extremely positive. Like most county judges in Oregon Clint is a farmer. With three sons he operates about 175 acres of good valley land—and produces crops which gross better than $100,000 a year. Judge Hurd was the first county leader in Oregon to brave his voters with proposals for special tax levies instead of bonds to finance the county's postwar program. Tilted back in his chair, he whittles a nubbin of plug and says: "We've always run the Hurd farms without borryin' and I figger you can run the county on a cash basis."

The Judge himself nearly got licked in the May primary—lots of people thought him too tough on juveniles—but his postwar levies carried better than two to one.

City Cleans Up

Central figure in the city of Eugene's war on debt has been Elisha Large, in the council since 1926 and mayor since 1932. 'Lish has acquired the name of "Pinchpenny" — and revels in it. He is a retired merchant, a very unassuming person, but extremely positive and even stubborn in some ways.

Shortly after the school wars which attracted attention to the debt and taxes issue, a small start was made on the city's mess. The city council in 1929 decided to accept no more "Bancroft bonds" (special assessment bonds for streets and sewers) unless promoters laid cash on the line.

In 1932 Mayor Wilder resigned to look after his own affairs and the rest of the council asked 'Lish to take charge. He was the only one who could afford to serve without pay. He did, and no city treasury ever had a more zealous watchdog. Expenses were cut to the bone and even to the nerve—firemen and policemen got as little as $80 a month at some periods. The greatest burden on the city was the pyramiding default of Bancroft bonds. By 1933 city and county were unwilling heirs to hundreds of vacant lots and empty houses. Efforts to sell brought little or nothing. In 1934-35 it became necessary to refund more than $1,000,000 in Bancroft bonds, but this time in ten-year serial notes with payments starting at once.

During the fifteen years Elisha Large has been mayor debt charges have absorbed, on the average, 44.7 per cent of each city tax dollar, but debt payments and sinking fund requirements have been met squarely when due and the most essential departments have been maintained.

Naturally there has been little "progress." The city's fine parks have grown pretty ragged, playgrounds with some school help have barely survived, streets and sewers have been well maintained but no more than that, police and fire department efficiency has been almost miraculous, considering.

As the city's debt requirements have been reduced and as times and collections have improved, pay of city employees has been increased substantially and some new equipment for fire department and other essentials have been provided. But debt payment has been foremost in city policy.

Debts Paid

In the council chamber of the battered Eugene City Hall is a large wall chart, the like of which might be erected in every council chamber in the country. On it, many years ago, Mayor Large caused to be marked up every city debt and the date when due. Year by year as payments have been made the word "Paid" has been stencilled neatly in the appropriate square.

Mayor Large was re-elected in 1936 and 1940, tokens of confidence in his thrift, despite the jibes at such devices as renting a part of the fine new airport to sheepherders—"largest municipal sheepport in the world," his delay in building the city swimming pool even after the cash was voted, his constant efforts to make schools or county or water board (municipal utilities) relieve the city of outlay, however small.

Almost alone Mayor Large stood out against the manager plan, which the people adopted May 19, 1944, and the vote was close. The Mayor has not yet said whether he will seek to continue as mayor now that a manager has been decreed. He contends that he has been "a manager and without pay."

The cry during the manager campaign, however, was that although Mayor Large has done a magnificent job of leading the city out of the debt wilderness, the time has come when the city must have something better than "negative policy."

Not a thing has been done by the Eugene city government to meet the many pressing problems of "suburban fringe" (although Mayor Large was one of the first to compel suburbs to pay for fire protection—by letting Glenwood burn!). Internally the city government lacks direction, purposeful efficiency.

But the debts have been paid and thereby the way has been made easy for postwar, if sound practice can be maintained.

A few outstanding performers in this peculiar community drama have been mentioned, but only a few. To include them all it would be necessary to name a long list of county, city and school officials, the hundreds of school teachers, city police and firemen, road crews, street crews who have given amazingly good service to the employing public for amazingly low wages. Their loyalty responded to leadership!

Often we recall Colonel Sherrill's remark on the transformation of the Cincinnati Police Department a few weeks after he became city manager in that demoralized town. He said: "Very easy to explain. Most people would rather do a good job than a poor one. I merely told the police that from now on they had only one boss and one set of orders—do your job! And look and act like a good policeman!"

It can be accomplished, although in each community the pattern of accomplishment will vary with the people and the personalities.

Tax Rates of American Cities

Salary increases for municipal employees seen as chief cause of reversal of downward trend during last several years as rates are cut in only 40 per cent of communities.

By **ROSINA K. MOHAUPT**
Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research

THE trend toward reduction in municipal tax rates observed since the entry of the United States into World War II has been reversed in the past year. A comparison of current tax rates with those of last year shows an increase of twelve cents per thousand. Mounting public payroll costs have made it difficult for most cities to keep expenditures at the 1943 level. Repeated demands for salary increases rather than any pronounced increase in the number of municipal employees have been responsible for enlarged payrolls.

For several years the competition of defense jobs has made municipal employment relatively unattractive, but in recent months, civil service commissions in a number of cities have reported that they have had enough applicants for various positions to result in eligibility lists. If present salary standards are maintained, and positions long vacant are filled in the next year, payrolls may rise to even higher levels. Those cities which have adopted sound cost-of-living compensation plans have taken a step in the right direction in solving one of the most pressing problems of the present and post-war era.

Only 40 per cent of the 252 cities reporting in both 1944 and 1943 showed decreases in the adjusted tax rate as compared with 53 per cent in last year's study. Thirty-nine per cent of the cities reported higher tax rates and 21 per cent reported no change in tax rate since last year. Cities in Group III (population 250,000 to 500,000) showed an average decrease of fourteen cents in adjusted tax rate in contrast to increases in all other population groups except cities between 30,000 and 50,000 population which, practically speaking, showed no change in tax rate (a decrease of two cents was actually reported for this group of cities).

TABLE I
ANNUAL CHANGE IN ASSESSED VALUE AND AVERAGE ADJUSTED TAX RATE OF AMERICAN CITIES

	Per Cent of Change in Assessment	*Average Adjusted Tax Rate, Amount of Change*[a]
1943-44	+1.1%	$+.12
1942-43	+ .6	—.35
1941-42	+1.5	—.05
1940-41	— .1	+.02
1939-40	—1.5	+.29
1938-39	— .5	+.45
1937-38	+ .8	+.65

[a] Per $1,000 of Assessed Value

Over the five year period between 1939 and 1944 decreases in tax rates were reported by all population groups except II (population between 500,000 and 1,000,000) and III (population between 250,000 and 500,000). Group II showed an increase of $1.77 in this period and Group III an increase of $.60, but an average decrease of twelve cents was reported for the 213 cities reporting over this five year period.

The average increase in assessed value was 1.1 per cent over the 1943 level and was distributed practically equally throughout all population groups. However, the average increase of 3.6 per cent in assessed value between 1939 and 1944 was, practically speaking, confined to cities under 500,000 population. Cities over 500,000 showed either slight decreases or only very small increases in assessed value.

A comparison of the number of installments in which city taxes are payable seems to indicate a tendency to eliminate, to some extent, payments in more than four installments. This is undoubtedly due to the fact

TABLE II

NUMBER OF CITIES SHOWING DECREASES IN ADJUSTED TAX RATE
1943-1944

Population Group[b]	*Decrease*	*Increase*	*No Change*
I[d]	0	2	2
II	3	5	1
III	12	3	6
IV	18	19	13
V	28	32	13
VI[c]	40	37	18
Total	101	98	53

TABLE III

COMPARISON OF 1943 AND 1944 AVERAGE UNADJUSTED AND
ADJUSTED TAX RATES OF 249 AMERICAN CITIES

Population Group[b]	*Average Unadjusted Rates per $1,000 Assessed Value*			*Average Adjusted Rates per $1,000 Assessed Value*		
	1944	*1943*	*Increase*	*1944*	*1943*	*Increase*
I[d]	$38.15	$37.94	$ .21	$29.39	$29.28	$ .11
II	33.60	33.38	.22	29.36	28.88	.48
III	43.35	43.46	—.11	26.85	26.99	—.14
IV	38.62	38.68	—.06	28.32	27.92	.40
V	37.74	37.11	.63	27.54	27.38	.16
VI[c]	37.19	37.17	.02	25.73	25.75	—.02
Total	38.04	37.86	.18	27.04	26.92	.12

[b] Population groups defined by the United States Bureau of the Census as indicated in tabulation following article.

[c] Group VI is defined by the Bureau of the Census to include cities between 25,000 and 50,000 population, but in this study, cities under 30,000 population were not tabulated.

[d] New York City and Chicago not included. Chicago changed basis of assessment from 37% to 100%.

that increased earnings are making it unnecessary to grant such lenient terms.

Actual Tax Rates Reported

The tax rates shown in this tabulation are the actual tax rates set and levied per thousand dollars of assessed valuation by the various units of government which derive any portion of their revenues from the general property tax. Among these units are the city, school, county and state and numerous special districts performing special services financed in part or in whole from taxes levied on general property. In the past decade a pronounced tendency has been noticed on the part of state governments to give up the general property tax in favor of the more productive sales and income taxes as sources of revenue.

The form of this tabulation makes it impossible to print the individual rates of the various special districts. Instead, these special district rates have been added under one of the four general headings: city, school, county, or state. Common practice in a majority of the municipalities determines what heading a particular special district rate shall be included under. The levies of park, library, relief, sanitary districts, and water supply districts are included with the city tax rate, because in a majority of the cities these functions are performed by the municipal government. Other special districts are

TABLE IV

FIVE-YEAR COMPARISON OF AVERAGE UNADJUSTED AND ADJUSTED TAX RATES OF 213 AMERICAN CITIES

Population Group[b]	*Average Unadjusted Rates per $1,000 Assessed Value*			*Average Adjusted Rates per $1,000 Assessed Value*		
	1944	*1939*	*Decrease*	*1944*	*1939*	*Decrease*
I[d]	$38.15	$38.82	$ .67	$29.39	$29.51	$ .12
II	33.60	33.07	+.53	29.36	27.59	+1.77
III	43.35	43.57	.22	26.85	26.25	+ .60
IV	38.62	39.50	.88	28.32	28.94	.62
V	37.60	37.75	.15	27.06	27.20	.14
VI[e]	37.46	37.87	.41	27.51	27.74	.23
Total	38.20	38.59	.39	27.61	27.73	.12

TABLE V

CHANGES IN ASSESSED VALUE OVER ONE-YEAR AND FIVE-YEAR PERIODS

Population Group[b]	*Average Per Capita Assessed Value*		*Per Cent Increase in Assessment*	*Per Cent Increase in Assessment*
	1944	*1943*	*1943-44*	*1939-44*
I[d]	$1449	$1431	1.3%	1.3%
II	1654	1644	.6	— .4
III	1195	1189	.5	3.1
IV	1221	1203	1.5	24.8
V	1253	1235	1.5	7.3
VI[e]	1249	1230	1.5	7.2
Total	1337	1323	1.1	3.6

(See footnotes on preceding page.)

usually included with the county. However, in all cases where special districts have been included in either the city, county, or state rate this fact is indicated in the footnote together with the amount of the special district rate so included. City officials are sometimes annoyed by this practice and point out that their city levy is smaller than the figure shown in the tabulation and that it is unfair to report a figure that includes poor relief, or library, or flood control levies. But, if these functions are commonly performed by the municipal government in a majority of the cities, it is necessary to include these levies with the city tax rate if valid comparison is to be made.

Comparison of tax rates in various cities to determine the efficiency of the administration and cost of government is a very dangerous procedure. As has been pointed out, this unit of government performs functions in some states which are rendered by special districts in other states. In the south, levies for flood control are made against general property, in the west, irrigation and water supply are financed in whole or in part from the general property tax, in some states mosquito abatement and forest preserve services are supported by the general property tax. Frequently cities in these areas complain that it is unfair to compare their rates with the rates of some city that does not have these special problems to cope with. For this reason the reader is advised to refer to the footnotes to determine whether any special services are performed in the city in question.

But even if all of the city governments studied performed exactly the same services, it would still be impossible to determine the relative economy of the various administrations by merely comparing the tax rates levied. In some cities the services may be performed adequately and effectively while in others they are performed poorly. The cost of a service cannot be computed unless the quantity and quality of the service rendered is considered in conjunction with the actual monetary outlay.

Adjusted Tax Rates

After adjustments have been made for special taxing districts, for types of services performed, for local problems, and for quality of services, it is still impossible to draw any valid

TABLE VI

Number of Installments in Which City Taxes Are Payable

No. of Installments	*Per cent of Cities 1944*	*Per Cent of Cities 1940*	*Per Cent of Cities 1935*
1	18%	17%	23%
2	50	48	47
3	3	3	4
4	21	19	19
5-9	1	2	2
10 & over	4	6	5
Optional	3	5	
	100%	100%	100%

conclusions from a comparison of the actual tax rates levied in the various cities. Variations in assessing law and practice make it necessary to adjust the actual tax rates levied before comparisons are made.

Laws in a majority of the states prescribe that the legal basis of assessment shall be 100 per cent of true cash value. In North Dakota and Washington, however, the legal basis of assessment has been set at 50 per cent of true value. In Alabama and Iowa the state laws have indicated that assessments should be made at 60 per cent of true value. In Arkansas, the State Corporation Commission has been delegated the responsibility for the determination of what the assessment ratio shall be, and has set it at 50 per cent. In California, the state law requires that assessments shall be in proportion to value, but does not indicate what that proportion shall be. Actually, assessments have been 50 per cent of true value for counties and 50 to 75 per cent for cities, with a few exceptions.

But, in many cities, assessments are not at the legal basis prescribed by the state law. In Illinois, for instance, the state law specifies that property should be assessed at 100 per cent of true value, but most cities in this state are assessing around 30 to 40 per cent. Cities in Cook County have reassessed all property and placed their rolls on the basis of 100 per cent of true value. In Chicago, for instance, the 1944 assessed value is $4,826,912,000 as compared with $1,861,585,000 in 1943; the 1944 tax rate is $39.00 as compared with $104.20 in 1943. In 1943 property was assessed at 37 per cent of its true value, this year it is assessed at 100 per cent. To compare the tax rates of 1944 and 1943 it is necessary to adjust the 1943 rate to a 100 per cent basis of assessment. This is done by multiplying the 1943 rate by the assessment ratio in 1943—37 per cent—and the adjusted rate resulting is $38.55. In other words, if Chicago had been assessing property on a true cash value basis in 1943, it would have been necessary to levy a rate of only $38.55 instead of the $104.20 actually levied.

Similar adjustments must be made in the rates of every city where either the legal or actual basis of assessment is at some figure other than 100 per cent of value. The actual mechanics of making the adjustment are simple, but the determination of what the ratio of actual to true assessed value is, is very difficult.

In a few cities detailed studies have been made comparing the assessed values and selling prices of all types of property found on the assessment rolls, but this is the exception rather than the rule. The State Tax Commissions of California, Illinois, New York and Oregon publish annual estimates of the assessment ratios of the local assessing units but their figures are frequently disputed by local authorities.

Such bitter controversies have arisen over the assessment ratios published by the New York State Tax Commission that no attempt was made in this year's tabulation to publish any ratio or adjusted rate for cities taking exception to the

Commission's figures. Local and state assessing authorities have been at variance on this point over a period of years. In Albany a special study conducted by a tax expert revealed that assessments in 1943 actually averaged about 117 per cent of true cash value. Local officials reported at least 100 per cent and the State Tax Commission reported that assessments averaged 93 per cent. In New York City local civic agencies cite cases where property is assessed as high as 160 and 200 per cent. These are only the worst instances of disagreement. Other cities in which there is controversy on this point are indicated in the general footnote for New York at the end of the tabulation.

In using the assessment ratios reported in this study, it must be remembered that they reflect the over-all average assessing practices and do not necessarily hold true for one particular piece or type of property. In other words, the average assessment ratio may be reported as 80 per cent and yet there may be pieces of property which are assessed at 60 per cent and others at 100 per cent in that city. Further, residential property may generally be assessed at 75 per cent while commercial and industrial property is assessed at 90 per cent. But the figure which is reported is the over-all average of all of these figures.

In a few states—California, Pennsylvania, and Texas—the county and the city prepare separate property assessment rolls. Frequently the county assesses at a different ratio from the city. Where this happens, the tax rate of each unit of government is adjusted by the assessment ratio of that unit, and the sum of the adjusted rates is shown as the total adjusted tax rate. Because of space limitations, the individual assessment ratios are not shown, but only the weighted average which is computed by dividing the total adjusted rate by the total unadjusted rate.

Where land and buildings are taxed at different rates, as in Pittsburgh, for instance, the weighted average tax rate is shown.

Method of Compiling

This is the twenty-third annual tabulation of tax rates of cities over 30,000 population. Questionnaires were mailed to the 343 cities involved and replies were obtained from 285. The 1943-44 comparisons are based on the 249 cities reporting in both these years.

The questionnaires returned were filled in by city and county officials, chambers of commerce, and bureaus of governmental research throughout the country. It is through the continued cooperation of these agencies that this tabulation has been made possible throughout the past 23 years.

The assessed valuations reported are from the city tax rolls and are different from the county tax assessments. Because of differing ratios of assessment for city and county and because there are often different tax rates on real and personal property, it is impossible to multiply the assessed valuation by the total tax rate to arrive at the total tax levy by all units of government.

(See following pages for tabulation.)

COMPARATIVE TAX RATES OF 286 AMERICAN CITIES FOR 1944

Compiled by the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research from Data Furnished by City Officials and Members of the Governmental Research Association

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
	Group I												
	Population 1,000,000 or over												
1	New York, N. Y.[1]	7,454,995	15,845,991,014	0	2	21.68	6.98	.44	—	29.10	Note o		1
2	Chicago, Ill.[2]	3,396,808	4,826,912,223	25	2	22.40	13.80	2.80	N	39.00	100	39.00	2
3	Philadelphia, Pa.[3]	1,931,334	3,064,727,629	20	Op	17.00	11.75	N	N	28.75	100	28.75	3
4	Detroit, Mich.	1,623,452	2,808,777,140	28	2	18.19	9.95	4.99	N	33.13	100	33.13	4
5	Los Angeles, Calif.[4]	1,504,277	1,459,525,335	21	2	17.05	17.09	18.42	N	52.56	50	26.28	5
	Group II												
	Population 500,000 to 1,000,000												
6	Cleveland, Ohio[5]	878,336	1,373,919,620	20	2	16.10	8.80	4.90	N	29.80	80	23.84	6
7	Baltimore, Md.[6]	859,100	1,664,037,410	32	Op	22.80	5.70	N	1.20	29.70	100	29.70	7
8	St. Louis, Mo.	816,048	1,074,810,201	17	4	17.50	9.00	N	1.00	27.50	97	26.68	8
9	Boston, Mass.[7]	770,816	1,442,008,400	9	2	27.08*	9.04*	2.04*	1.74	39.90	100	39.90	9
10	Pittsburgh, Pa.[8]	671,659	1,010,201,323	0	12	18.14*	11.75	7.63	N	37.52	100	37.52	10
11	Washington, D. C.[9]	663,091	1,518,689,483	10	2	—	—	N	N	17.50	90	15.75	11
12	San Francisco, Calif.[10]	634,536	843,402,413	15	2	37.06	9.84	N	N	46.90	50	23.45	12

See also general notes at end of tabulation.

N=None.

*=Estimated.

—=Figures or breakdown not available.

Op=Optional.

§=These cities reported different assessment ratios for the city and county, or for land and buildings. The figure shown is the weighted average (to the nearest integer) of the several ratios.

NO STATE LEVY ON PROPERTY in the following states: California, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Vermont and Virginia. No state levy on real estate in Pennsylvania.

[1] **New York City.** Rate shown is for borough of Manhattan. Total rate for Bronx is $28.90; Brooklyn, $29.30; Queens, $29.30; and Richmond, $29.00. Totals include levy for reassessment of special assessments which are borough-wide in character. Breakdown of total rate estimated from appropriations. State Tax Commission reports assessments at 100 per cent of true value but local authorities report assessments far in excess of 100 per cent. See footnote o .

[2] **Chicago.** City rate includes $4.50 park and $3.30 sanitary district rates. County rate includes $.40 forest preserve rate. Tax rate and assessments now on 100 per cent of true value basis. See footnote da.

[3] **Philadelphia.** There is no county tax. City and county are consolidated and city rate covers all costs. Assessment includes approximately $725,000,000 "money at interest" taxed at 4 mills by the city.

[4] **Los Angeles.** County rate includes $1.83 flood control rate on land and improvements only and $4.80 metropolitan water district rate.

[5] **Cleveland.** Assessed value does not include intangible personalty assessed on income at from 2 to 5 mills, but does include approximately $160,000,000 tangible personal property taxed at same rate as realty but assessed at 50 per cent to 70 per cent of full value.

[6] **Baltimore.** Assessed value includes $43,000,000 shares of bank and trust companies, $244,000,000 deposits in savings banks, and $63,720,000 railroad securities, taxed at $10, $1.875, and $3.00 per thousand respectively. School rate estimated from appropriations. There is no county government in Baltimore.

[7] **Boston.** Breakdown of total rate of $39.90 estimated on basis of appropriations. Local sources believe business property in center of city is over-assessed and residential property, except in center of city, is under-assessed.

[8] **Pittsburgh.** City rate is weighted average of $25.00 on land and $12.50 on buildings. Because of varying proportions of land to building on different pieces of property, the rate actually varies from $20 to $30.

[9] **Washington, D. C.** Assessment does not include intangible personal property subject to income tax. School rate included in city rate. Homeowners pay taxes in as many as four installments.

[10] **San Francisco.** Assessed value does not include $348,878,596 solvent credits taxed at $1 per $1,000. City and county governments combined

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
13	Milwaukee, Wis.[11]	587,472	852,328,580	13	10	11.75	11.07	7.84	.36	31.02	91	28.23	13
14	Buffalo, N. Y.[o]	575,901	902,481,940	0	2	25.92	7.64	8.90	.07	42.53	92	39.13	14
	Group III **Population 250,000 to 500,000**												
15	New Orleans, La.[12]	494,537	506,012,467	35	2	21.50	7.00	5.50	5.75	39.75	71§	28.38	15
16	Minneapolis, Minn.[k]	492,370	234,710,361	20	4	55.97	25.74	12.09	6.20	100.00	35	35.00	16
17	Cincinnati, Ohio[13]	455,610	910,413,130	15	2	9.90	7.43	2.95	N	20.28	80	16.22	17
18	Newark, N. J.[14]	429,760	706,117,550	27	4	31.80	11.30	7.10	2.80	53.00	100	53.00	18
19	Kansas City, Mo.	399,178	487,748,732	26	1	14.00	13.50	6.80	.90	35.20	75	26.40	19
20	Indianapolis, Ind.[e]	386,972	539,585,910	28	2	13.70	9.65	5.95	1.10	30.40	75	22.80	20
21	Houston, Tex.[w]	384,514	373,000,000*	26	1	18.75	11.10	5.50	7.80	43.15	47§	20.25	21
22	Seattle, Wash.[15]	368,302	279,895,047	27	2	21.20	13.50	13.55	2.15	50.40	47	23.69	22
23	Rochester, N. Y.[16]	324,975	538,107,122	0	4	19.52	10.86	10.27	—	40.65	Note o		23
24	Denver, Colo.[17]	322,412	392,992,820	31	2	17.95	15.70	N	3.85	37.50	80	30.00	24
25	Louisville, Ky.[18]	319,077	446,539,331	28	4	16.15	7.85	3.80	.50	28.30	85	24.06	25
26	Columbus, Ohio[q]	306,087	412,568,040	25	2	8.40	8.20	2.60	N	19.20	80	15.36	26
27	Portland, Ore.[19]	305,394	341,973,145	18	4	21.10	12.20	12.60	N	45.90	57	26.16	27
28	Atlanta, Ga.[20]	302,288	372,681,934	31	3	11.20	6.30	13.50	5.00	36.00	59§	21.20	28
29	Oakland, Calif.[21]	302,163	283,472,010	16	2	21.40	16.33	13.17	N	50.90	35	17.82	29
30	Jersey City, N. J.[22]	301,173	525,711,956	17	4	26.51	16.34	15.23	3.58	61.66	100	61.66	30
31	Dallas, Tex.[w]	294,734	304,114,450	30	2	17.00	7.50	7.30	5.50	37.30	50	18.65	31
32	Memphis, Tenn.	292,942	318,311,602	14	4	13.00	6.50	8.70	.80	29.00	80	23.20	32
33	St. Paul, Minn.[23]	287,736	135,214,301	20	4	64.30	—	31.00	5.00	100.30	35	35.11	33
34	Toledo, Ohio[q]	282,349	464,000,000	25	2	8.99	7.84	2.77	N	19.60	100	19.60	34
35	Birmingham, Ala.[a]	267,583	195,000,000*	15	4	11.50	6.50	11.50	6.50	36.00	40	14.40	35
36	San Antonio, Tex.[w]	253,854	205,501,850	12	5	17.70	11.70	6.50	4.70	40.60	65§	26.53	36
37	Providence, R. I.[24]	253,504	495,804,820	—	4	—	—	N	N	25.00	110	27.50	37

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[11] **Milwaukee.** City rate includes $1.56 metropolitan sewerage district rate.

[12] **New Orleans.** Figure in county column is levee and flood reparation rate. There is no county rate as such. See footnote g.

[13] **Cincinnati.** County rate includes county park district rate of $.03. Intangible personalty taxed on income not included in assessed valuation.

[14] **Newark.** City rate includes $1.50 for school debt service. See footnote n.

[15] **Seattle.** County rate includes $1.50 Port of Seattle rate. See footnote y.

[16] **Rochester.** State Tax Commission reports assessments at 93 per cent but local authorities believe that it is more nearly 110 per cent of true value.

[17] **Denver.** Consolidated city-county rate because of city-county governmental organization.

[18] **Louisville.** Real estate rate shown. Rate on personal property is $33.00.

[19] **Portland, Ore.** City rate includes $1.10 port and $1.33 dock rates. See footnote s.

[20] **Atlanta.** School rate includes $1.50 levied on property in city limits for county schools. See footnote d.

[21] **Oakland.** County rate includes $.30 park, $1.80 municipal utility, and $.07 mosquito abatement rates.

[22] **Jersey City.** Assessed value includes $111,409,439 second class railroads. See note n.

[23] **St. Paul.** Rate shown is for non-homestead property. Rate on homesteads is $96.50. See footnote k.

[24] **Providence, R. I.** Assessed value does not include $206,362,180 intangible personal property taxed at 4 mills. See footnote u.

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
	Group IV **Population 100,000 to 250,000**												
38	Akron, Ohio[25]	244,791	313,500,000*	33	2	13.39	10.65	3.56	N	27.60	50	13.80	38
39	Omaha, Neb.	223,844	253,721,045	31	2	13.20	16.00	4.71	3.39	37.30	70	26.11	39
40	Dayton, Ohio[26]	210,718	350,713,410	31	2	8.31	8.10	4.19	N	21.60	75	16.20	40
41	Syracuse, N. Y.[o]	205,967	340,545,533	0	4	20.34	9.28	12.21	.07	41.90	100	41.90	41
42	Oklahoma City, Okla.[27]	204,424	121,008,836	27	4	17.55	19.08	9.28	N	45.91	40	18.36	42
43	San Diego, Calif.	203,341	205,477,440	25	2	20.00	17.30	17.20	N	54.50	50	27.25	43
44	Worcester, Mass.[28]	193,694	266,614,750	7	Op	25.22	8.28	1.06	1.44	36.00	100	36.00	44
45	Richmond, Va.[29]	193,042	322,913,324	12	10	14.50	7.50	N	N	22.00	100	22.00	45
46	Honolulu, Hawaii[30]	179,358	149,252,194	—	2	—	—	N	N	26.32	80	21.06	46
47	Fort Worth, Tex.[31]	177,662	170,502,025	26	2	21.80	11.00	8.80	4.70	46.30	61§	28.62	47
48	Jacksonville, Fla.[32]	173,065	88,282,760	13	1	25.00	9.00	6.69	N	40.69	70§	28.19	48
49	Miami, Fla.[c]	172,172	204,416,680	13	1	30.78	—	—	—	—	100	—	49
50	Youngstown, Ohio[33]	167,720	286,000,000*	15	2	7.38	8.02	3.00	N	18.40	80	14.72	50
51	Nashville, Tenn.[34]	167,402	177,417,648*	33	2	16.75*	5.25*	9.00	.80	31.80	100	31.80	51
52	Hartford, Conn.[35]	166,267	391,896,385	20	4	17.42	11.51	.55	1.02	30.50	100	30.50	52
53	Grand Rapids, Mich.[j]	164,292	200,424,070	22	1	9.89	5.87	3.00	N	18.76	100	18.76	53
54	Long Beach, Calif.[36]	164,271	245,906,410	13	2	11.05	20.29	18.42	N	49.76	53§	26.54	54
55	New Haven, Conn.[37]	160,605	320,395,497	20	2	15.95	10.68	.41	.46	27.50	100	27.50	55
56	Des Moines, Iowa[38]	159,819	144,973,360	14	2	21.06	25.08	15.89	N	62.03	60	37.22	56
57	Flint, Mich.[j]	151,543	225,930,690	22	3	8.80	7.58	3.20	N	19.58	100	19.58	57
58	Salt Lake City, Utah[39]	149,934	144,750,587	35	1	16.00	13.55	8.05	2.90	40.50	70	28.35	58
59	Springfield, Mass.	149,554	251,820,280	9	2	18.53*	12.35*	1.62	2.00	34.50	100	34.50	59
60	Bridgeport, Conn.	147,121	284,260,695	30	2	21.11	6.12	20.00	.87	28.30	100	28.30	60

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[25] **Akron.** City rate includes $.12 park rate. See footnote q.

[26] **Dayton.** City rate includes $2.16 and county rate includes $.28 for flood protection.

[27] **Oklahoma City.** First $1,000 of homestead assessment taxed at only $10.48 ($4.19 adjusted). See footnote r.

[28] **Worcester.** Local authorities believe that assessments are at approximately 85 per cent of true value.

[29] **Richmond.** While payment of taxes in two installments is the customary practice, by signing a special agreement they may be paid in ten installments.

[30] **Honolulu.** City rate covers cost of school and county government. Land is assessed at 60 per cent, improvements at 100 per cent of true value. *Homestead Exemption:* First $1,500 assessed value, plus one-half of value between $1,500 and $5,000; maximum $3,250.

[31] **Fort Worth.** City rate includes $3.50 water control.

[32] **Jacksonville.** County rate includes $.23 navigation, and $.37 air base authority rates. See footnote c.

[33] **Youngstown.** City rate includes $1.50 sanitary district and $.12 township rates. See footnote q.

[34] **Nashville.** Division between city and school rates estimated on basis of appropriations.

[35] **Hartford.** City rate includes $.97 metropolitan district rate.

[36] **Long Beach.** County rate includes $4.80 water district and $1.83 county flood control rates.

[37] **New Haven.** Tax rate for small annexed territory (Ward 32) is $15.55.

[38] **Des Moines.** Moneys and credits of approximately $40,000,000 taxed at five mills not included in assessed value. See footnote t.

[39] **Salt Lake City.** County rate includes $.70 mosquito abatement and water district rates combined. See footnote x.

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
61	Norfolk, Va.[40]	144,332	177,239,725	17	4	—	—	N	N	25.00	80	20.00	61
62	Yonkers, N. Y.[o]	142,598	285,667,102	0	4	23.87	9.24	5.19	.77	39.07	Note o		62
63	Tulsa, Okla.[r]	142,157	124,199,386	12	4	17.72	18.55	7.41	N	43.68	50	21.84	63
64	Scranton, Pa.[41]	140,404	97,203,816	0	4	19.75	24.00	7.10	N	50.85	75	38.14	64
65	Paterson, N. J.[n]	139,656	164,929,199	12	4	16.25	16.77	8.13	2.85	44.00	100	44.00	65
66	Albany, N. Y.[o]	130,577	240,160,139	0	1	28.89	—	10.20	.07	39.16	Note o		66
67	Chattanooga, Tenn.	128,163	115,382,500	27	4	22.00	—	16.20	.80	39.00	60	23.40	67
68	Trenton, N. J.[42]	124,697	148,793,900	12	4	19.02	17.68	8.01	2.89	47.60	85	40.46	68
69	Spokane, Wash.[y]	122,001	81,382,368	23	2	18.00	13.00	9.29	2.11	42.40	50	21.20	69
70	Kansas City, Kans.	121,458	83,402,066	19	2	18.91	19.60	9.96	.75	49.22	60	29.53	70
71	Fort Wayne, Ind.[e]	118,410	180,500,000*	—	2	9.65	10.00	4.45	1.10	25.20	75	18.90	71
72	Camden, N. J.[n]	117,536	130,317,555	15	4	17.36	16.33	11.63	3.08	48.40	70	33.88	72
73	Erie, Pa.[t]	116,955	124,563,220	0	Op	14.75	17.00	7.00	N	38.75	94§	36.30	73
74	Fall River, Mass.	115,428	Not reported										74
75	Wichita, Kans.	114,966	134,075,078	25	2	13.58	17.45	6.72	.75	38.50	70	26.95	75
76	Wilmington, Del.	112,504	161,004,000	0	1	14.50	1.50	3.00	N	19.00	80	15.20	76
77	Gary, Ind.[e]	111,719	135,862,345	40	2	13.00	14.15	8.75	1.10	37.00	60	22.20	77
78	Knoxville, Tenn.	111,580	134,405,092	28	1	19.99	6.51	16.20	.80	43.50	100	43.50	78
79	Cambridge, Mass.	110,879	170,248,500	7	2	27.13	7.52	.87	2.38	37.90	100	37.90	79
80	Reading, Pa.[t]	110,568	138,558,700	0	1	11.00	15.00	6.50	N	32.50	94§	30.55	80
81	New Bedford, Mass.	110,341	97,035,375	13	2	31.56*	10.35*	1.38	1.51	44.80	100	44.80	81
82	Elizabeth, N. J.[n]	109,912	134,629,940	11	4	16.76	17.19	7.12	2.93	44.00	100	44.00	82
83	Tacoma, Wash.[43]	109,408	56,842,702	25	2	20.76	17.80	14.77	2.31	55.64	50	27.82	83
84	Canton, Ohio[q]	108,401	176,060,740	23	2	4.40	9.00	2.60	N	16.00	80	12.80	84
85	Tampa, Fla.[c]	108,391	80,123,410	20	10	32.00	13.50	10.70	N	56.20	72§	40.20	85
86	Sacramento, Calif.[44]	105,958	134,047,050	14	2	20.50	17.20	12.70	N	50.40	59§	29.71	86
87	Peoria, Ill.[45]	105,087	85,620,109	36	2	29.60	20.20	3.80	N	53.60	35	18.76	87
88	Somerville, Mass.	102,177	115,794,150	6	10	24.58	10.48	1.21	4.03	40.30	100	40.30	88
89	Lowell, Mass.	101,389	94,242,450	9	4	43.41	—	1.37	2.22	47.00	100	47.00	89
90	South Bend, Ind.[e]	101,268	152,460,370	30	2	10.05	10.75	6.10	1.10	28.00	70	19.60	90
91	Duluth, Minn.[46]	101,065	48,716,364	24	4	43.24	37.31	21.65	5.00	100.07	34	36.45	91

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[40] **Norfolk,** et al. School rate included in city rate.

[41] **Scranton.** City rate is weighted average of $27.82 on land and $13.91 on improvements. County rate includes $1.60 for institutions and poor.

[42] **Trenton.** Assessed value does not include $2,009,556 second class railroad property.

[43] **Tacoma.** City rate includes $2.50 park rate. County rate includes $4.25 port district rate. See footnote y.

[44] **Sacramento.** County rate includes $.30 utility district and $.40 flood control.

[45] **Peoria.** City rate includes $3.00 town, $2.45 park district and $3.35 sanitary district rates. See footnote da.

[46] **Duluth.** Rate shown applies to non-homestead property. Rate on homesteads is $103.40 ($35.16 adjusted). See footnote k.

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
92	Charlotte, N. C.[47]	100,899	121,505,235*	25	12	10.50	2.50	7.00	N	20.00	67	13.40	92
93	Utica, N. Y.	100,518	Not reported										93
	Group V												
	Population 50,000 to 100,000												
94	Waterbury, Conn.	99,314	190,519,394	28	2	20.05	9.21	.36	.38	30.00	80	24.00	94
95	Shreveport, La.	98,167	Not reported										95
96	Lynn, Mass.	98,123	Not reported										96
97	Evansville, Ind.[e]	97,062	125,691,791	—	2	9.70	10.80	8.00	1.10	29.60	75	22.20	97
98	Allentown, Pa.[t]	96,904	106,862,900	0	4	12.40	15.00	5.00	N	32.40	75	24.30	98
99	El Paso, Tex.[w]	96,810	82,787,600	22	2	13.50	11.50	7.00	4.70	36.70	64§	23.35	99
100	Savannah, Ga.[48]	95,996	61,846,267	21	4	23.00	10.00	13.00	5.00	51.00	60	30.60	100
101	Little Rock, Ark.	88,039	Not reported										101
102	Austin, Tex.[w]	87,930	76,437,950	19	1	16.50	6.50	7.70	4.70	35.40	61§	21.53	102
103	Schenectady, N. Y.[49]	87,549	166,906,298	0	4	20.68	9.28	6.93	.06	36.95	Note o		103
104	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.	86,236	Not reported										104
105	Berkeley, Calif.[50]	85,547	99,613,840	11	2	16.56	17.77	13.17	N	47.50	55§	26.16	105
106	Rockford, Ill.[51]	84,637	61,677,007	33	2	25.14	23.66	4.10	N	52.90	40	21.16	106
107	Lawrence, Mass.	84,323	84,053,475	9	2	19.67	13.22	2.63	2.28	37.80	100	37.80	107
108	Harrisburg, Pa.[t]	83,893	99,330,610	0	Op	14.00	15.50	6.00	N	35.50	64§	22.18	108
109	Saginaw, Mich.[j]	82,794	109,217,930	18	4	8.61	5.67	3.40	N	17.68	70	12.38	109
110	Glendale, Calif.[52]	82,582	73,802,640	—	2	12.23	21.62	13.63	N	47.48	50	23.74	110
111	Sioux City, Iowa[53]	82,364	78,813,936	25	2	19.50	19.49	6.48	N	45.47	60	27.28	111
112	Lincoln, Neb.[54]	81,984	95,259,503	22	2	12.40	17.00	.81	3.24	33.45	85	28.43	112
113	Pasadena, Calif.[55]	81,864	127,849,650	19	1	11.26	17.59	13.62	N	42.47	57§	24.05	113
114	Altoona, Pa.[t]	80,214	71,512,860	0	1	10.00	18.00	6.00	N	34.00	67§	22.60	114
115	Winston-Salem, N. C.[p]	79,815	116,000,000*	—	1	14.11	2.89	5.00	N	22.00	70	15.40	115
116	Bayonne, N. J.[n]	79,198	124,153,930	12	4	44.74	—	12.33	2.90	59.97	100	59.97	116
117	Huntington, W. Va.[56]	78,836	118,071,395	41	2	5.00	9.24	4.56	.10	18.90	90	17.01	117
118	Lansing, Mich.[j]	78,753	112,687,850	18	1	17.20	10.60	4.30	N	32.10	80	25.68	118
119	Mobile, Ala.[a]	78,720	52,125,454	30	1	7.50	9.00	12.50	6.50	35.50	60	21.30	119
120	Binghamton, N. Y.[o]	78,309	104,585,156	0	4	24.42	10.21	3.97	—	38.60	Note o		120

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[47] **Charlotte.** Assessed value subject to increase by amount of late returns which come in until June 30, 1945. See footnote p.

[48] **Savannah.** Assessed valuation reported is 1943 figure. Figure for 1944 not available in time for this report.

[49] **Schenectady.** State Tax Commission reports assessments at 88 per cent, but local authorities believe it is more nearly 120 per cent of true value. See footnote o.

[50] **Berkeley.** County rate includes park district, water district and mosquito abatement rates totalling $2.17.

[51] **Rockford.** City rate includes $4.00 sanitary district, $5.50 park and township and $2.50 road and bridge rates.

[52] **Glendale.** County rate includes $1.83 flood control rate.

[53] **Sioux City.** Assessed value does not include approximately $12,000,000 moneys and credits taxed at 5 mills. See footnote f.

[54] **Lincoln.** City rate includes $2.00 sanitary district rate.

[55] **Pasadena.** County rate includes $1.83 flood control rate.

[56] **Huntington.** City rate includes $.60 park rate. See footnote z.

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
121	Montgomery, Ala.[a]	78,084	Not reported										121
122	Niagara Falls, N. Y.[o]	78,029	158,438,865	0	2	19.25	12.69	4.87	—	36.81	85	31.29	122
123	Manchester, N. H.	77,685	90,254,107	21	1	28.46	—	4.63	.16	33.25	100	33.25	123
124	Quincy, Mass.[57]	75,810	130,434,375	6	1	—	—	—	—	30.00	100	30.00	124
125	Pawtucket, R. I.[u]	75,797	Not reported										125
126	St. Joseph, Mo.	75,711	60,745,360	28	1	15.00	12.80	7.50	1.50	36.80	65	23.92	126
127	E. St. Louis, Ill.	75,609	Not reported										127
128	Springfield, Ill.[da]	75,503	53,920,138	21	2	37.70	19.50	5.60	N	52.80	35	18.48	128
129	Portland, Me.	73,643	80,122,500	23	1	29.61	12.23	1.48	6.28	49.60	90	44.64	129
130	Charleston, S. C.	71,275	Not reported										130
131	Springfield, Ohio[q]	70,662	Not reported										131
132	Troy, N. Y.[o]	70,304	73,302,373	0	2	35.02	10.01	12.47	—	57.50	86	49.45	132
133	Hammond, Ind.[e]	70,184	99,648,430		2	13.05	13.18	7.67	1.10	35.00	50	17.50	133
134	Newton, Mass.[h]	69,873	168,396,100	10	10	—	—	—	—	26.80	100	26.80	134
135	Roanoke, Va.	69,287	71,863,141	16	4	—	—	N	N	25.00	56	14.00	135
136	Lakewood, Ohio[q]	69,160	95,934,220	10	2	7.00	13.80	4.90	N	25.70	75	19.28	136
137	East Orange, N. J.[n]	68,945	105,096,700	9	4	18.43	13.21	7.27	2.89	41.80	100	41.80	137
138	New Britain, Conn.	68,685	113,343,513	20	1	16.24*	11.56*	.52*	.43*	28.75	100	28.75	138
139	San Jose, Calif.	68,457	68,037,695	16	2	15.72	16.45	11.10	N	43.27	50	21.64	139
140	Charleston, W. Va.[s]	67,914	Not reported										140
141	Topeka, Kans.[58]	67,833	91,922,489	44	2	14.18	18.48	6.75	.79	40.20	70	28.14	141
142	Madison, Wis.	67,447	140,208,825	16	2	9.19	11.59	5.52	.20	26.50	97	25.70	142
143	Mt. Vernon, N. Y.[o]	67,362	143,897,444	0	2	12.84	13.44	7.40	—	33.68	Note o		143
144	Racine, Wis.	67,195	109 852,231	16	7	3.79	11.61	5.18	.23	20.81	88	18.31	144
145	Johnstown, Pa.[t]	66,668	73,397,815	8	4	14.00	17.00	6.00	N	37.00	100	37.00	145
146	Pontiac, Mich.[j]	66,626	92,159,235	33	1	11.06	8.04	3.75	N	22.85	70	16.00	146
147	Davenport, Iowa[f]	66,039	61,867,191	8	1	18.00	16.99	8.89	N	43.88	60	26.33	147
148	Oak Park, Ill.[59]	66,015	104,135,092	13	2	11.60	14.00	2.80	N	28.40	100	28.40	148
149	Augusta, Ga.[d]	65,919	49,059,227	38	3	20.00	14.00	9.00	5.00	48.00	50	24.00	149
150	Phoenix, Ariz.	65,414	75,693,410	23	2	17.20	24.10	6.80	2.50	50.60	64§	32.18	150
151	Evanston, Ill.	65,389	Not reported										151
152	Cicero, Ill.	64,712	Not reported										152
153	Atlantic City, N. J.[n]	64,094	78,426,130	9	4	32.30	12.30	12.00	2.90	59.50	100	59.50	153
154	Dearborn, Mich.[j]	63,584	251,787,800	38	4	12.83	12.50	5.07	N	30.40	100	30.40	154
155	Medford, Mass.[h]	63,083	77,804,500	4	2	—	—	—	—	39.40	100	39.40	155

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[57] **Quincy.** Breakdown of total rate not available.

[58] **Topeka.** Assessed value includes $21,642,267 intangibles assessed at $.50 per $100.

[59] **Oak Park.** City rate includes $3.30 sanitary district, $1.40 park district, $.60 poor relief and $.20 driveway maintenance rates. County rate includes $.40 forest preserve rate. Tax rate and assessed valuation have been set, for the first time, on the basis of 100 per cent of true value assessments.

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
156	Terre Haute, Ind.[e]	62,693	56,721,800	—	2	14.45	14.10	8.15	1.10	37.80	65	24.57	156
157	Columbia, S. C.	62,396	Not reported										157
158	Brockton, Mass.	62,343	Not reported										158
159	Cedar Rapids, Iowa	62,120	62,570,431	24	2	15.92	20.16	5.63	N	41.71	60	25.03	159
160	Jackson, Miss.[m]	62,107	62,742,497	29	3	19.20	9.60	9.70	2.00	40.50	67	27.14	100
161	Covington, Ky.	62,018	57,423,463	26	2	15.70	13.70	5.60	.50	35.50	70	24.85	161
162	Passaic, N. J.[n]	61,394	83,332,900	17	4	22.24	16.45	8.15	2.86	49.70	100	49.70	162
163	Lancaster, Pa.[t]	61,345	90,782,550	0	1	6.00	11.00	1.50	N	18.50	100	18.50	163
164	Springfield, Mo.	61,238	Not reported										164
165	Wheeling, W. Va.[s]	61,099	115,061,700	—	2	4.37	8.12	7.84	—	20.33	75	15.25	165
166	Galveston, Tex.[w]	60,862	Not reported										166
167	St. Petersburg, Fla.[60]	60,812	85,957,611	9	1	25.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	167
168	Fresno, Calif.	60,685	63,793,974	21	2	17.10	20.65	8.55	N	46.30	50	23.15	168
169	Durham, N. C.[p]	60,195	97,866,642	36	1	12.40	3.10	5.50	N	21.00	75	15.75	169
170	Greensboro, N. C.[p]	59,319	100,558,599	26	1	13.40	2.50	7.20	N	23.10	85	19.64	170
171	Decatur, Ill.	59,305	Not reported										171
172	Chester, Pa.	59,285	Not reported										172
173	Beaumont, Tex.	59,061	Not reported										173
174	Bethlehem, Pa.[t]	58,490	69,711,529	0	4	12.00	16.00	8.50	N	36.50	64§	23.42	174
175	New Rochelle, N. Y.[o]	58,408	138,940,045	0	4	20.60	13.00	7.41	.19	41.20	Note o		175
176	Malden, Mass.[61]	58,010	69,403,625	9	2	25.31	13.41	1.88	N	40.60	100	40.60	176
177	Macon, Ga.[d]	57,865	43,883,493	15	9	13.00	13.10	13.90	5.00	45.00	50	22.50	177
178	Corpus Christi, Tex.[62]	57,301	50,046,920	18	2	20.00	13.50	12.00	5.50	51.00	60§	30.21	178
179	York, Pa.	56,712	Not reported										179
180	Union City, N. J.[63]	56,173	62,156,577	7	4	28.28	16.48	12.08	2.80	59.64	100	59.64	180
181	Waco, Tex.	55,982	Not reported									—	181
182	McKeesport, Pa.[t]	55,355	56,664,825	0	1	13.50	17.00	8.00	N	38.50	72§	27.75	182
183	Irvington, N. J.[n]	55,328	71,579,700	11	4	21.60	16.38	7.40	2.92	48.30	100	48.30	183
184	Cleveland Heights, Ohio[q]	54,992	104,269,930	5	2	5.00	13.80	4.90	N	23.70	60	14.22	184
185	Stockton, Calif.	54,714	66,872,055	13	10	19.80	13.26	15.83	N	48.89	56§	27.62	185
186	East Chicago, Ind.	54,637	Not reported										186
187	Kalamazoo, Mich.[j]	54,097	76,479,235	25	12	8.40	12.95	4.00	N	25.35	80	20.28	187
188	Holyoke, Mass.	53,750	Not reported										188
189	Santa Monica, Calif.[64]	53,500	50,062,795	18	2	19.50	17.72	18.43	N	55.65	50	27.83	189

[60] **St. Petersburg.** There are approximately twenty state and county tax rate districts in the city. Rates vary because of schools and roads. City rate shown is only one of four varying from $14 to $25. See footnote c.

[61] **Malden.** No state levy because receipts exceed payments.

[62] **Corpus Christi.** County rate includes $2.47 navigation district rate.

[63] **Union City.** Rate for former town of Union shown. Rate for annexed portion is $59.03.

[64] **Santa Monica.** County rate includes $4.80 metropolitan water and $1.83 county flood control rates.

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
190	Columbus, Ga.[d]	53,280	43,599,081	21	1	15.00	9.00	12.00	5.00	41.00	50	20.50	190
191	Pueblo, Colo.[65]	52,162	29,412,084	—	2	32.70	22.07	6.48	3.85	65.10	60	39.06	191
192	Waterloo, Iowa[66]	51,743	48,520,305	20	2	10.66	17.29	6.83	N	34.78	60	20.87	192
193	Amarillo, Tex.[w]	51,686	62,673,440	25	2	11.90	10.30	6.00	5.50	33.70	70§	23.51	193
194	Asheville, N. C.[p]	51,310	Not reported										194
195	Highland Park, Mich.	50,810	95,788,950	31	2	14.85	13.90	4.97	N	33.72	100	33.72	195
196	Portsmouth, Va.[40]	50,745	37,000,000	10	2	—	—	N	N	25.00	70	17.50	196
197	Hamilton, Ohio[67]	50,592	74,445,000	23	2	8.53	7.42	2.69	N	18.64	70	13.05	197
198	Hoboken, N. J.	50,115	Not reported										198
	Group VI												
	Population 30,000 to 50,000												
199	Hamtramck, Mich.[j]	49,839	82,779,410	—	2	20.00	10.50	5.23	N	35.73	78	27.87	199
200	Brookline, Mass.[h]	49,786	130,310,100	9	2	15.82	4.83	.81	3.04	24.50	100	24.50	200
201	Muncie, Ind.	49,720	Not reported										201
202	Pittsfield, Mass.[40]	49,684	61,101,155	8	2	29.16	—	1.55	2.09	32.80	100	32.80	202
203	Jackson, Mich.[j]	49,656	73,235,370	18	5	9.09	8.39	4.33	N	21.81	80	17.45	203
204	Lexington, Ky.	49,304	71,361,850	38	2	18.00	7.80	4.20	.50	30.50	90	27.45	204
205	Woonsocket, R. I.[u]	49,303	78,659,310	28	4	—	—	N	N	25.00	100	25.00	205
206	Clifton, N. J.[n]	48,827	54,587,700	10	4	21.20	15.60	8.10	2.80	47.70	75	35.78	206
207	Kenosha, Wis.	48,765	73,302,130	11	3	8.32	15.11	8.77	.80	33.00	85	28.05	207
208	Berwyn, Ill.[68]	48,451	54,975,104	8	2	13.80	16.10	2.80	N	32.70	100	32.70	208
209	Bay City, Mich.[j]	47,956	49,967,830	21	1	19.44	12.03	5.57	N	37.04	70	25.93	209
210	Stamford, Conn.[69]	47,938	111,162,991	18	1	—	—	—	—	30.80	100	30.80	210
211	Muskegon, Mich.[j]	47,697	62,720,175	28	1	8.89	8.76	3.80	N	21.45	100	21.45	211
212	New Castle, Pa.	47,638	Not reported										212
213	Aurora, Ill.[70]	47,170	29,287,744	20	2	27.50	25.00	4.10	N	56.60	33	18.68	213
214	Cranston, R. I.[u]	47,085	83,151,820	25	4	—	—	N	N	23.00	100	23.00	214
215	Raleigh, N. C.[p]	46,897	66,598,418	20	Op	13.50	4.50*	3.80*	N	21.80	70	15.26	215
216	Everett, Mass.[h]	46,784	78,371,375	16	2	18.01	7.68	1.20	3.91	30.80	100	30.80	216
217	Haverhill, Mass.[h]	46,752	48,791,400	10	1	29.51	7.90	1.07	1.12	39.60	100	39.60	217

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[65] **Pueblo.** City rate includes $5.75 conservancy district rate. School rate shown is for school district with largest assessed value (there are two school districts in the city) and includes $1.10 for junior college and $4.02 levied by county for school purposes.

[66] **Waterloo.** East side rate shown. Rate for west side is $34.64.

[67] **Hamilton.** City rate includes $3.17 conservancy rate. See footnote q.

[68] **Berwyn.** City rate includes $.60 public health, $1.90 park district, $3.30 sanitary district, $.50 township, and $.40 poor relief rates. County rate includes $.40 forest preserve rate. Tax rates and assessed value have been set, for the first time, on the basis of 100 per cent of true value assessments.

[69] **Stamford.** Tax rate shown is for the 1st city district; rate for 3rd city district is $26.30.

[70] **Aurora.** City rate includes $4.10 township, $2.50 road and bridge, and $3.60 sanitary district rates. County rate includes $.40 forest preserve rate.

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
218	Green Bay, Wis.[71]	46,235	58,330,225	12	2	9.02	13.58	6.52	.25	29.37	80	23.50	218
219	Port Arthur, Tex.[w]	46,140	30,340,550	19	2	19.00	8.50	8.00	5.50	41.00	60§	24.30	219
220	Wichita Falls, Tex.[w]	45,112	35,584,710	38	2	15.00	10.00	13.30	5.50	43.80	67	29.35	220
221	Elmira, N. Y.[o]	45,106	50,559,655	0	2	23.74	5.43	11.80	—	40.97	Note o		221
222	Lima, Ohio[q]	44,711	57,196,080	7	2	7.45	7.15	3.40	N	18.00	75	13.50	222
223	Lynchburg, Va.	44,541	44,381,356	8	—	12.00	11.50	N	N	23.50	70	16.45	223
224	Williamsport, Pa.[72]	44,355	29,671,700	0	Op	13.75	22.00	8.00	N	43.75	56§	24.65	224
225	Lorain, Ohio[q]	44,125	82,059,000	—	2	6.39	6.44	2.10	N	14.93	80	11.94	225
226	Dubuque, Iowa	43,892	Not reported										226
227	Ogden, Utah	43,688	Not reported										227
228	San Bernardino, Calif.[73]	43,646	31,904,670	29	2	15.63	21.70	17.40	N	54.73	50	27.37	228
229	Battle Creek, Mich.[j]	43,453	71,481,050	25	1	7.80	8.80	3.20	N	19.80	100	19.80	229
230	Warren, Ohio[q]	42,837	72,268,996	—	2	6.70	7.70	3.00	N	17.40	80	13.92	230
231	Rock Island, Ill.[74]	42,775	25,417,351	32	2	21.40	24.40	5.60	N	51.40	33	16.96	231
232	La Crosse, Wis.	42,707	54,510,300	—	3	8.33	10.81	7.63	.23	27.00	86	23.22	232
233	Jamestown, N. Y.[o]	42,638	56,751,567	0	1	13.06	15.84	7.21	—	36.11	85	30.69	233
234	Joliet, Ill.	42,365	27,067,134	21	2	24.50	32.60	6.50	N	63.60	28	17.81	234
235	Fitchburg, Mass.[h]	41,824	49,111,775	15	2	21.21	12.53	1.79	2.07	37.60	100	37.60	235
236	Chicopee, Mass.[h]	41,664	38,577,540	7	2	—	—	—	—	40.00	100	40.00	236
237	Bloomfield, N. J.[n]	41,623	66,204,650	12	4	14.70	17.10	7.40	2.90	42.10	100	42.10	237
238	Anderson, Ind.	41,572	Not reported										238
239	Council Bluffs, Iowa	41,439	Not reported										239
240	Chelsea, Mass.[h]	41,259	42,451,575	8	2	33.92	10.49	N	4.39	48.80	100	48.80	240
241	Perth Amboy, N. J.[n]	41,242	47,032,222	14	4	20.22	19.09	12.78	3.01	55.10	50	27.55	241
242	Salem, Mass.[h]	41,213	54,382.750	12	10	19.91	11.01	2.41	2.17	35.50	100	35.50	242
243	Sioux Falls, S. D.[v]	40,832	46,942,872	17	2	14.34	13.05	3.93	N	31.32	70	21.92	243
244	Sheboygan, Wis.	40,638	53,102.655	13	2	14.60	11.90	5.01	.23	31.74	100	31.74	244
245	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.[o]	40,478	53,137,993	0	4	26.57	8.33	5.14	—	40.04	Note o		245
246	Quincy, Ill.	40,469	Not reported										246
247	Portsmouth, Ohio[q]	40,466	52,124,308	—	2	9.96	9.05	3.79	N	22.80	100	22.80	247
248	White Plains, N. Y.[o]	40,327	116.945.261	0	2	14.15	13.66	7.61	—	35.42	Note o		248
249	Waltham, Mass.[h]	40,020	52,762.650	7	2	—	—	—	—	35.00	100	35.00	249
250	Arlington, Mass.[h]	40,013	56,098,950	6	2	—	—	—	—	32.00	100	32.00	250
251	Norwalk, Conn.[75]	39,849	78,788,577	11	2	—	—	—	—	29.70	80	23.76	251

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[71] **Green Bay.** City rate includes $2.10 metropolitan sewage disposal rate.

[72] **Williamsport.** County also charges $4.00 on personal property only.

[73] **San Bernardino.** County rate includes $1.00 flood control rate.

[74] **Rock Island.** City rate includes $3.60 township and $1.90 street and bridge rates.

[75] **Norwalk.** Rate shown is for 1st district, 2nd and 3rd districts pay $27.90, 6th district, $25.20.

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
252	Montclair, N. J.	39,807	Not reported										252
253	East Cleveland, Ohio[q]	39,495	54,595,585	15	2	7.60	13.30	4.90	N	25.80	60	15.48	253
254	Meriden, Conn.	39,494	67,082,560	22	2	14.17	11.13	.34	.36	26.00	100	26.00	254
255	Cumberland, Md.	39,483	49,200,000*	15	Op	12.00	7.46	9.34	1.20	30.00	80	24.00	255
256	Kearny, N. J.	39,467	Not reported										256
257	West New York, N. J.[n]	39,439	43,469,552	21	4	25.53	24.08	14.07	3.27	66.95	60	40.17	257
258	Laredo, Tex.[w]	39,274	20,212,728	26	12	18.60	7.10	12.10	5.50	43.30	72§	31.12	258
259	Oshkosh, Wis.	39,089	48,005,725	20	4	12.78	15.27	3.38	.57	32.00	92	29.44	259
260	Alhambra, Calif.[76]	38,935	31,467,115	—	2	15.02	19.76	13.62	N	48.40	40	19.36	260
261	Lewiston, Me.	38,598	Not reported										261
262	High Point, N. C.[p]	38,495	48,615,513	25	4	10.25	7.16	4.09	N	21.50	85	18.28	262
263	Elgin, Ill.[77]	38,333	24,093,297	25	2	26.70	23.80	4.10	N	54.60	30	16.38	263
264	Norristown, Pa.	38,181	22,860,950	0	1	12.50	23.00	1.50	N	37.00	50	18.50	264
265	Hazleton, Pa.[t]	38,009	28,295,016	0	1	14.50	24.00	8.20	4.00	50.70	50	25.35	265
266	Steubenville, Ohio	37,651	Not reported										266
267	Zanesville, Ohio	37,500	Not reported										267
268	Plainfield, N. J.[n]	37,469	58,098,300	11	4	14.61	17.49	7.00	2.90	42.00	100	42.00	268
269	Pensacola, Fla.	37,449	Not reported										269
270	Taunton, Mass.	37,395	Not reported										270
271	Mansfield, Ohio[78]	37,154	61,000,000	20	2	4.40	8.90	2.50	N	15.80	80	12.64	271
272	Joplin, Mo.	37,144	Not reported										272
273	Butte, Mont.[79]	37,081	49,305,200*	—	2	34.35	33.13	27.01	N	94.49	30	28.35	273
274	Newport News, Va.	37,067	51,491,080	20	1	20.00	12.50	N	N	32.50	60	19.50	274
275	Gadsden, Ala.[a]	36,975	18,277,592	—	1	10.00	3.00	11.50	6.50	31.00	60	18.60	275
276	Danville, Ill.[80]	36,919	20,584,859	27	2	35.10	26.00	4.40	N	55.50	46	25.53	276
277	Tucson, Ariz.	36,818	24,013,175	13	2	18.44	24.48	.33	2.50	45.75	55	25.16	277
278	Colorado Springs, Colo.	36,789	29,667,945	23	2	14.00	22.33	6.58	3.85	46.76	67	31.33	278
279	Orlando, Fla.[c]	36,736	55,097,000	10	1	13.00	—	—	—	—	100	—	279
280	Fort Smith, Ark.[b]	36,584	17,795,293	32	3	7.30	18.00	9.00	9.00	43.30	25	10.83	280
281	West Allis, Wis.[81]	36,364	76,838,047	30	4	16.79	7.55	8.51	.24	33.09	82	27.13	281
282	Alameda, Calif.	36,256	35,893,706	14	2	15.80	—	31.60	N	47.40	53§	24.96	282

[76] **Alhambra.** County rate includes $1.83 flood control rate.

[77] **Elgin.** City rate includes $6.70 township and $3.90 sanitary district rates.

[78] **Mansfield.** City rate includes $.13 township rate. See footnote q.

[79] **Butte.** In Montana property is assessed at full cash value, but the taxable value of various types of property is only a fraction of the assessed value. Household goods, autos, trucks, etc., have a taxable value of 20 per cent of assessed value; real estate, 30 per cent; live stock, merchandise, furniture, and fixtures, 33 1/3 per cent; moneys, stocks, and bonds, 7 per cent; net proceeds of mines, 100 per cent. The total taxable value is approximately 30 per cent of the assessed value and this is the figure shown in the assessment ratio column.

[80] **Danville.** City rate includes $4.50 township, $2.50 road and bridge, and $2.30 sanitary district rates.

[81] **West Allis.** City rate includes $2.94 metropolitan sewer system rate.

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
283	Auburn, N. Y.[o]	35,753	51,001,830	0	2	17.93	8.59	2.78	—	29.30	100	29.30	283
284	Orange, N. J.[n]	35,717	42,129,800	7	4	20.50	15.89	7.39	2.92	46.70	100	46.70	284
285	Meridian, Miss.[m]	35,481	26,313,903	37	3	17.00	14.00	16.35	2.00	49.35	70	34.55	285
286	Albuquerque, N. Mex.	35,449	25,181,804	13	2	17.69	4.37	11.76	6.45	40.27	60	24.16	286
287	Watertown, Mass.[h]	35,427	51,740,485	7	2	—	—	—	—	31.60	100	31.60	287
288	Richmond, Ind.[e]	35,147	37,075,628	25	2	2.25	13.95	6.90	1.10	24.20	70	16.94	288
289	Superior, Wis.	35,136	42,625,637	13	2	6.91	16.25	14.13	.20	37.49	100	37.49	289
290	Santa Barbara, Calif.	34,958	48,121,205	16	2	12.60	15.50	13.50	N	41.60	53§	22.06	290
291	Greenville, S. C.	34,734	10,966,875	—	1	47.00	26.50	21.00	N	94.50	15	14.18	291
292	Baton Rouge, La.	34,719	Not reported										292
293	Riverside, Calif.	34,696	31,530,930	25	2	13.00	17.60	15.30	N	45.90	50	22.95	293
294	Moline, Ill.[82]	34,608	23,381,064	25	2	20.00	26.30	5.60	N	51.90	40	20.76	294
295	Revere, Mass[h]	34,405	39,496,950	7	10	—	—	—	—	47.40	100	47.40	295
296	Burbank, Calif.[83]	34,337	67,571,465	—	2	13.80	18.38	16.02	N	48.20	50	24.10	296
297	Waukegan, Ill.	34,241	Not reported										297
298	Rome, N. Y.	34,214	Not reported										298
299	Norwood, Ohio	34,010	Not reported										299
300	Kokomo, Ind.	33,795	32,860,545	31	2	14.18	14.95	5.97	1.10	36.20	100	36.20	300
301	West Hartford, Conn.[84]	33,776	101,791,351	12	Op	12.00*	5.53*	.25*	.22*	18.00	100	18.00	301
302	Paducah, Ky.	33,765	Not reported										302
303	West Palm Beach, Fla.[85]	33,693	36,033,630	14	1	36.00	5.25	13.46	N	54.71	100	54.71	303
304	Easton, Pa.[t]	33,589	41,525,730	0	4	12.00	14.50	8.50	N	35.00	93§	32.45	304
305	Alexandria, Va.	33,523	Not reported										305
306	Elkhart, Ind.[e]	33,434	43,689,776	—	2	9.30	10.90	6.70	1.10	28.00	60	16.80	306
307	Wilmington, N. C.[p]	33,407	41,943,724	17	—	13.50	3.42	2.58	N	19.50	85	15.68	307
308	Watertown, N. Y.[o]	33,385	46,305,245	0	1	16.80	12.70	8.30	—	37.80	95	35.91	308
309	Amsterdam, N. Y.[o]	33,329	26,695,923	0	4	15.58	24.37	11.83	—	51.78	65	33.66	309
310	New Brunswick, N. J.[n]	33,180	41,534,882	10	4	18.48	16.54	12.28	2.90	50.20	70	35.14	310
311	University City, Mo.	33,023	43,813,130	16	1	8.80	16.30	9.00	.90	35.00	50	17.50	311
312	Nashua, N. H.[86]	32,927	41,876,125	37	—	19.64	9.86*	4.20	N	33.70	100	33.70	312
313	Bloomington, Ill.[da]	32,868	Not reported										313
314	Port Huron, Mich.[j]	32,759	36,600,575	14	1	13.94	9.00	6.00	N	28.94	100	28.94	314
315	Danville, Va.	32,749	34,255,519	34	2	11.00	7.50	N	N	18.50	60	11.10	315
316	Fargo, N. Dak.[87]	32,580	42,935,121*	30	2	22.27	20.96	10.56	6.44	60.23	50	30.62	316

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[82] **Moline.** City rate includes $1.20 township and $1.65 street and bridge rates.

[83] **Burbank.** County rate includes $1.83 county flood control and $2.40 metropolitan water district rates.

[84] **West Hartford.** Breakdown of total rate of $18.00 estimated on basis of appropriations.

[85] **West Palm Beach.** County rate includes $4.50 port rate.

[86] **Nashua.** School rate estimated from appropriations.

[87] **Fargo.** Law specifies that realty must be assessed at 100 per cent, but millage is computed on 50 per cent of the assessed valuation.

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
317	Hagerstown, Md.	32,491	Not reported										317
318	Muskogee, Okla.[r]	32,332	Not reported										318
319	Spartanburg, S. C.[88]	32,249	9,897,716	42	1	57.00	29.00	20.00	N	106.00	13	13.78	319
320	East Providence, R. I.[89]	32,165	47,080,195	18	4	—	—	N	N	23.20	70	16.24	320
321	Santa Ana, Calif.[90]	31,921	26,174,415	—	2	16.90	20.10	13.30	N	50.30	33	16.60	321
322	Newburgh, N. Y.	31,883	Not reported										322
323	Lubbock, Tex.[w]	31,853	32,053,299	21	1	8.50	10.00	5.00	5.50	29.00	67	19.43	323
324	Ottumwa, Iowa	31,570	Not reported										324
325	Newark, Ohio	31,487	Not reported										325
326	Alton, Ill.[91]	31,255	14,759,245	27	2	21.90	22.50	4.95	N	49.35	50	24.68	326
327	Middletown, Ohio[92]	31,220	66,600,000	35	2	3.45	7.47	3.61	N	14.53	80	11.62	327
328	Salem, Ore.	30,908	Not reported										328
329	Marion, Ohio	30,817	Not reported										329
330	Eau Claire, Wis.	30,745	Not reported										330
331	Newport, Ky.	30,631	20,776,700	5	2	18.40	10.80	—	—	—	—	—	331
332	Petersburg, Va.	30,631	26,830,362	16	4	—	—	N	N	22.50	100	22.50	332
333	Wyandotte, Mich.[j]	30,618	49,100,475	12	1	12.50	9.90	5.58	N	27,98	70	19.59	333
334	Clarksburg, W. Va.[s]	30,579	51,308,780	—	2	5.00	9.18	3.76	.10	18.04	100	18.04	334
335	Newport, R. I.[u]	30,532	74,171,800	39	4	—	—	N	N	24.50	100	24.50	335
336	New London, Conn.	30,456	49,535,667	13	2	—	—	—	—	31.00	95	29.45	336
337	Owensboro, Ky.	30,245	15,582,246	28	1	15.00	14.20	—	—	—	—	—	337
338	Everett, Wash.[93]	30,224	16,567,942	—	2	20.75	12.00	10.00	2.45	45.20	50	22.60	338
339	Bristol, Conn.	30,167	64,745,357	30	2	—	—	—	—	27.00	90	24.30	339
340	Inglewood, Calif.	30,114	25,581,585	8	2	11.70	19.86	29.57	N	51.13	50	25.57	340
341	Parkersburg, W. Va.[s]	30,103	46,661,830	40	2	5.00	10.02	4.06	.10	19.18	70	13.43	341
342	West Haven, Conn.	30,021	54,015,619	—	1	—	—	—	—	19.00	100	19.00	342
343	Hutchinson, Kans.	30,013	28,816,665	32	2	13.99	14.50	2.25	.75	31.49	70	22.04	343

[88] **Spartanburg.** City rate includes $5.00 metropolitan sewer district rate.

[89] **East Providence.** Assessed valuation includes $2,308,880 intangible personal property taxed at $4.00.

[90] **Santa Ana.** County rate includes $4.00 metropolitan water and flood control district rate.

[91] **Alton.** City rate includes $3.90 township rate.

[92] **Middletown.** County rate includes $.92 conservancy flood rate.

[93] **Everett.** City rate includes public utility district rate of $.75 and port rate of $2.00.

GENERAL NOTES

[a] **Alabama.** The legal basis of assessment is 60 per cent of true value. The rates shown are actual rates. *Homestead Exemption:* First $2,000 of assessed value of homesteads exempt from state tax only.

[b] **Arkansas.** *Homestead Exemption:* The first $1,000 of assessed value of homesteads exempt from state tax only.

[c] **Florida.** State tax levy discontinued. County assessments placed on 100 per cent of cash value basis. *Homestead Exemption:* The first $5,000 of the assessed value of homesteads is exempt from state and all local taxes except debt service on obligations incurred prior to the passage of the amendment.

[d] **Georgia.** Intangibles are assessed at 100 per cent of true value and taxed at from $.10 to $3.00 per $1,000 by state only. *Homestead Exemption:* First $2,000 of assessed value of homesteads exempt from state, county, and school district rates except for debt service on debt incurred previous to act.

[da] **Illinois.** Assessment ratios shown (except where otherwise indicated) are those reported by local authorities.

[e] **Indiana.** County tax rate includes township rate. Library rate included in school rate.

[f] **Iowa.** No state tax levy on property. Legal basis of assessment is 60 per cent of true value. *Homestead Exemption:* Amount of homestead exemption is determined by the Board of Assessment and Review each year. The maximum exemption is 25 mills on the first $2,500 of assessed values or $62.50, which was allowed in 1944. This applies to the state and all local units of government.

[g] **Louisiana.** *Homestead Exemption:* Applies to state, parish and special district taxes only, except that New Orleans (no other city) may also exempt homesteads from city taxes. Maximum exemption is $2,000, allowed hereafter. New homes are exempt from all state and local levies for three years following their completion.

[h] **Massachusetts.** In many cities the division of the total rate into city, school, county, and state purposes is not available and only the total rate is shown.

[j] **Michigan.** County rates shown were fixed to cover fiscal year starting December 1, 1943. The new rates are not fixed in time for inclusion in this report except in the case of Wayne County.

[k] **Minnesota.** *Property Classification:* There are five classes of property assessed at varying percentages of true value: platted real estate at 40 per cent, except the first $4,000 of homesteads which is assessed at 25 per cent; unplatted real estate at 33 1/3 per cent, except first $4,000 of homesteads at 20 per cent; iron ore at 50 per cent; and personalty in three classes at 10 per cent, 25 per cent, and 33 1/3 per cent. The first $4.000 of true value of homesteads is exempt further from state tax levies except debt service on obligations issued prior to the enactment of the law. Assessments average 35 per cent of true value in Minneapolis and St. Paul, and 34 per cent in Duluth. Tax rates shown are actual rates.

[m] **Mississippi.** *Homestead Exemption:* First $5.000 of assessed value exempt from state taxes and levies for maintenance and current expenses of counties, school districts and road districts.

[n] **New Jersey.** The soldier bonus, formerly included in state tax levy, has been discontinued. State rate now consists of a school tax which is distributed back to the school districts. For comparison with former years, this item is left under state rate, although it might justifiably be added to the school rate.

[o] **New York.** Realty valuations include public utilities. Where state rate is not shown it is included in county rate. The ratio of true value at which property is assessed in New York cities is the subject of considerable controversy. Where discrepancies between estimates from various sources are great, no ratio or adjusted rate is shown in the tabulation. The reader may consider the various estimates and choose the one he believes most accurate.

	State Tax Comm.	Local Officer	Local Civic Agency
New York City	100%	100% plus	160% plus
Rochester	93		110
Syracuse	96	100	
Yonkers	95	100	over 100
Albany	93	100	117
Utica	80	75	
Schenectady	88		120
Binghamton	92	100	
Mt. Vernon	95	100	
New Rochelle	85	100	
Elmira	80	85	
Poughkeepsie	84	70	
White Plains	92	100	

[p] **North Carolina.** *Homestead Exemption:* Authorized but enabling legislation not yet enacted.

[q] **Ohio.** Realty assessment includes public utility valuations.

[r] **Oklahoma.** *Homestead Exemption:* The first $1,000 of assessed value of homesteads is exempt from tax rates for all units. Debt service charges on obligations incurred prior to this act are specifically allowed.

[t] **Pennsylvania.** Tangible personal property is not subject to city rate except as noted.

[u] **Rhode Island.** There is no county government in Rhode Island. State does not tax real property. School rate included in city rate.

[v] **South Dakota.** *Homestead Exemption:* Homesteads are exempt from state tax levies only. However, the state tax has been abolished on all property.

[w] **Texas.** *Homestead Exemption:* First $3,000 of assessed value of homesteads is exempt from state taxes only.

[x] **Utah.** *Homestead Exemption:* Authorized but not yet effective.

[y] **Washington.** Legal basis of assessment is 50 per cent of true value.

[z] **West Virginia.** *Property Classification:* Property in cities is divided into three classes: Class I property (intangible personal property) pays ¼ full rate. Class II (property occupied by the owner as a residence) pays ½ full rate. Class IV (all real and personal property not in Class I or II) pays the full rate. *Homestead Exemption:* Homesteads may be taxed at not more than 1 per cent of assessed value.

Letter to the Editor

To the Editor of the
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

I have read Dr. Lancaster's comments on my article, "A New Type of Politician," with considerable astonishment.[1]

Here is an author of one of the most critical and most constructive works on rural government extant, inveighing against the use of value judgments and progressive measures on the ground that there is no agreement on the meaning of values and progress. He urges that teachers of political science train the intellect, "delimit the moral area," and let some other agency "cure the souls."

Plato and Locke are cited as desirable guides in the training of the intellect, but would he delete from the works of these authors the former's portrayal of the ideal state and the latter's emphasis on the trusteeship principle in government? Locke is a singularly unfortunate selection, for in his work, *Some Thoughts in Education,* he emphasizes virtuous habits, practical wisdom, and "good breeding" as the major goals of a sound education, while the gaining of knowledge follows these in relative importance. Without Locke's contributions the Declaration of Independence, a great moral document, might not have been written. The youth should surely become acquainted with the political philosophers, not alone for the training of the intellect, but too because they are good for the soul.

Dr. Lancaster's thesis is a simple one—to my mind, far too simple. Train the intellects of prospective politicians that they may have good judgment, good in the sense that it brings success at the polling place. "Their business is to stay in power." The arbiter is the electorate "whom we would all improve if only we knew how."

This, my friendly critic, is exactly what I am recommending. This is what "A New Type of Politician" is called upon to do—to provide leadership, to bring something more to his task than the willingness to follow an electorate that stands in need of improvement. Also needed is a followership in the public which will welcome and aid leaders who can solve problems and make a bit of progress in the direction of the objectives of government as outlined by Plato and Locke.

When it comes to decisions about paving Elm Street or devising a pension plan, they can refer to such excellent works as Lancaster's *Government in Rural America* and similar ones on urban and national government.

The experiment in democracy will have a sorry ending, I predict, if the political scientists in our undergraduate colleges content themselves with training the intellect and turning over the fate of the country to politicians who seek success only by keeping in step with a public that ought to be improved "if we only knew how." A basically important part of our task, as I conceive it, is to bring home to our students that democracy means self-government, i.e., doing something about government. Political apathy is now a contagious blight on our adult population. If we cannot stimulate the adolescents to a sense of political responsibility and to political action and leadership, what of the future of self-government in this increasingly complex world? Call such stimulation the "cure of souls" or what you will, it is the political scientists' business or it is

(Continued on next page)

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[1] See the REVIEW, October 1944, pp. 473-475.

Contributors in Review

ON leave from the University of Michigan, **Robert S. Ford** (*Michigan Attacks 'Red Tape'*) was appointed director of the Michigan Department of Business Administration when it was created in 1943. Dr. Ford became professor of public finance at the University in 1934 and director of its Bureau of Government in 1937. He was also editor of the University of Michigan Governmental Studies. He is author of a number of articles and special reports in the field of public finance including *Financing Government in Michigan, Retail Sales and Use Taxes, Michigan Highway Finance* and a *Manual of State Administrative Organization in Michigan.*

SERVICE in the Army has interrupted the education of **David J. Lippert** (*The GI's Cast Their Ballots*), stationed at Camp Blanding, Florida. Previously Corporal Lippert had been working at the University of Wisconsin toward his M. A. in journalism. To complete this work and continue toward a doctorate is his "postwar plan." At the University Corporal Lippert was involved in student government—campus politics, he terms it. Introduced to Professor R. J. Colbert by his father, he became deeply interested in the University's "Citizenship Day" program. In the army he has been assigned to administrative tasks such as public relations, special service, personnel, etc.

AS statistician for the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, **Rosina K. Mohaupt** (*Tax Rates of American Cities*) continues the preparation of the annual compilation of tax rates. In 1940 Dr. Mohaupt was recipient of the first Master of Public Administration degree awarded by Wayne University. She is co-author of a number of publications issued by the Detroit Bureau, including *The English System of Taxation of Real Property on an Income Basis, The Exemption of Homesteads from Taxation, Cost of Living Plans for Municipal Employees,* and *Cost of Living Salary Adjustment Plans for Municipal Employees,* and is editor of *Certain Social and Economic Data by Detroit Census Tracts.*

BORN in Cincinnati, **William M. Tugman** (*By Their Own Bootstraps, III*) grew up watching his father and others, including the late Henry Bentley, wrestle with the Cox-Hynicka machine in that city. Mr. Tugman graduated from Harvard in 1914. Thereafter he entered the newspaper field, serving on the *New Bedford Standard, Providence Journal* and the *Cleveland Plain Dealer.* Since 1927 he has been managing editor of the *Eugene* (Oregon) *Register Guard.* In New Bedford he had a hand in the Ashley-Hathaway expose; he got to Cleveland in time to secure a ringside seat for the battles of Dr. A. R. Hatton and Peter Witt for a manager-P. R. charter; and now he is putting into practice in his own home town what he has learned from these "soldiers of reform."

RESEARCH chairman for the Montgomery County Charter Committee, **John F. Willmott** (*Machine Beats County Charter*) has been in the thick of the fight for the manager plan in that county for many months. Mr. Willmott is a veteran in governmental research, having spent fifteen years with research bureaus in San Francisco, Kansas City (Kansas) and Chattanooga. For five years he was administrative consultant for Public Administration Service, later becoming assistant secretary of the International City Managers' Association and associate editor of *Public Management.* Mr. Willmott has been on the staff of the Bureau of the Budget since 1941.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from page 615)

nobody's business. Reference is here made to undergraduate rather than graduate education.

For those whose slogan is "the truth for truth's sake," for whom education is simply the training of the intellect, let me quote Einstein's comment: "Concern for man himself and his fate must always form the chief interest of all technical endeavors. . . . Never forget this in the midst of your diagrams and equations."

William E. Mosher
Maxwell Graduate School of
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Syracuse University

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Constitutional Issues Meet Varied Fates in November Election

Council - Manager Plan Adopted in Eight Cities

BESIDES the one complete state constitution — New Jersey's — voted on at the November 7 elections, many constitutional amendments and legislative measures were passed upon by the electorate in 30 states, where 126 such amendments, referenda and initiative proposals were on the ballot. It will be some time before information on all the results will be available, but reports on several of the more notable ones have been forthcoming.

The proposed new constitution for the state of New Jersey was rejected by a majority of approximately 160,000, in a total vote of over 1,500,000. The document, drafted by the Republican-controlled legislature sitting as a constitutional convention by previous authorization of the voters, was bitterly fought by Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City, Democratic boss, and although it was supported by former Governor Edison, Democrat, as well as by Republican Governor Edge, it lost by a much wider margin than the Democratic majority for the presidency.[1] Mayor Hague concentrated on the constitution to the apparent detriment of his usual work for his party's ticket. He assailed the legislature as being controlled by the railroads, claimed that the new constitution would permit the legislature to reduce railroad taxation, long a controversial issue in New Jersey, and emphasized his concern that the revamping of the state court structure would eliminate many present judges and leave the personnel of the bench up to the present (Republican) governor and legislature.

The New Jersey Congress of Industrial Organizations, not usually an ally of Mayor Hague's, also opposed the constitution; but Carl Holderman, chairman of the state CIO Political Action Committee, claiming that this opposition was due to many shortcomings of the proposed charter, called for a convention to revise the present century-old document and promised that his organization would work with all progressive forces in the state toward that objective. The American Federation of Labor likewise favors such revision.

Soldier ballots, numbering over 110,000, were nearly four to one for the new constitution.

In three states constitutional amendments to prohibit the closed union shop were passed upon by the voters. In Arkansas and Florida such amendments were reported to have been adopted, while in California a similar one was defeated. The American Federation of Labor is expected to challenge the Arkansas and Florida amendments in the courts, as being in conflict with the federal constitution. The Arkansas amendment includes a prohibition against the maintenance-of-membership provisions such as have been approved in various instances by the War Labor Board.

Massachusetts voted for annual legislative sessions (see item below).

Illinois rejected amendments that would have permitted sheriffs and county treasurers to succeed themselves.

Among the state proposals put to

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[1] See also "Danger Signs from Jersey City," p. 574.

popular vote was one to impose statewide prohibition of liquor in Nebraska; it was overwhelmingly defeated. Oregon voted to put the sale of fortified wines under state auspices. Arizona, California, Oregon and Washington were reported as having defeated proposals for gross income taxes of 3 to 5 per cent to finance $60 pensions for persons over 60 years old. Washington also voted against a proposal to permit public utility districts to combine to acquire privately-owned utility systems. Arkansas voters refused to outlaw horse and dog racing, while Massachusetts voted to declare the game of "beano" illegal.

In Louisiana the excessive number of 21 amendments were voted on, ranging from reorganization of certain state departments to changing the name of the state normal college.

State and local bond issues totaling approximately $250,000,000 were among measures voted on in various parts of the country, and early returns indicated that most of the propositions were approved.[2]

In Missouri the constitutional amendment to provide a unicameral legislature is winning according to some reports but losing according to others. Final results must await the official count of the Secretary of State.

Council-Manager Plan News

Marshfield, Oregon, by a vote of 976 to 873, approved a charter providing for a manager plan together with a council to be elected by proportional representation and changing the name of the city to Coos Bay. (See also item on page 629.)

Milwaukie, Oregon, by a vote of 618 to 374, adopted a manager charter.

Voters of the state of **Oregon** approved a constitutional amendment to permit counties to adopt the manager form of government (see page 633).

A council-manager charter was adopted by the voters of **Berkley, Michigan,** on November 7, by a vote of 2,593 to 1,579 after several previous unsuccessful attempts.

A manager charter won in **Midland, Michigan,** by the overwhelming vote of 3,409 to 1,184.

A proposed manager charter failed of adoption in **River Rouge, Michigan,** by a popular vote of approximately three to one.

Ashtabula, Ohio, retained its 1915 manager charter by a vote of 3,888 to 3,631.

Staceyville and Haynesville, Maine, adopted the manager plan at their town meetings in March.

An ordinance providing for a borough manager in **Pottstown, Pennsylvania,** was unanimously adopted by the borough council on November 9. This climaxed a three-year campaign, led by the Pottstown *Mercury* and the Chamber of Commerce. A committee is endeavoring to obtain a qualified manager by January 1, 1945.

Hampstead, Quebec, has been added to the list of manager cities by the International City Managers' Association.

Voters of **Long Beach, New York,** on November 7 defeated by a vote of 3,168 to 1,833 a proposed charter, supported by the city administration, which would have nullified the decision of the voters a year ago to put the council-manager plan with proportional representation in operation January 1, 1946. The latter plan was sponsored by the Citizens Union, which campaigned actively against the administration's counterproposal.

A council-manager ordinance was adopted in **Georgetown, Texas,** on August 8. The former manager of utilities has been appointed manager.

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[2] See also p. 637.

A charter for **Negaunee, Michigan,** providing for a city manager and a nonpartisan ballot, has been forwarded to the Governor for approval. January 29, 1945, has been set as the date for an election on its adoption.

A "Plan E" Committee has been organized in **Revere, Massachusetts,** to work for adoption of council-manager government with proportional representation (Plan E in that state). At an organization meeting in October, at which Gerald L. Woodland was chosen as president, it was emphasized that Revere has the second highest tax rate in the state; it was substantially increased this year. The experience of the near-by city of Cambridge under Plan E was recounted by speakers. The new organization expects to hold neighborhood meetings in all parts of the city with the purpose of having the plan placed on the municipal ballot in 1945.

Mayor E. A. Smith of **Sarasota, Florida,** has recommended the manager plan for that city in an address to the retail merchants' association.

The **Tampa (Florida)** *Morning Tribune* is leading a movement in that city to return to the council-manager plan, a form of which was in effect there from 1921 to 1927. The *Tribune* is pointing out the mistakes made at the abandonment of the plan, and the comparative virtues of the manager plan and the existing aldermanic system.

Petitions calling for a referendum election on abolition or retention of the manager plan in **Houston, Texas,** have been filed and found to contain the requisite signatures representing 10 per cent of the qualified voters. The city council has voted to call an election for December 19.

Massachusetts Returns to Annual Legislative Sessions

Voters of Massachusetts, who in 1938 abandoned annual legislative sessions for biennials, favored a return to annual sessions on November 7, according to mid-month unofficial figures compiled by leading newspapers in the state's fourteen counties. These showed a vote of 562,341 to 515,784, a majority of 46,577 for annuals. In 1938 biennials were adopted by a majority of 330,000. A campaign committee composed of representatives of the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, the State Grange, the Boston Chamber of Commerce and other civic groups conducted the drive for retention of biennial sessions, with the support of nearly every newspaper in the state. Biennials had been warmly endorsed by Governor Saltonstall, whose administration covered the six years of the system, and were favored by five former governors of both parties. Many legislators openly favored biennials, including some who had originally been on the annual side.

Confusion in the minds of many voters because of the complexity of the wording of the ballot question was given as the principal reason for the reversal by the biennial committee. Difficulties in obtaining newspaper space outside the editorial page and advertisements because of wartime conditions and the presidential election, a ban on radio discussion of referenda by key Boston radio stations and the impossibility of reaching soldier voters with information all played parts in the defeat.

Biennial supporters used every available means to point out to the voters a saving of $1,250,000 in legislative costs alone in the past six years, plus untold millions saved by having the legislature meet in the "off" year and not shortly before state elections. They pointed to many budgetary and administrative improvements made in the state government which would probably have been impossible under annuals. They showed that only four states still have annual sessions and that no state has ever changed from biennials to annuals.

Already the press is mentioning the necessity for a new drive to restore biennials at some later date. Under the state constitution a new initiative petition such as was used in 1938 cannot be started until after the 1948 election and cannot go on the ballot until 1952. The 1944 repeal petition was a so-called legislative amendment sponsored by the A.F. of L. Supporters of biennials feel that if the legislature returns to the practices which prevailed under annuals previously, the groundwork will be well laid for another biennial drive four years from now.

JOHN H. MAHONEY
Worcester Taxpayers Association

State Planning and Development Commissions Lure Business

The states are trying to do a "boost" job such as local chambers of commerce and commercial clubs used to do. Aside from very modest public works programs, most of the state economic development commissions and planning boards are devoting their efforts to attracting new businesses.

Their boosting has official status and perhaps receives more widespread support than might be the case if the boosting program were purely a chamber of commerce affair. Research work on resources, and controls over certain aspects of industrial and business activity, if done by a public agency probably also is likely to be regarded as freer from bias in favor of business. The local Committees for Economic Development have members representing labor, the general public, government and other non-business groups, but usually they are dominated by business leaders—and in many instances these business leaders are executives of public utility companies. As such, they might not be regarded as unbiased in planning matters having to do with publicly-owned utilities. Similarly, real estate owners and agents usually oppose public housing.

Many of the state and local planning agencies are working closely with the C.E.D. but try to keep its influence in the realm of business and away from matters of public administration.

Like the chambers of commerce in the old days, the state planning agencies are working hard at getting favorable publicity and in some cases are spending sums for advertising.

BURT GARNETT
Local Affairs Service
Washington, D. C.

Cooperative Billing Agency Expands in TVA Area

Organized for the purpose of performing utility billing services for the smaller municipalities and cooperatives that distribute electrical energy obtained from the Tennessee Valley Authority, and owned by the participating municipalities and cooperatives, the Central Service Association is now doing more than five times its original service. It has grown from a small billing office in Tupelo, Mississippi, where 6,000 utility bills were prepared each month for four municipalities and cooperatives seven and one-half years ago, until it now prepares 325,000 utility bills each month for 143 electric and water departments of municipalities and cooperatives. It is debt-free. It now has offices in Tupelo and Columbus, Mississippi; Cleveland, Columbia and Murfreesboro, Tennessee; and Decatur and Huntsville, Alabama.

Almost all the municipalities and cooperatives that distribute TVA power are now cooperating in this service. The Association has pioneered by demonstrating to the region how the efficiency of centralization can be combined with local control. Its success may cause some of the small municipalities to consider application of these principles to other services outside the utility field.

Auxiliary Protection Groups Aid Fire and Police Departments

Protective organizations throughout the country, organized primarily to meet the contingency of air raids, have proven valuable for other purposes, particularly when emergencies required more men than were available from regular police and fire forces. According to the American Municipal Association these auxiliary groups have seen action fighting fires, floods, explosions and other disasters.

Reports from the protection services division, Office of Civilian Defense, to the International Association of Chiefs of Police, cite "more than ordinary accomplishments" by auxiliary groups of 88 communities in 30 states, chiefly during fires and floods. Auxiliary police and firemen, for example, aided regulars in Grand Rapids, Michigan, last January in controlling a crowd of 5,000 during a warehouse fire, while Nashua, Missouri, auxiliaries aided regular police and firemen in fighting an eighteen-hour, $200,000 fire.

Auxiliary groups of a score of cities —including Wichita, Kansas; Columbus, Mississippi; Omaha, Nebraska; Minot, North Dakota; Port Clinton, Ohio; Tulsa, Oklahoma; Eugene, Oregon—were cited for outstanding assistance during floods. Many other forms of assistance have also been rendered.

Public Purchasing Agencies Complete National Organization

The board of directors of the National Institute of Governmental Purchasing, made up of federal, municipal, county and state purchasing agencies, held its first regular meeting in Milwaukee on September 17-20. The purposes and methods of the organization are set forth as follows:

1. A regular and systematic interchange of information and experience among governmental buying agencies.
2. Consultation with legislative bodies, departments of government and others on legislation and problems affecting governmental purchasing.
3. Stimulation of and advisory assistance in the preparation of in-service training materials and programs for governmental buying agencies.
4. Development and promotion of simplified standards and specifications for governmental buying.
5. Developing and furnishing information regarding uniform laws and procedures for governmental buying and for the disposition of surplus or obsolete supplies, materials and equipment.
6. Promotion of public understanding and support of professional governmental buying.
7. Continuous research in the organization and administration of centralized governmental buying agencies.
8. Issuance of certificates and awards for merit and proficiency in governmental buying.
9. Other activities having a bearing on the professionalization of governmental buying.

Membership in the Institute is open to federal procurement agencies and the buying agencies of states, counties, cities, villages, towns, boroughs, provinces, publicly-owned utilities, public schools and colleges, prisons, governmental hospitals and other institutions, other tax-supported buying organizations and public authorities and similar *ad hoc* agencies. Albert H. Hall has been appointed executive director, with headquarters at 730 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

American Municipal Association Holds 21st Convention

Chicago was again the scene of an annual meeting of the American Municipal Association, held October 25-27 and marking the 21st anniversary of its first similar conference. Mayor Wilson W. Wyatt of Louisville, Kentucky, was elected president for the ensuing year and Mayor R. E. Riley of Portland, Oregon, vice-president. In recognition of his efforts for better municipal government a resolution designating Mr. Louis Brownlow as Counselor Emeritus was unanimously adopted. Another resolution was:

> Resolved by the American Municipal Association, in convention assembled, that the more than 8,000 municipalities comprising the membership of the Association through their respective leagues of municipalities, be urged to complete as rapidly as possible their postwar public works programs and to formulate in cooperation with appropriate federal and state agencies a sound program of local participation in plans to cushion the shock of reconversion from war to peace and to assist in the prompt employment of returning veterans.

Other resolutions were of the following nature: recommending that plants, machinery and other property of the federal government, used for non-governmental purposes, be subject to local taxation; opposing federal regulation of municipal securities or taxation of income therefrom; recommending old-age benefits for public employees; recommending that the Bureau of the Census include cities of 25,000 and over in its annual series on city finances; recommending that the Collector of Internal Revenue appoint a federal-state-local committee on coordination and administration of revenue systems; endorsing the principle of federal, state and local responsibility for airports; cooperation of the AMA with the Surplus Property Board; recommending appointment of a municipal representative on the proposed three-member federal-state fiscal authority, if created by Congress; favoring expenditure of federal-aid highway funds for acquisition of rights of way and construction of streets and highways in communities; authorizing a special committee on increasing AMA revenues; and expressing appreciation to its officers, trustees and staff for their work, to the Spelman Fund for its support, and to the city of Chicago and others for contributing to the convention's success.

Schools for Newly Elected Officials in North Carolina

The Institute of Government, University of North Carolina, is conducting a series of schools for public officers as follows:

November 13-15, county tax supervisors; November 21-22, clerks of Superior Court and registers of deeds; November 28-29, sheriffs; December 5-6, city and county tax collectors; December 8-9, city and county attorneys; December 11-16, city engineers, street superintendents and traffic officials. During the week of December 18 local schools will be conducted in 100 courthouses by county tax supervisors for local list takers and assessors, from guidebooks prepared by the Institute of Government and supplemented by local experience.

These schools, brief though they are, represent an earnest effort to reduce the loss of time, motion and public money resulting from the state tradition of many elective offices, short terms and rotation in office.

Researcher's Digest

Connecticut Council Seeks Legislative Improvement

Bureaus Discuss Schools, Metropolitan Areas, Budgets

A CONCISE and helpful booklet, *Proposed Improvements in Legislative Procedure,* published by the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council,** is the result of an extensive analysis by the Council's staff of legislative procedures not only in Connecticut but also in all the states. The pamphlet presents the comments of the Council on the tentative proposals for legislative improvement favorably discussed at recent public hearings of the Connecticut Legislative Council, including:

(1) Information and instruction for new members of the legislature, (2) streamlining the committee system, (3) insuring public knowledge and full and fair discussion of bills, (4) providing for orderly disposition of bills left in committee at the end of the session, (5) reducing the quantity of special legislation, (6) providing a better record of legislative proceedings, (7) editing reports of state departments to make them useful to the legislature and public, and (8) effective publicity for, and legislative supervision of, the rules and regulations of state departments and agencies.

In its conclusions the Council states that the proposals, if adopted, "would go far toward making our General Assembly a more efficient lawmaking body and more responsive to the wishes of the people. . . Keeping government in the hands of the people in these days of expanding executive power," the Council comments, "is largely a matter of making legislatures efficient and representative. Through the adoption of these proposals, our next General Assembly will have the opportunity to reaffirm that it is in fact an instrument of the people, and to demonstrate effectively that the legislature is indeed one of the three branches of our government."

Cities in Boston Area Studied

The **Bureau for Research in Municipal Government of the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration** has published a report on the comparative status of 83 cities and towns in the Boston metropolitan area. The purposes of the study are "to observe position or comparative status of the particular cities and towns at definite time periods with reference to the selected factors, to record trends and to arrange the information in a form conducive to ready interpretation and self-appraisal by persons who may be interested in any one municipality or in the district as a whole."

Included in the study are tables, maps and graphs of population, assessed valuation, assessed valuation per capita, tax rates and direct tax per capita. Amounts, increases or decreases, indices, rank orders and distributions are given from 1930 to date.

Too Many School Districts Says Los Angeles County Bureau

The study of the **Bureau of Administrative Research of Los Angeles County** on consolidation of school districts, conducted by Stephen A. Eross, reaches two main conclusions: (1) that a consolidation of many of the small and inadequate school districts in the county is desirable and (2) that such consolidation can not be effectively made unless there are constitutional and statutory changes.

The report considers the administrative problem, functional and organizational factors, the need for legislation for mandatory district reorganization, standards for administrative units, cost factors in reorganization and statistics of a sample combination of elementary districts. Numerous tables and graphs are included.

New Edition of Research Directory Available

The **Governmental Research Association's** *Directory, 1944-45,* of organizations engaged in governmental research has been issued. It contains a list of local and state agencies engaged in such research together with their addresses and the names of their directors. In addition, a list of national government research groups and a list of GRA members not connected with research agencies are included. There are complete indices of organizations and individuals.

Potpourri

Budgets

"Budgets can be confusing and tricky things," says the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research** in its latest publication, *The Odessey of Detroit's Budget.* The study presents the highlights of the city's financial history during the past fifteen years as reflected in its budget — "what we've done, where we've been going, where we are."

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Constitutional Amendments

Four issues of *State Problems,* published by the **New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research,** are devoted to a discussion of the 21 constitutional amendments on the November 7 ballot. The Bureau recommends adoption of thirteen of the amendments but points out "the tendency in Louisiana to write purely legislative material into the constitution."

Inequitable Representation

"The towns, with 23 per cent of the population, paying about 25 per cent of the county taxes, have 46 per cent of the voting strength in the county's [Erie] governing body, the Board of Supervisors. This is not 'representative' government," says the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau** in *Just a Moment.* "Logically, the county should be districted without regard to town or city lines but only with respect to population."

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Reassessment

"What has happened to the over-all assessment structure in Oklahoma City?" asks the **Research Institute** of that city in its monthly *Bulletin.* The Institute endorses the County Assessor's appointment of a Citizens' Reassessment Committee to consider the advisability of making a comprehensive and scientific re-assessment of every parcel of real estate in Oklahoma County and at the Committee's request its Board of Directors has authorized the use of its facilities to investigate what has been done in other cities.

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Veterans' Preference

The **Cleveland Citizens League** tackles the problem of veterans' preference in a discussion in *Greater Cleveland* on the effect of recent veterans' preference laws on federal and state personnel policies in Ohio. The League arrives at the decision that "generally speaking, the postwar personnel outlook in Ohio is by no means discouraging. When we campaigned in 1912 for the civil service constitutional amendment we did not realize what a bulwark of defense we were constructing for the future protection of a sound personnel policy in the public service."

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Rockland Citizen Group Recommends Manager Plan

Suggests Greater Citizen Activity in City Affairs

THE recent survey of the government of **Rockland, Maine,** conducted by a **Citizens' Committee,** sets a new high in citizen activity at which other communities might well aim. Three factors are of significance: the speed with which the Committee made its survey and the thoroughness of the report and the soundness of its recommendations.

On February 4 of this year the Chamber of Commerce appointed a Committee on Municipal Research. One month later, on March 3, this group recommended that an independent Citizens' Committee be organized to make a survey of the city government. This was done at a public meeting on March 21. Each citizen member volunteered personally and selected his field of endeavor. Work was divided among 30 subcommittees of ten major committees. The chairmen of the major groups formed an executive committee to integrate the work.

The final report has been published, chapter by chapter, in the *Rockland Courier-Gazette*. It recommends that:

1. Rockland citizens devote some time, thought and effort to the public service—"Rockland's greatest need is an alert public-spirited citizenry";
2. Proper provision for adequate revenues for the municipal government;
3. A revision of the city's tax system, assessment procedure, etc.;
4. Election of a high quality of public official;
5. Adoption of the council-manager form of government which, states the report, (a) produces a government quickly responsive to citizen control because the organization is simple and understandable by the public; (b) divides properly the functions of government; all policy-making is centered in the council, all policy execution in the city manager; (c) tends to produce better quality council members; (d) provides a technically trained administrator whose value over a "transient amateur" is apparent; (e) has an actual record of successful experience and (f) is both democratic and efficient.
6. Election of the council at large by nonpartisan ballot instead of by wards with nominations on a party basis.

Portland City Club Provides for Special Research Fund

A special committee appointed by the Board of Governors of the **Portland (Oregon) City Club** to study the financial needs of the Club has reported on its findings. Pointing out that the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco has a special fund of nearly $300,000, the income from which is devoted solely to research activities, the Portland committee recommends that a similar fund for a reasonable amount be established for the financing of research activities of the Portland City Club. The report recommends in part:

1. That no gifts be accepted which would place the Club under obligation to any individual, firm or organization;
2. That the fund be kept entirely separate from the Club's current receipts and be administered as a special fund for research but at all times remaining subject to the order of the Board of Directors, who may appoint a special custodian;

3. That use of the funds not be subject to restrictions either as to principal or interest which might impair its usefulness except as may be necessary to comply with U. S. Treasury Department regulations;

4. That the by-laws of the Club be amended to provide that a special standing committee be created to further the purposes of the funds.

The resolution proposed by the committee providing for amendment of the by-laws has been accepted by the Board of Governors and the membership of the Club.

Here and There

Birthdays

November 19 marked the twentieth birthday of the **Cincinnati City Charter Committee** as a full-fledged organization. On that date in 1924, 750 men and women met to celebrate their success in obtaining the city's now famous city manager – proportional representation charter, forming a permanent association. Henry Bentley, Russell Wilson, Murray Seasongood and Charles E. Merriam were speakers. This year's annual meeting of the Committee on November 20 commemorated the events of 1924.

The Committee took the occasion to do honor to Colonel C. O. Sherrill and President C. A. Dykstra of the University of Wisconsin, who as city managers from 1926 to 1943 had done so much for the progress of good government in Cincinnati. Citations of merit were presented to the distinguished guests, both of whom were present, by Hon. Murray Seasongood and Hon. Russell Wilson, former mayors of the city.

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The **Cleveland Citizens League** held its 47th annual meeting on October 31. For the third successive year the Board of Trustees deemed it advisable to dispense with the annual luncheon feature with a speaker of national reputation and held a business session only. Tentative plans were laid for the celebration of the League's 50th anniversary.

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The **Iowa Taxpayers Association** has had a double celebration. October marked the beginning of the Association's tenth year of service and also the one-hundredth consecutive month of the issuance of the *Iowa Taxpayer.*

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Budgets

"When is a budget not a budget?" asks the **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy** as the time approaches for the City Council to prepare this most important document. "For years," says the Committee, "the annual budget of the city of Philadelphia has been arrived at by financial 'sleight-of-hand' instead of sound business judgment. It has, in fact, been a hodge-podge of imagination, guesswork and wishful thinking." The Committee points out the many things the Council can do to make the budget a sound document. "It's time for every voter in this city to take an active, intelligent interest in the budget and so force Council to give Philadelphia practical, business-like financial management."

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Democracy in the Schools

Results of an investigation made by Earl C. Kelley, associate professor of education at Wayne University, of the extent of student participation in school activities, have been announced by Richard Welling, chairman of the **National Self Government Committee.** The inquiry covers 470 schools from elementary through college level in 44 states, the District of Columbia and the Canal Zone. It was intended to show the progress made by students in "learning democracy by living it."

Dr. Kelley reports that frequent instances of "lack of faith" in the ability of students to manage their own affairs are revealed by the study. Replies to the questionnaire suggest that some teachers and principals are over-zealous in their supervision. Warning that "nothing kills cooperative living so quickly as lack of faith of one part of society in another," Professor Kelley points out that the over-supervised student council often discourages young citizens from any desire to participate.

Student activities, the survey finds, vary from maintaining order and cleanliness in classrooms, lunchrooms and playgrounds to managing extra-curricular activities, scholastic finances and assembly programs. In all, 36 separate projects were undertaken by students.

Dr. Kelley regards the sentiments expressed and the tone of the responses as "encouraging." Many of them reveal great faith in the capacity and understanding of youth.

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Fire Prevention

The **Junior Chamber of Commerce of Portland, Oregon,** observed fire prevention week by reminding Oregonians that fire prevention is not a matter to be confined to a single week but is a continuing civic responsibility throughout the year.

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Postwar Planning

The **National Civil Service Reform League** has established a National Committee on Postwar Civil Service Problems. Dr. Harry Woodburn Chase, chancellor of New York University, is chairman. Subcommittees will study three major phases of postwar civil service: (1) demobilization, reorganization and readjustments of personnel in the national, state and local governments. Dr. Leonard D. White of the University of Chicago, president of the American Political Science Association, is chairman; Dr. Edgar Dawson, professor emeritus of history and social science at Hunter College, New York, is secretary. (2) A reasonable and sound program of preferences for veterans in the civil service; President Robert L. Johnson of Temple University is chairman; Albert Smith Faught, Philadephia attorney, secretary. (3) Employer-employee relations in the government services; Winston Paul, chairman of the Board of Huyler's, will act as chairman; Herman Feldman, professor of industrial relations, Dartmouth College, secretary.

"A Citizens Workshop on Postwar Planning" is what the **Albany (New York) City Club** terms a series of seven Monday evening meetings presented by its Municipal Committee. Speakers include representatives of the New York State Postwar Public Works Planning Commission, State Bureau of Planning, State Division of Housing, the Regional Plan Association of New York City and planning commissions of other New York cities.

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Citizen Participation

The **Oakland Citizens League** (Pontiac, Michigan), investigating the percentage of voters taking part in the election of party delegates to county political conventions, finds that "of the registered voters who did bother to participate in the primary less than 54 per cent made any attempt to influence their party by voting for delegates." Less than 46 per cent of the certified delegates actually received the required minimum of ten votes. Where candidates failed to receive the minimum—or where there was no candidate at all—delegates were appointed by party committees. The League comments:

"People generally realize good government depends on able and conscientious public servants and that such public servants come only through good candidates. They do not seem to appreciate the fact they cannot have good candidates to choose from unless the political parties select worthy nominees for state and national offices at their state and national conventions. Citizens overlook the further fact that the quality of candidates depends on the quality of the delegates who nominate them and that these delegates come from the county conventions supposedly elected by the people."

Figures published in the *Wisconsin Taxpayer* show that only 25 per cent of the state's "potential voters" cast a ballot at the 1944 primary election for nomination of governor.

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Radio

The **Metropolitan Evening League of the New York City League of Women Voters** is broadcasting its monthly meetings over WEVD. Meetings are held at the broadcasting studio and are open to the public.

The text of each of the weekly "Taxpayers Meeting of the Air," broadcast every Tuesday over five local New Jersey stations—Newark, Asbury Park, Atlantic City, Trenton and Bridgeton — is being printed and distributed through the state by the **New Jersey Taxpayers Association,** under whose auspices the broadcasts are conducted.

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Machine Accounting

The county budget and finance committee of the **Seattle Municipal League** has sent out a questionnaire to large counties throughout the country inquiring about their use of machine methods to collect taxes. Information is asked on methods, costs, amount of equipment and other facts for comparison with the procedure of the King County Treasurer's office.

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Research Committees

Listing its committees with their chairmen in its weekly *Bulletin,* the **Chicago City Club** asks its members to "sign up" for active work on at least one of them. Committees study such subjects as city planning and housing, constitutional revision, education, public health, public personnel, taxation and transportation.

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Election Activity

Much of the literature of civic groups issued during October and early November dealt with elections — candidates and issues on local, state and national fronts. Voters' directories were issued by the **Seattle Municipal League,** the **Citizens Union of the City of New York,** the **Minneapolis Research Bureau,** the **Citizens League of Cleveland, Detroit Civic League, Oakland Citizens League,** and the **Civic Club of Allegheny County.** Some made recommendations, others merely listed available information regarding candidates.

Many organizations debated or worked for or against constitutional amendments and other ballot questions. The *Seattle Municipal News* carried a series of analyses of the five statewide measures on the Washington ballot, giving arguments pro and con. *The Oregon Voter* made recommendations on measures before the voters of that state, as did the **Cleveland Citizens League** on both state and local measures. The **Portland City Club** devoted several luncheon meetings to discussions of Oregon measures. Its *Bulletin* carried the reports of club committees which had studied ballot questions.

The **California Taxpayers Association,** in its monthly publication *The*

Tax Digest, analyzed the various ballot proposals before California voters, as did the **Los Angeles Town Hall** in its *Report on Proposed Amendments to the Constitution, Propositions and proposed laws,* **Los Angeles Government Research, Inc.,** and the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research.**

State and local ballot measures also received the attention of the **Baltimore Citizens League, Lowell Taxpayers Association, Springfield Taxpayers Association,** and the **Citizens League of Port Huron.**

State Leagues of Women Voters, stressing the importance of the Congress elected this November, published the voting records of U. S. Senators and Congressmen.

The **City Club of Chicago** made a strong plea for volunteers to act as watchers at the polls. It announced that "men and women who have the welfare of their state and nation at heart are needed to serve." "The one effective way which has been found to combat election fraud," said the Club, "is for honest, disinterested citizens to serve as watchers in precincts where there is reason to fear that election officials may be incompetent or dishonest."

The Voting Booth— No Place for Meditation

The King County voter who enters the booth November 7 without knowing how he intends to vote undoubtedly is in for a very confusing two minutes.

In that two minutes (the time usually allowed for voting) he will cast his ballot for 37 to 41 officers and six to nine pieces of legislation, the number depending on his precinct. This means that he will be swinging levers or marking X's faster than one every three seconds—a brisk pace even for the person who has studied the ballot.

—*Seattle Municipal News*

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. Victories in Three Cities

An Oregon City Pioneers
Repeal Attempts Repulsed

ON NOVEMBER 7 the city of Marshfield, Oregon, (1940 population 5,259) adopted a new charter providing for proportional representation and the city manager plan by a vote of 976 to 873. At the same time it changed its name to Coos Bay.

Readers of this department will remember that a similar charter for a proposed consolidated city of Coos Bay was submitted a year ago to the voters of the neighboring cities of Marshfield and North Bend. Marshfield voters approved it but the smaller city of North Bend turned it down. In view of the expression in Marshfield steps were taken to submit the new plan of government to its voters separately, with the expected favorable result.

Under the new charter six councilmen and a mayor will be elected from the city at large for terms of two years at the regular election next fall and every second year thereafter. The councilmen will be elected by P. R. on separate nonpartisan ballots under rules based on those in the *Model City Charter* of the National Municipal League. Only ten signatures are to be required on a nominating petition.

The mayor will be elected separately by the Hare system of majority preferential voting under rules which correspond so far as possible to the P. R. rules for the Council. Fifty signatures will be required for nomination.

Vacancies in the Council will be filled by a recount of the ballots credited at the last election to the member whose place has become vacant, as in Cambridge, Lowell, and any other Massachusetts cities which may adopt P. R. as part of "Plan E." If the mayor's office becomes vacant, it is to be filled for the remainder of the term by vote of the remaining members of the Council.

The mayor will have no administrative duties. He will serve as president of the Council with a vote but no power of veto. He and the six councilmen will be the only officers elected at the polls. The Council will appoint a city manager and a city judge for indefinite terms and all other officers will be appointed by the city manager. All appointive officers will be subject to removal by the appointing authority.

Next year's election will be the first public election to be conducted by P. R. in the state of Oregon and the second on the Pacific coast.[1] Oregon is the only state which mentions P. R. in its constitution, having had a specific authorization ever since 1908, but this is the first time it has been adopted.

Hamilton Repels Fourth Attack on P. R.

A majority of the voters of Hamilton, Ohio, are still satisfied with P. R., which has helped this once machine-ridden city to maintain a high level of nonpartisan public service ever since its first P. R. election in 1927. The vote on November 7 on a proposed charter amendment to repeal P. R. and substitute nonpartisan election at large without primaries was 10,709 against repeal and 8,042 in favor.

This was the fourth attack in Hamilton on P. R., which local old-line politicians and friends of good government alike recognize as the heart of the city's manager plan charter. One such attack was repulsed at the polls in 1929 and two more at separate elections in 1933. These votes, all by substantial margins, discouraged opponents of P. R for a long time, but this year, with many new voters brought in by the city's war industries, they decided to try again.

The defense campaign was led this year by a steering committee appointed by the Hamilton Nonpartisan Council Committee and headed by Mrs. J. Joseph Marr, president of the Women's City Club, which had played a large part in the charter's original adoption. Mrs. Marr writes, in part:

"In my opinion this amendment was brought about by the following causes:

"That the charter group in Hamilton was almost completely disintegrated and unorganized. As you know, we have no Charter party in Hamilton. The only organization of any kind relating to the charter is a nominating committee, known as the Hamilton Nonpartisan Council Committee, which nominates candidates for council. As shown by the election, the people of Hamilton are satisfied with their charter and protect it, but they are not organized. Neither do they respond greatly to any meetings called by the nominating committee. There has been in Hamilton during the past few years a lack of interest shown by those formerly connected with the charter group.

"That the people have had the charter and the good conditions in the city that resulted from the form of government for so long that they accept them as a matter of course and are no longer aware of the fact that they have had an almost unprecedented long period of excellent government. The bonded indebtedness of the city has been reduced $2,000,000, or about $100,000 per year. In September of this year we received a reduction in our electric rate. Our electric and gas utilities are entirely paid for and the service with which they are maintained is excellent. We have one of the lowest tax rates for cities of comparable size in the state and are due for a further reduction of about 25 per cent in 1947, when our flood control should be paid for. The city has not borrowed from banks in approximately twelve years. Contrast this with the record under the old form of government and I think we have done pretty well.

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[1] Sacramento elected its city council by P. R. in 1921 with strikingly good results, but before the second election was due the California courts declared the system unconstitutional. Two constitutional amendments to remove the legal barrier were submitted to the people of California by the state legislature in 1932, but narrowly failed of adoption.

"We believe that the opposition to P. R., the backers of the amendment, were definitely political, and this was a good time to present such an amendment because of war conditions (we have had a fair influx of new people unacquainted with the city's history), the fact that everyone is very busy, this being a factory town, and that more than ten years have gone by since the last attempt and people who clearly remember the city as it was 25 or 30 years ago are no longer so numerous as they once were.

"As to the factors contributing to the success of the election, I believe they would be as follows:

"First and above all, the inherent good sense of the people.

"Second, the determined stand of the Women's City Club with its 800 membership. The women of Hamilton seem to be charter conscious, mainly, I believe, through the efforts of this club.

"Third, the efforts of the newspaper, the *Hamilton Journal-News*. It was faithful in its editorials and news comment and never failed to present any new aspect of the situation that might occur during the campaign.

"Fourth, a little known and unsung source of part of our success was the cooperation of our schools. The higher grades conducted P. R. elections, counted the ballots and recorded the results, but it was, of course, kept non-political and was given on an educational basis.

"Labor in this city has always been believed to be for the charter and P. R., and since Hamilton is predominantly labor I believe that it stood by us this time. While the unions and their leaders would make no definite stand, such individual labor people to whom I talked seemed to feel that P. R. was their only chance to have a councilman to represent them.

"There is a newspaper in the city published and subscribed to by colored people. This newspaper came out in favor of P. R. and I believe helped a very great deal to counteract the opposition in the Second Ward, where most of the colored people live. We lost this ward but believe that we would have lost it by a larger majority had we not had the support of the Negro voter, since this ward also contains some active opposition to P. R."

Mrs. Marr also pays tribute to an intensive advertising campaign worked out by Francis Gerhart, advertising manager of the Champion Paper and Fibre Corporation; to Walter J. Millard, veteran P. R. campaigner and field secretary of the Proportional Representation League, who made two trips from nearby Cincinnati for a Women's City Club meeting and a talk on the radio; and to the information and literature sent by the National Municipal League.

The *Cincinnati Post,* congratulating the people of Hamilton editorially on November 9, quoted a significant paragraph from an earlier editorial in the *Hamilton Journal*:

> P. R. will always put a minority representation in Council. P. R. isn't like the old form of balloting. It won't let POLITICAL GANG CONTROL take over a city without having somebody on guard. So let's remember WHO doesn't want P. R. and WHO is fighting to get P. R. out of the charter.

Long Beach Overwhelms Reactionary Charter

The "politicians' charter," described in this department in October, proposing to repeal P. R. and the city manager plan before they go into effect a year hence, was rejected by the voters of Long Beach, Long Island, on November 7 by a vote of 3,168 to 1,935. The proposal was defeated in eight of the nine wards, in four of them by margins better than two to one, and carried only in the Second Ward, which is the home of many city employees.

In spite of the national election the charter fight was the talk of the town. Five-sixths as many Long Beach votes were cast in deciding it as in the presidential contest itself. A Democratic candidate for the new Long Beach seat in the State Assembly who had been a member of the offending charter commission was defeated by the Republican leader, Joseph F. Carlino, who vigorously attacked the proposed charter, even though the city is overwhelmingly Democratic and went for President Roosevelt by a vote of 4,117 to 2,023 for Governor Dewey.

The successful defense was led by the nonpartisan Long Beach Citizens Union and its energetic founder and chairman, Albert A. Arditti, who also led the campaign for the adoption of P. R. and the manager plan a year ago. They were supported by one of the two local newspapers, the *Long Beach Independent,* and opposed by the rival paper which receives all the city's advertising. The attempt at repeal was led by the local Democratic organization and its city administration, which was further discredited by the indictment of the city clerk on a charge of misappropriation of funds shortly before the election.

The advocates of repeal centered their attack on P. R., while the defenders carried the fight to their opponents with a thorough-going attack on the proposed weak mayor and ward council charter, which was defective in form as well as substance. They did not neglect the opportunity for further education in the value of P. R. and the manager plan, however, and ran a series of articles and talks on the benefits secured in other places. Richard S. Childs, chairman of the New York Citizens Union and chairman of the Council of the National Municipal League, addressed the final campaign rally.

The decisive nature of the victory holds out a happy augury for the first P. R election next year.

Baltimore Charter Commission Considers P. R.

On July 17, 19 and 21 the official Advisory Committee on Charter Revision for the city of Baltimore, which has not yet reported held public hearings on proportional representation and the manager plan of government, proposals which are being actively supported by the Baltimore Citizens League.

At the second of these hearings, Newbold Morris, president of the New York City Council, testified in support of P. R. on the basis of New York's experience with the system in four municipal elections.

Baltimore needs P. R. as obviously as any city. *The Citizens Bulletin,* published by the Citizens League, gives the 1943 vote by parties as Democrats 67,370, Republicans 50,452. Yet the 43 per cent Republican minority did not win a single seat and the 57 per cent Democratic majority elected the entire Council.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Oregon Voters Adopt County Manager Amendment

Optional Law May Now Be Enacted by the Legislature

AT the November 7 election the voters of Oregon adopted an amendment to their constitution permitting the legislature to enact a county manager law under which counties may organize if their voters approve. The unofficial vote was 172,214 to 152,192.

The amendment is one of the best optional form amendments to be found in any state. It contains no reservations whatsoever. It reads: "Whenever the legislative assembly of the state of Oregon shall provide by law the means and method therefor, the legal voters of any county in this state by majority vote of such electors who shall vote thereon at any legally called election, hereby are authorized to adopt a county manager form of government, and thereupon any and all of the county offices, whether the same shall be provided for by the constitution or otherwise provided by law, may be abolished and their powers and duties vested in an elective commission and a county manager elected or appointed in the manner provided by law."

Constitutional elective officers which the new amendment permits to be abolished include county clerk, treasurer, sheriff, coroner and surveyor. It is generally conceded that the council in the new form of county government will be given limited legislative powers as cities now have.

Much of the credit for passage of the amendment belongs to the Oregon League of Women Voters which was also largely responsible for securing its passage by both houses of the legislature in 1943. There was no concerted newspaper campaign for the amendment but various individual editors throughout the state were active in pointing out the need for it. The City Club of Portland also supported the amendment. The Club's committee which studied it asked that a committee be appointed to explore the subject of manager government for Multnomah County.

Oregon becomes the eleventh state providing for county home rule or optional forms of government. Others are California, Maryland, Louisiana, Montana, New York, North Carolina, Virginia, Texas, Ohio and North Dakota.

Michigan Voters Defeat Home Rule for Wayne County

Preoccupation of the voters with national and international issues explains, in part, defeat on November 7 of the proposed constitutional amendment which aimed to allow the people of Wayne County (Detroit), Michigan, by a charter commission, to set up a new form of county government. The combination of opposition forces in Wayne County, the activity of rural supervisors and other officials in out-state counties and the highly organized opposition of party Democrats along with CIO and AFL labor unions together overwhelmed the county reformers. The vote (returns incomplete) was 505,295 for, to 641,852 against the amendment.

In form the amendment of November 7 was substantially the same as that which was defeated in 1942 by a negative majority of 23,000. Two years ago, however, the heavy favorable majority in Wayne County, set over against the rural opposition in out-state counties, almost won the victory. This year the urban and rural opposition vigorously organized and the county reformers likewise made a better outstate campaign than they did in 1942. In many counties a minority of intelligent voters realized the validity of the demand for reform in Wayne County as entirely distinct from their own local problem.

Never before in the long experience of this writer has a campaign been so totally lacking in discussion of the main issue as this one. Whereas the answers to most objections were contained in the amendment itself, the opposition, knowing that fact, and realizing that they actually represented a political minority seeking to retain a strangle hold on jobs and spoils in county office, resorted to the launching of great waves of falsehood, misrepresentation, and such imaginary complaints and attacks as were utterly foreign to the issue presented in the amendment itself.

Again, as in 1942, county reformers faced serious difficulties in securing adequate funds for campaign purposes. The total used in 1942, about $12,000, this year was increased to almost $14,000. All bills are paid but it is recognized that statewide county reform under current conditions cannot be won even for a great industrial county unless adequate campaign personnel, equipment, workers and funds are provided.

In the *Detroit News* it is proposed that a third effort to reorganize the government of Wayne County be made as soon as possible. Several leaders of the citizens committee agree with the view that prospects of ultimate success have been increased by the educational publicity of 1942 and 1944.

William P. Lovett, *Executive Secretary*
Detroit Citizens League

Montgomery County Charter Defeated

After the most bitterly fought local issue in the election campaign in the Washington metropolitan area, unofficial returns indicate that the Montgomery County charter was defeated by a vote of 15,683 to 14,048.[1] This figure includes the soldier vote. *The Washington Post* states editorially:

"Defeat of the proposed Montgomery County charter will be a source of keen regret to many of our neighbors across the Maryland line. Two years ago the people indicated their desire for modernization of their county government by a substantial majority. On Tuesday the charterites rolled up a still larger vote, but not enough to overcome the formidable opposition from the political machine entrenched at Rockville. . . . The defeat of the charter appears to be linked with the surprising fact that Governor Dewey carried Montgomery County by nearly 5,000 votes. Normally the county is Democratic. This year, however, the Democratic organization did little work for the national ticket. Most of its efforts and its funds were directed against the nonpartisan charter movement. The returns also tend to sustain the charge that some Republican leaders traded votes against the charter for votes in favor of Governor Dewey. . . . If some Republican leaders did stoop to that sort of deal, they must shoulder the chief responsibility for depriving the county of progressive home rule. . . . We hope that the charter committee will charge this narrow defeat up to experience and persist in its efforts to modernize the Montgomery County government."

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[1] See also "Machine Beats County Charter," p. 583 this issue.

Arizona City and County Join in Postwar Plan

Pima County and Tucson, Arizona, jointly are developing a postwar program based on a regional plan initiated before the war and completed in June 1943. The plan is primarily the work of two civic organizations, the Chamber of Commerce and the Tucson Regional Plan, Inc.

Pima County covers 200 square miles of a broad colorful desert valley and has a population of 60,000. Tucson, with a population of 40,000, has developed from a historic Spanish colonial outpost. The city and county are set apart by miles of sparsely settled desert from any other urban center, and the residents have acquired a strong community spirit.

The City Council, the Board of Supervisors, the Regional School District, and several other organizations are cooperating to achieve the goals embodied in the comprehensive regional plan. The city has established a City Planning Commission and the county has created a County Planning Board with special postwar responsibilities. These bodies have been closely integrated in their work and personnel. The City Planning Commission includes the county engineer and a citizen resident of the county, while the County Board includes the city manager as an ex officio member. Both bodies are served by the same office staff jointly maintained by the city and county on an equal financial basis, located in the City-County Health and Welfare Building.

Tucson Regional Plan, Inc., cooperates in the broad field of citizen participation and community support on its own budget financed by private contributions. It develops research in new phases of community planning, citizen education, etc.

The Tucson Chamber of Commerce also cooperates through a special committee on postwar planning. This committee stresses the development of plans associated with private economic enterprise, such as better roads and aviation development. By close cooperation and coordination in all stages of development, the plans of the Chamber of Commerce and the Regional Plan, Inc. can subsequently be put into effect by the joint action of the two governing units.

Consolidation of Local Planning Is Progressing

Several states indicate progress in establishing local regional planning with the cooperation of counties and other local units. Adams, Arapahoe, and Jefferson Counties, Colorado, are cooperating with the city of Denver in planning suburban development, enacting building codes and zoning laws, and the establishment of a public works program.

The representatives of the municipalities of Greater Little Rock and North Little Rock, Arkansas, recently have conferred with officials of Pulaski County in regard to the consolidation of the planning agencies of the three units.

Health Consolidation Succeeds and Fails

Several southern communities appear to have divergent experiences in their attempts to secure city-county consolidation of public health services. At Hopkinsville, Kentucky, the new city-county health center established jointly by the city of Hopkinsville and Christian County has recently been dedicated. On the other hand, the health departments of Knoxville and Knox County, Tennessee, which were consolidated during the past year, have separated and are again operating independently of each other.

Pennsylvania Townships Establish Joint Playfields

Lower Merion and Haverford Townships, Pennsylvania, jointly have acquired a seventeen-acre tract of land, formerly used for annual horse shows, in order to convert it into recreation fields. This was possible under the state township code which provided: "Townships may jointly with cities, counties, boroughs, other townships of either class or any combination or number of such units, acquire property for, operate and maintain, any parks, playgrounds, playfields, gymnasiums, public baths, swimming pools or indoor recreation centers."

The property was acquired by the formation of a private, non-profit corporation, which in turn leased it to the townships for the consideration of one dollar per year. The townships are obligated to pay the costs incidental to maintaining the grounds in proper condition.

The owners retain their privilege of conducting their annual horse show on the grounds, but at present the tract is converted into softball and football fields, quoit areas, and a regulation baseball diamond.

New York Towns Turn Justices of the Peace into Councilmen

The Town and County Officers Training School of the State of New York in its publication, *Justice Court Topics,* recently has expressed itself as pleased with the fact that "Slowly but surely New York State is turning its inactive justices of the peace into councilmen."

This transformation has been made possible under the provision of a statute enacted in 1940 which permits towns (townships) of the second class, governed by the supervisor and four justices of peace serving as a council, to designate two of the justices of peace as councilmen to perform councilmanic duties only and to restrict the remaining two justices of peace to judicial duties only. Approximately 500 towns have taken advantage of this act; 400 have yet to do so.

Michigan County Government Manual Published

Another state manual on county government has been added to the growing list of such publications. The latest, *A Manual of County Administrative Organization in Michigan,* has been issued by the Bureau of Government, University of Michigan.[1] It was prepared by Claude R. Thorp, research associate in charge of the Bureau.

The study is based primarily on an exhaustive search of the state statutes. After a first chapter analyzing the powers and duties of the board of supervisors, chapters are arranged on a functional basis. They include finance, administration of justice, records, education, health and medical attention, social welfare, public works, agriculture, and elections. A final miscellaneous chapter considers the functions of the county civil service commission, concealed weapon licensing board, inspector of mines, plat board, sealer, surveyor, zoning commission and others. In an appendix Mr. Thorp presents also a table indicating the constitutional and statutory requirements for county administrative organization in Michigan.

This volume constitutes a valuable addition to the growing number of studies in county government. For the most part it restricts itself to stating the provisions of the statutes. It does not attempt to be analytical or critical of the existing governmental structure, but it will serve as an excellent basis from which such analytical or critical studies can be developed.

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[1] Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1944, 291 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Voters Authorize Large Bond Issues

Turn Down Beano, Townsend Plan, Uphold Horse Racing

STATE and local voters on November 7 authorized the issuance of a larger volume of new bonds than has been approved in any month since November 1933. The elections were characterized by the submission of large amounts in a relatively few communities, however, although small issues were by no means lacking.

A tabulation made by *The Daily Bond Buyer*, New York, through November 10, showed that of issues totaling $251,102,564 submitted to state and local voters, $221,270,000 were approved, $19,311,000 were defeated, and the fate of $10,521,564 was unreported.

In November 1943 about $20,000,000 had been submitted, with more than three-fourths of the dollar amount disapproved. For the year 1943 authorizations by voters totaled only $48,930,000. The $221,270,000 approved November 7, together with bonds authorized earlier in the year, carried the authorization for the year to date to $342,805,000, a total not exceeded since 1933, when for the full year $507,121,000 state and local bonds were approved by the voters.

Large individual authorizations were a feature of the election; in fact, three states and four communities accounted for 87 per cent of the $221,270,000 reported as carried, and three communities accounted for just over three-fourths of the $19,311,000 defeated. Postwar plans figured in virtually all the proposals.

The largest issues were submitted by two states, California and Oregon, whose voters approved $30,000,000 each to provide funds for veterans' benefits, loans, etc. A third state, North Dakota, submitted an issue of $12,360,000 highway bonds which were also approved.

Among the local units voters of four communities accounted for the bulk of the authorizations. They were led by Houston, where city, school and county voters approved issues aggregating $50,750,000 and defeated $5,000,000. The issues which carried comprised $26,250,000 city of Houston bonds covering a variety of general improvements, $7,500,000 construction bonds for the Houston independent school district and $17,000,000 road and flood control bonds for Harris County. The county voters at the same time defeated $5,000,000 of navigation district bonds. The authorizations are part of a comprehensive postwar improvement program.

The next largest total was approved by voters of Cincinnati and Hamilton County. For the city $16,000,000 was submitted and approved, for the school district $14,000,000 and for the county, $9,000,000, a total of $39,000,000. These issues are also for postwar improvements.

Third in line was the city of Baltimore, whose voters approved issues for airport, civic center, sewer and highway improvements totaling $19,300,000. Baltimore voters also defeated an issue of $3,000,000 paving bonds. And in San Francisco—the only other community where more than $10,000,000 of bonds was submitted—the voters approved $12,000,000 of sewer plant bonds and $1,250,000 of juvenile detention home bonds, a total of $13,250,000. Again, postwar construction is planned.

Dwarfed by these authorizations but otherwise substantial were issues approved by voters in several other communities. Akron, Ohio, voters approved $15,980,000 of school district bonds. In

Tacoma $3,500,000 of city bonds and $2,000,000 of school district bonds were approved as part of a long-range program to rehabilitate the community's public plant, the beginning to be made when the war ends. Voters of Long Beach, California, approved $4,550,000 bonds for bridges and storm drains, while voters of Chicago approved an issue of $3,000,000 street lighting bonds to be used, among other things, to replace gas lights now in service.

Among other issues on which reports were available, approvals in the over-a-million-dollar group included $1,800,000 voted by the electors of the Rochester, Minnesota, school district, $1,000,000 approved by voters of DeKalb County (Decatur), Georgia, and $1,000,000 voted for the Port of Palm Beach, Florida.

The largest issue disapproved was $7,000,000 for a city-county building submitted to voters of Wayne County, Michigan, which includes Detroit. Issues of $5,000,000 and $3,000,000 respectively were defeated by voters in Houston and Baltimore, as earlier noted. Voters of Lorain County (Elyria), Ohio, turned down $1,700,000 for an airport and minor general improvements, while the electors of Redwood City, California, defeated $998,000 for postwar improvements.

In addition to the bond proposals, there were numerous propositions affecting finances submitted on a state-wide basis. In Arizona, California, Oregon and Washington variants of the "Townsend plan" to provide $60 per month pensions to persons over 60 years old were submitted and defeated. Washington voters approved, however, a constitutional amendment writing the 40-mill tax rate limit—heretofore effective in the shape of an initiated statute—into the state's organic law. Voters of the same state disapproved a law to permit public utility districts to combine in the acquisition of privately owned utility enterprises extending over more than one district.

Oregon voters, at the same time they defeated the $60 monthly pension proposal, also voted down a 3 per cent sales tax, proposed as a separate measure. Minnesota voters authorized the legislature to tax aviation gasoline and to license aircraft as surface motor vehicles are licensed. Florida approved a constitutional amendment reducing the maximum levy on intangible personal property from five mills on the dollar to two mills, although recent levies have been at one mill.

Dedication of highway revenues was at issue in three states. Washington voters approved a constitutional amendment preventing the so-called "diversion" of highway revenues to other than highway construction and maintenance purposes, while Nebraska voters defeated a proposal to accomplish a like purpose.

In Arkansas voters defeated a proposal to repeal the law legalizing horse and dog racing. In Massachusetts, however, according to newspaper reports, local elections in some 104 cities and towns appear to have resulted in the defeat of a proposal to legalize "beano," a pastime of chance if not of skill which some charitable and religious groups were said to favor as a means of raising money.

Nassau County Sells Land

For some years Nassau County, New York, has widely advertised its sales of tax-delinquent real estate with successful results. The most recent sale began October 14, 1944, and was preceded by display advertisements in New York papers. A descriptive booklet was also issued giving the "upset" price or minimum amount of bid which would be accepted. The properties were sold free and clear of prior liens, except of village and school taxes in a few instances, and purchases on the installment plan were featured. To the end of October over half a million dollars have been received.

War Bails Out Seattle Transit System

Seattle's transit system, which was reorganized with Reconstruction Finance Corporation aid in 1939 after several decades of unsuccessful financial operations, is making one of the outstanding records of war-inspired fiscal recovery to be found in the United States. The 1939 reorganization plan laid the way by cutting the old debt (held mainly by the former owners of the street railway) by more than half and providing funds for the installation of modern trackless trolleys, and motor coaches, and even before the city's shipbuilding and aircraft boom began the system was forging rapidly ahead. The war boom, however, has literally bailed out the system.

Last year (1943) gross revenues were nearly $10,000,000, slightly larger than the gross revenues of the famed Seattle City Light enterprise, which has long been self-supporting. Net income after all charges, including interest and depreciation, was over $1,000,000.

Of $10,900,000 bonds given to the R.F.C. in 1939, only $6,000,000 will remain outstanding at the end of the year. Early this year the bonds were acquired by private interests and in November the residue was called and refunded to secure a lower interest rate, with the remaining $6,000,000 to be paid off within ten years at the maximum. The enterprise has undertaken to keep funds in hand for a full year's debt requirement and will close 1943 with over $2,000,000 additional in a fund for renewals and improvements. In 1938, the year before the reorganization, the old street railway system went nearly $1,000,000 in the red.

Community Welfare

Prepared by Federal Security Agency

Federal Funds Asked for Area Schools

Postwar Plans Should Include Vocational Education Program

FROM many sources there are strong pressures to recognize in postwar planning the basic needs which should be met, in whole or in part, by local, county and state public school agencies. The experience of the past several years and the trends which have been observed appear to indicate that special emphasis should be given to the development of new education and training facilities and to an evaluation of present facilities in the light of the needs for new or expanded education and training programs.

Bills in Congress

In this connection bills have been introduced in Congress to provide federal funds for the operation and maintenance of area vocational schools and for the further promotion of vocational education generally.

Labor, management and government have a particular interest in the social and economic factors involved and their desire to be of assistance is apparent. They are participating and cooperating with public school authorities. This is not only stimulating and helpful but highly desirable as well.

To quote the administrator of the Federal Security Agency (1943):

> (1) The states and localities should consider now what changes in educational programs, administrative organization and methods of finance are needed to provide equal access for all to the types of education and training best adapted to promote democracy, full employment and a

> high standard of living, and should begin now to prepare an effective method of providing transition for youth from school to responsible employment.
>
> (2) In collaboration with the federal government, the states should begin now to prepare a diversified program of vocational training and retraining for returned veterans and former war workers.

The official reports of the 1943 conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations reveal that labor is genuinely interested in the educational and vocational training problems now being faced and those which may be anticipated in the future.

Management has equal representation with labor on the representative advisory committees which function on both state and local levels in connection with trade and industrial training programs. Business and agricultural interests work with vocational authorities in the development of training programs in their respective fields. If assistance rendered in the past is any indication of interest in the efforts of the vocational training authorities, it can be expected that continued and increasing efforts will be made on the part of management to develop needed vocational training facilities, one of which is the area school.

Educational and Training Needs

It is apparent that many of the present and postwar needs which should be given special attention can be forecast. The more important ones are as follows:

> (1) Providing facilities for a greater variety of educational and training opportunities for youth in the secondary schools;
>
> (2) Developing education and training programs for out-of-school youth and adults;
>
> (3) Providing training facilities to meet the special needs of employed youth and adults in apprenticeship or upgrading programs;
>
> (4) Coordinating training more closely with employment;
>
> (5) Training or retraining the returning war veteran and the war production worker returning to peacetime employment;
>
> (6) Making it possible, quickly and effectively, to adapt education and training facilities and procedures to changing conditions and needs.

Many of these needs may be met and the problems incidental thereto may be solved by the area school. This discussion deals with those aspects of the area school which concern federally-aided vocational training in the fields of agriculture, trades and industry, home economics and business.

Where Schools Established

In many places throughout the country area schools are already established and some of them have been in operation for a number of years. In a speech made by Dr. J. C. Wright, assistant commissioner for vocational education, U. S. Office of Education, before the Chief State School Officers Association at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on December 5, 1943, he stated that there were 32 states and territories in which area vocational schools have been established or are completed.

All area schools are not of the same type nor do they follow the same pattern of either subject matter or administration. There are area schools devoted exclusively to one type of vocational training, others provide training facilities for two or more training fields, and still others have vocational training departments in one or more fields in connection with an academic institution. In some cases the area school is under the jurisdiction of a state agency while in others it may be under the control of a county or local public school authority. Again, there are area schools designed to provide full-time training facilities over an extended period of time — two to four years, area schools designed to provide short-time intensive training, and others prepared to offer both long-time and short-time training.

Generally speaking, vocational educators are using the term "area school" to designate an administrative unit larger than a single community but not larger than a state. The area school may indicate a school administrative unit which serves a group of communities, an entire county, a distinctive area or section composed of several counties, or a state itself.

Area vocational schools are already in operation in Alabama, Arizona, California, Connecticut, Florida, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Nebraska, New Jersey, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oregon, Texas and Virginia; plans for such schools are under way in Georgia, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Nevada, New York, Pennsylvania, South Dakota and Vermont.

Special information regarding the construction, operation, maintenance and financing of area vocational schools and the variety of training facilities now available or contemplated may be secured from the several state directors of vocational education, who are generally located in the capital cities.

Need for Extended Service

Briefly summarized, the major reasons for the establishment of vocational school centers to serve larger areas of population than represented by local school district boundaries are:

a. To facilitate the establishment of adequate vocational programs with sufficient offerings to meet the needs of individuals in relation to agricultural, business, industrial, homemaking and public service occupations;

b. To provide sufficient staff and equipment to carry out programs of training which could not be justified by local school district administrators because of the small number of students in some districts and the relatively high per capita cost involved;

c. To prevent unnecessary and unwise duplication of vocational education facilities and courses within employment areas;

d. To provide in rural areas vocational education opportunities equal to those available to persons living in large metropolitan centers;

e. To provide additional opportunities for vocational-technical training.

Types of areas requiring area school organization include:

a. The industrial city with residential suburban districts;

b. The industrial area made up of one or more residential communities and rural districts from which industrial workers are drawn;

c. The semi-industrial area made up of small communities and rural areas in which a great diversity of occupational fields are represented —agricultural, business, industrial, homemaking;

d. The agricultural area made up of several small school districts and rural communities.

There is a rapidly increasing interest in many quarters with regard to area vocational schools and it is evident that in the postwar period there will be considerable expansion in this type of training facility. It will be evidenced in the kind of courses conducted in institutions presently used for training purposes and the construction or acquisition of additional institutions. In many states the state boards for vocational education are planning to place in area schools equipment purchased with federal funds provided for the program of vocational training for war production workers.

JERRY R. HAWKE
Deputy Assistant Commissioner
for Vocational Education
U. S. Office of Education

Local Affairs Abroad

Edited by Edward W. Weidner

Local Government Restored in France

February Set as Month for Elections in Liberated Area

THE French experience with local government in liberated territory is providing: (1) a case study of the revival of free local government in a formerly occupied country and (2) an indication of some of the permanent changes in French local government which might be made. As a case study the French experience is reassuring to those with faith in the adaptability of democratic institutions to trying conditions. The early establishment of semi-representative councils even if only advisory and the early calling of free elections point the way to the reestablishment of democratic local government.

At least two new developments in French local government are to be watched for their permanent influence. For the first time in history French women are to be given the right to vote. The appointment of regional prefects by Vichy and the appointment of regional commissioners by the French Provisional Government suggest that a new level of local government administration might be added, but this seems unlikely.

Four ordinances of the French Committee of National Liberation, and later the French Provisional Government, outlined the form local government was to take upon liberation. The first of these, in January 1944, provided for the establishment of regional *commissariats* and the central appointment of a regional commissioner for each. Each of these commissioners has several prefects and departments (a unit of government roughly equivalent to our county) under him. The establishment of these regional commissionerships was necessary because only parts of France could be liberated at a time and because of the poor communications in any early stage of an invasion.

The regional commissioners are authorized not only to "establish the administration of the territory, to reestablish legality and to provide for the people's needs," but also to exercise exceptional powers in the event of an interruption of communications with the superior authority. These exceptional powers include the setting aside of legislative acts, the issuance of decrees and control of judicial proceedings.

Another ordinance stipulates that the regional commissioner shall be assisted in his duties by a director of the cabinet, a secretary-general for police appointed on suggestion of the Commissioner of the Interior, and a secretary-general for economic affairs and food supplies appointed on suggestion of the Commissioner of Food Supplies and Production and the Commissioner of Finance.

A third ordinance outlines the reestablishment of free department councils and municipal councils and mayors. All such officials holding office as of June 15, 1940, are reinstated in their positions except those who directly favored the enemy who are discharged. If a municipal council does not have a legal quorum it shall be provisionally completed by appointment by the prefect upon the advice of the departmental committee of liberation. Mayors shall be elected as usual by the municipal councils. The making up of legal quorums of department councils follows the same procedure as with the municipal councils.

February has now been set as the month for local elections.

A fourth ordinance regulates matters of detail as to prefectorial administration, providing for temporary appointments to the office of prefect outside the usual rules of the civil service. The men chosen for the positions of regional commissioners or prefects have been from both those in France during the occupation and those who were not.

A separate combined department-municipal council for Paris has been provided consisting of the Parisian Committee of Liberation, which is composed of a representative from each of 21 organizations plus seven others.

England Considers Water Problems

Proposals emphasizing the need for over-all consideration of the problem of water supply and related matters, enlarging the local units of administration and subsidizing rural water supplies and sewerage, have been proposed in a White Paper on water policy. In order to insure that all reasonable needs for water can be met in the future, it is proposed that central planning of water supply and conservation be the function of the Minister of Health. At present the Minister lacks powers of initiative and direction although having certain less effective powers. In order to help the Minister shape a national plan, central and regional advisory water committees are to be established or given greater power; nine regional bodies with local government representatives on them and with limited powers exist today and three are to be added, thereby covering most of England and Wales.

Municipalities own and operate 80 per cent of the water supplies, but it is not proposed to eliminate private utilities from this field. The general framework of existing local organization will be retained, but amalgamation of small water utilities is to be encouraged and, if necessary, enforced by the Minister of Health in order to secure efficiency and economy. Under the proposals of the White Paper county councils will be able to become members of joint boards of local authorities administering water utilities.

All matters affecting rivers except water supply will be centralized in the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, and administered by 29 river boards which will take over the land drainage functions of the existing catchment boards, the pollution powers at present exercised by about 1,600 separate authorities, and the control of fisheries.

The section of the White Paper providing for national and county grants —totaling £15,000,000 for national grants—for the extension of piped water supplies and sewerage in rural areas has already been passed as the Rural Water Supplies and Sewerage Act.

Criticism of the White Paper has been forthcoming. Although it includes plans for limited interconnection of existing water systems, it provides for no national "grid," no nationally interconnected system. This is a fault of the plan according to some. Others have criticized it because both the Minister of Health and the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries have certain powers over water and the rivers. Control should be unified according to these critics. Many of those living in urban districts and non-county boroughs have criticized the county contribution to rural water supply and sewerage because the urban districts have provided these things for themselves at their own expense and under the White Paper's proposals they would have to contribute, through county rates, toward rural facilities.

Units of Government in England

As in the United States, there is a definite trend toward utilizing more joint committees or authorities in carrying out the various local functions in England. These joint bodies are composed of representatives of two or more local governments and administer functions of mutual concern. The Minister of Town and Country Planning has just revealed that at the present time 934 out of the 1,396 local planning authorities are carrying on their planning duties through 167 joint executive committees. Likewise it has just been announced that two local authorities have agreed upon a joint scheme of sewerage, adding one more to the lengthening list of authorities acting as joint bodies in matters of sewerage and water supply.

Reconstructing Local Units in Australia

In the July issue of the *Australian Municipal Journal* a chief engineer of a community in New South Wales, writing on "What Is Planning for Reconstruction?", comments as follows on local government:

"Local government provides a vast field of study, as it is local government that comes close to the individual and provides him with the opportunity of service without which the roots of democracy inevitably must wither. Speaking of New South Wales, we find that local government areas were planned in the horse-and-buggy era, leading in many cases to areas so small that overhead costs are excessive. We find local government so restricted in scope that local governing bodies suffer from an inevitable sense of frustration, competing as they are, not only with commonwealth and state bodies, but also in some cases with local bodies set up for special purposes. We find the areas so ill-planned that they frequently divide instead of unify communities of like interest. The classic example of this is a small town in this state where the town itself is constituted a municipality while on it abut the boundaries of three shires!

"In the case of large cities the problem of whether centralized control should have centralized or decentralized administration arises in acute form."

State-owned Community Faces Problems

The township of Yallourn, Victoria, has a somewhat unique governmental problem. All of the land and houses within the township are owned by the State Electricity Commission which has its principal utility there. Until recently no self-government was given the community. Now the residents have been allowed to vote on various alternatives and have decided on a governing board composed of three commission appointees and twelve representatives elected by the residents, three of the twelve to be women.

Funds for the board are to be derived from an allocation to it of 20 per cent of the weekly rental of domestic and commercial buildings, plus a grant from the commission to make up the rest of the budget expenses.

Australian Notes

The state of Victoria has appointed a committee to consolidate the local government act. . . . Special regional planning authorities are to be set up in Victoria for local planning. . . . The Tasmanian Municipal Association Conference passed a resolution asking the government to change the day of municipal elections from Thursday to Saturday. , . . At the same conference a motion providing that candidates at municipal elections make a deposit, to be returned only if a candidate receives more than 20 per cent of the votes, was defeated.

A civic group in Launceston, Tasmania, has asked the Premier to introduce compulsory voting at municipal elections as well as a separate election for the office of mayor. In Victoria, where the question of compulsory voting is now optional with each municipality, only nine of the 197 councils have taken action to put it in force, and even in these municipalities in practice is not enforced. . . . The Launceston City Council has asked the government to amend the corporation act to enable women to be elected to the council.

The state government has proposed to enlarge the area of Sydney to include some five neighboring municipalities. . . . Several communities in South Australia and New South Wales have shown increased interest in the establishment of community hotels and community management of the liquor trade. . . . The *Australian Municipal Journal* editorializes against the establishment of enlarged municipal units which has been proposed in various quarters. . . .

The executive committee of the Municipal Association of Victoria decided against the proposal of the city of Heidelberg that the wife of an absentee soldier be allowed to vote in his place at municipal elections. It also decided that there does not seem to be any practical method by which soldier ratepayers absent on service can vote. . . . The question of whether local rating should be based upon annual rental value or annual capital value is being debated in some Australian communities.

GI'S CAST THEIR BALLOTS

(Continued from page 590)

enjoyed the privilege of free airmail to facilitate its delivery. However, the voting officers' job was tough. A complex accounting of all federal ballots, both used and unused, had to be submitted to the Adjutant General by service commanders no later than November 20, 1944.

Naturally, not all the soldiers voted. The actual percentage can be determined only when returns have been finally tabulated. In some army units as high as 50 per cent of the men refused an application card—because most of them were under 21.

As in civilian life, similar apathy towards elections is encountered in the military forces. Eligible soldiers have never before had such an easy opportunity to vote—even in civilian life. Yet many men failed to vote because they "didn't know anything about the candidates back home."

Prior to the election the large numbers of men who did vote were the mystery element of the campaign. It is unfortunate for mathematically-minded political scientists that the electoral vote was not close enough to produce an indecisive result—the soldier vote keeping the election results in suspense until the final returns were tabulated in such key states as California and Pennsylvania.

But the election is over. Gone are the two sheets and the lonely chair and table in Company B's dayroom. Everybody should be satisfied that the GI was given an opportunity to vote. And I hope I have convinced the doubters that this was no military voting "machine."

Books in Review

Public and Private Government. By Charles E. Merriam. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1944. ix, 78 pp. $1.75.

This little volume is a collection of lectures given by the author as visiting professor of philosophy at Indiana University in 1943. The topics of principal concern are concepts of the state, sovereignty, organization and democracy.

Professor Merriam's treatment of the state and sovereignty is especially noteworthy for the number of myths about these concepts which he explodes. The too clear-cut distinction frequently drawn between public and private government is a case in point. His attack on the idea of unlimited sovereignties, internal and external, is well founded.

The author feels that while organization is becoming infinitely more technical, it is becoming less personal, less mechanic, and more human. After discussing the obstacles and elements of progress present in the problem of democracy and organization, Professor Merriam concludes that "of all types of political society democracy is most adaptable to new forms of life."

The book is remarkable for its presentation of political philosophy in an easy and readable style. Throughout the volume the discussion is so organized and presented that the reader has no difficulty in following the author's arguments.

E. W. W.

Bureaucracy: A Challenge to Better Management. A Constructive Analysis of Management Effectiveness in the Federal Government. By J. M. Juran. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1944. xii, 138 pp. $2.

The author of this book on administrative management in the national government has had experience as an executive in private industry and in government. In the present volume he analyzes bureaucracy, suggests principles of administrative management and gives his opinion as to what a thorough application of these principles in the national government would mean.

In extremely popular style the author discusses the ills of the present functioning of bureaucracy. Throughout the discussion there is constant comparison of private and public management. The chief difference which is put forth is that the public bureaucracy functions in a "goldfish bowl." The public and Congress are constantly interested in and examining the public service.

A program for better management and obstacles to its attainment are discussed in the closing chapters. Although unanimous agreement on any set of proposals is not to be expected, the suggestions made are constructive. It is regrettable that no consideration is given the "goldfish bowl" aspects of public management in the proposed program. This is surprising in view of the emphasis placed on these aspects in the analysis of public bureaucracy.

Despite this element of incompleteness, the subject of administrative management in the national government is otherwise adequately and competently examined.

The Police and Minority Groups. A Program to Prevent Disorder and to Improve Relations Between Different Racial, Religious and National Groups. By J. E. Weckler and Theo E. Hall. Chicago 37, The International City Managers' Association, 1944. iv, 20 pp. 50 cents.

Emphasis on police techniques for preventing riots and improving relations between different racial, religious and national groups is stressed in this timely report which is based on analyses of action taken by police forces of 30 cities during recent tense racial situations and on the ideas and comments of many police and other municipal officials.

Pointing out that deaths and injuries, extensive property destruction and severe damage to public morale are virtually inevitable in any large-scale disorder, the report calls for a "positive" police program for improving intergroup relationships which will have as its by-product the elimination of riots, and makes "constructive, practical suggestions on preventive policing in the field of interracial relations."

Among the recommendations of the report are these:

Recruitment of negroes and members of other minority groups as policemen.

A statement by the police administrator of a "clear and positive reaffirmation of police policy guaranteeing equal treatment to all residents of the city regardless of group affiliations" with a program for its implementation.

Special police in-service training program and tactics manual for dealing with minority group problems.

Determination of dangerous and non-dangerous areas, including the development of a reporting system for the maintenance of current information.

Cooperation of school authorities and other public and private agencies to correlate all constructive efforts aimed at meeting problems which produce antagonism between groups.

Airports and the Courts. By Charles S. Rhyne. Washington 6, D.C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1944. viii, 221 pp. $5.

Designed as a legal handbook in all phases of aviation and airport expansion, this book represents a complete collection and analysis of all reported court decisions involving acquisition, operation, maintenance and zoning of airports, together with an analysis of federal, state and local legislation in the airport field. The air space rights of landowners, aviators and airport operators are analyzed in the light of applicable legislation and legal principles.

Municipal Index and Atlas. New York, American City Magazine, 1944. 663 pp. $5.

The 1944 edition of the *Municipal Index and Atlas* contains descriptions of products and services useful to municipalities, together with state maps, lists of cities with their populations, directories of municipal officials, and a series of short articles on such subjects as streets, water, sewerage, power, public safety and recreation.

The *Index* will prove especially helpful to those who are interested in the technical side of city hall problems and to those concerned with city purchases.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Government Institutes

The Story of the Institute of Government, The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. By Albert Coates. Bloomington, Indiana, The National University Extension Association, Indiana University, 1944. ix, 76 pp. 25 cents.

Government Manuals

United States Government Manual Summer 1944 (Revisions through August 1). By Division of Public Inquiries, Office of War Information. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1944. vi, 712 pp. $1.

Housing

Houses for Tomorrow. By T. R.

Carskadon, New York 20, N. Y., Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1944. 32 pp. 10 cents.

Police

Salaries Paid Police Officers in Various Virginia Towns. Richmond, League of Virginia Municipalities, 1944. 6 pp. 25 cents.

Population

Highlights of Population Shifts. Based on Ration Book Number 4 Registration. Washington 25, Office of Distribution, War Food Administration, 1944. 46 pp.

Postwar Planning

Program to Aid the War Effort That Should Make for Postwar Employment. Proposed by the Postwar Planning Committee. New York 7, Commerce and Industry Association of New York, Inc., 1944.

Urban and Rural Living. Planning Post-War Ways of Life for American Youth. Analysis by Louis J. Wirth, Teaching Aids by Ray Lussenhop. Washington, D. C., National Association of Secondary-School Principals and National Council for the Social Studies, departments of the National Education Association, 1944. 56 pp. 30 cents.

Public Records

The Preservation of Public Records. A tentative report by the Committee on Preservation of Public Records. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1944. 12 pp. 35 cents.

Public Utilities

Results of Publicly Owned Electric Systems 1944. Record of 767 Cities under Public Ownership Rates in Effect 1943-1944. Kansas City, Missouri, Burns & McDonnell Engineering Company, 1944. 447 pp. $10.

Public Works

Public Works Engineers' Yearbook 1944, including the Proceedings of the 1943 Public Works Congress Held at Chicago, Illinois, October 24-27, 1943. Chicago, American Public Works Association, 1944. viii, 320 pp. $3.75.

Recreation

A List of References on Outdoor Theaters. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, Harvard University, 1944. 3 pp.

Social Security

Our Concern — Every Child. State and Community Planning for Wartime and Post-war Security of Children. By Emma O. Lundberg. Washington, D. C., United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, 1944. 84 pp. 15 cents.

Workmen's Compensation for Public Employees. An Analysis of State and Federal Legislation. By Leifur Magnusson. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1944. iv, 43 pp. $1.50.

Surplus Property

Summary of Recommendations Submitted on Surplus Property Legislation. Report of the War Contracts Subcommittee to the Committee on Military Affairs. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1944. 102 pp.

Taxation and Finance

How Should Wisconsin's City and Village Streets Be Financed? Madison 3, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1944. 24 pp.

An Installment Plan for Taxpayers. By William Riddell. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1944. 6 pp. 25 cents.

Local Government Fiscal Policies. A Statement Approved by the Executive Board of the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada. Chicago 37, The Association, 1944. 4 pp. 10 cents.

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